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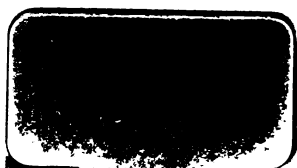






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# CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Archdeacon Churton's Memoir of Joshua Watson	331
Besser's (Dr.) CHRIST the Light of the World	568
Bishop Patteson and the Melanesian Mission	431
Bishop Wordsworth on Presbyterianism	294
Bremer's Two Years in Switzerland	273
Benson on the Work of CHRIST	227
Blunt's (Professor) Essays	210
Boone on the Theory of Belief	75
Bright's History of the Church	1
Cathedral System	365
Church in the Colonies: its ways and means	108
Church, the, and Committee of Council on Education	490
Churton on the Septuagint	307
Codex Alexandrinus, the	529
Eastern Church	241
Exposition of 1 Cor. vi. 9—20	379
Hessey's Bampton Lectures	58
Home Life of English Ladies	27
Hymnals	82
Inspiration and Interpretation: Burgon and Wordsworth	502
Irish Assent and Consent	91
Lyde's Asian Mystery	37
Kingale's Inaugural Lecture	222
Macdonald on the Pentateuch	231, 283
Manuel's Letter to Professor Smith	350
Medical Science: its Progress and Limits	460
Moberly's Sermons on the Beatitudes	119
Monks of the West	403
Morgan on British Christianity	170
National Church	300
Norse and Gallic Tales	17
Our Workhouse Poor	178
Oxford Translation of S. Justin	389
Pentecostal Church and Fellowship of the Apostles	182
Perry's History of the Church of England	557
Present State of the Church Rate Question	128
Recent Annotators on the Apocalypse	193, 255
Recent Poetry	417
Reformation Period in Italy	49

	PAGE
Reign of Queen Mary, the . . . . .	545
Remarks upon Genesis iv. 7 . . . . .	479
Repeal of Canon XXIX. . . . .	97
Review of the Authorities quoted by Mr. Baden Powell . . . . .	441
Sadler on the Doctrinal Revision of the Prayer Book . . . . .	164
Scott's Gleanings from Westminster Abbey . . . . .	518
S. John's Idea of the Person of CHRIST . . . . .	321, 355
Teetotalism . . . . .	340
Was S. Peter at Rome? . . . . .	471
What have Thirty Years of Church Revival done? . . . . .	145, 229
Wilson's Liverpool Sermons . . . . .	453
Wolf's Travels and Adventures . . . . .	136
Correspondence: The Union on Mr. Vaux's Pamphlet . . . . .	96
The Scottish Miscellany . . . . .	96

## INDEX OF BOOKS

### REVIEWED OR NOTICED.

	PAGE		PAGE
Agnes Martin . . . . .	429	Bishop of Oxford's Sermon at Re-	572
Ainslie's (Rev. H.) Self-examina-	230	opening of Lichfield Cathedral .	572
tion for Holy Communion . . . . .	230	Bishop of Rochester's Primary	143
Alford's Greek Testament . 193, 265	265	Charge . . . . .	143
Alice Parker . . . . .	429	Bishop of Salisbury's Charge . . . . .	477
"Assent and Consent" . . . . .	91	Bishop Wordsworth's Discourse on	294
Ashwell's (Rev. R. A.) School-	48	a United Church . . . . .	294
master's Studies . . . . .	48	Blunt's (Rev. J. J.) Essays . . . . .	210
Baker's (Rev. A.) Joy in the Ever-	281	Book of Private Prayer . . . . .	572
lasting Benediction . . . . .	281	Boone's (Rev. J. S.) Sermons on	75
Bennett's (Rev. W. J. E.) pam-	300	the Theory of Belief . . . . .	75
phlet, Why Church Rates should	300	Bremer (Frederika) Life in the Land	476
be abolished . . . . .	300	of the Fire Worshippers . . . . .	476
Benson's (Rev. R. M.) Sermons on	227	Bremer's (Miss) Two Years in Swit-	273
Redemption . . . . .	227	zerland . . . . .	273
Beresford Hope's (A. J. B.) English	365	Bright's (Rev. W.) History of the	1
Cathedral of the nineteenth cen-	365	Church . . . . .	1
tury . . . . .	365	Brown's (Rev. J. H.) Peter the	471
Beaser's (Dr.) CHRIST the Light	568	Apostle never at Rome . . . . .	471
of the World . . . . .	568	Brown's Easter Carol . . . . .	191
Bible and Prayer Book Expositor . 182	182	Burton's (Rev. J. W.) Sermons on	502
Bibliotheca Sacra Parvulorum . 230	230	Inspiration and Interpretation .	502
Bingham's (Rev. W. P. S.) Paper on	46	Campbell's (J. F.) Popular Tales of	17
the 29th Canon . . . . .	46	the West Highlands . . . . .	17
Bishop of Cork's Thoughts on pre-	46	Carter's (Rev. T. T.) Divine Service	428
sent Circumstances . . . . .	46	Chanter's (Rev. J. M.) Help to Ex-	374
Bishop of Cork's Charge . . . . .	572	position of the Catechism . . . . .	374
Bishop of Oxford's Sermon "Cast	528	Charley's Trip to the Black Moun-	192
in Meal" . . . . .	528	tain . . . . .	192
Bishop of Oxford's Sermon at Wan-	528	Cheere's (Rev. E.) Church Cate-	374
tag . . . . .	528	chism Explained . . . . .	374
Bishop of Oxford's Two Sermons . 144	144	Cheyne's (Rev. P.) Church's Teach-	192
Bishop of Oxford's Triennial Charge	95	ing . . . . .	192

	PAGE		PAGE
Church Rates . . . . .	429	Help of Women in English Parishes	377
Church Review . . . . .	47, 144	Herbert's Holidays . . . . .	96
Churton's (Ven. E.) Memoir of Joshua Watson . . . . .	331	Hessey's (Dr. J. A.) Lectures on Sunday . . . . .	58
Churton's (Rev. W. R.) Influence of the Septuagint Version . . . . .	307	Hogg and Woodcock (Messrs.), Let- ter on the Religious Movement of Italy . . . . .	430
Claims of Diocesan Church Institu- tions . . . . .	429	Home Life of English Ladies in the Seventeenth Century . . . . .	27
Clerical Papers by one of our Club	477	Household Proverbs . . . . .	477
Colonial Church Chronicle . . . . .	108	Household Verses . . . . .	279
Contes Faciles . . . . .	377	Howe's (Mr.) Plain words . . . . .	230
Cottage Commentary, S. John . . . . .	229	Hubbard's (Mr.) Letter on the Church and Church Rate . . . . .	230
Cowper's Codex Alexandrinus . . . . .	529	Hyde's (T. J.) Exposition of the Church Catechism . . . . .	430
Curtis' (Rev. G. H.) Two Sermons	44	Hymns, Ancient and Modern, with Tunes . . . . .	47, 82, 192
Dampier's (Mr.) Remarks on the Occasional Services . . . . .	572	Hymns for Good Friday and Easter	191
Dasent's (G. W.) Popular Tales from the Norse . . . . .	17	Idle Harry . . . . .	95
Deane's (Rev. W. J.) Catechism on the Holy Days . . . . .	192	Jane's Sewing . . . . .	430
De H— (Charles) Life in the Land of the Fire Worshippers . . . . .	477	Jones' (Rev. B.) Religion and Mo- rality . . . . .	429
Denison's (Ven. G. A.) Church Rate a National Trust . . . . .	192, 300	Journal of Workhouse Visiting So- ciety . . . . .	178
De Vere's (A.) Sisters, Inisfail, &c.	417	Julia Bridgenorth . . . . .	378
Devotional Helps . . . . .	429	Justin Martyr's Works translated . . . . .	389
Devotions for the Holy Sacrifice . . . . .	46	Kingsley's (Rev. C.) Limits of Ex- act Science . . . . .	222
Devotions before and after the Com- munion . . . . .	46	Law of Divorce . . . . .	378
Devout Prayers on the Life and Pas- sion of our Lord . . . . .	144	Lee's (Rev. F. G.) Miscellaneous Sermons . . . . .	45
Dykes' (Rev. J. B.) Sermon on Choral Worship . . . . .	192	Liddon's (Rev. H. P.) Sermon at Wantage . . . . .	528
Ellis' (C.) Origin, Nature, and His- tory of Wine . . . . .	340	Little Nelly . . . . .	96
Exposition of Genesis . . . . .	230	Lowder's (Mr.) Five Years at S. George's Mission . . . . .	572
Few Hints on Home Happiness . . . . .	429	Lowe's (Dr.) Letter on S. Nicolas College . . . . .	377
Fitch's (Dr.) Six Discourses on the Lungs . . . . .	460	Lyde's (Rev. D.) Asian Mystery . . . . .	37
Fitch's (Dr.) Treatise on Diseases of the Heart . . . . .	460	Macdonald's (Rev. D.) Introduction to the Pentateuch . . . . .	231, 283
Flowers of the Church-yard . . . . .	528	Macnaught's (Mr.) Letter on his withdrawing from the Ministry . . . . .	527
Flower's Sermons of S. Bernard . . . . .	330	Manse of Mastlands . . . . .	48
Force of Habit . . . . .	143	Mansel's (Rev. H. L.) Letter to Professor Smith . . . . .	350
Foundation of Waltham Abbey . . . . .	429	McCauley's (Dr.) Notes on Gen. i. . . . .	428
Froude's (J. A.) History of England, Vol. VI. . . . .	545	Meditations for a Month . . . . .	46
Furse's (Rev. C. W.) Sermons . . . . .	528	Meditations on the Passion . . . . .	282
George Foster, the Page . . . . .	281	Messages of the Prince . . . . .	477
Gillmoor's (Rev. W.) Twenty and Five Years . . . . .	280	Milly Wheeler . . . . .	230
Gordon's (Mr. G. J. R.) Letter to the Bishop of Aberdeen . . . . .	478	Moberly's (Dr.) Sermons on the Beatitudes . . . . .	119
Gosse's (P. H.) Romance of Natural History . . . . .	375	Moberly's (Dr.) Letter to Sir W. Heathcote . . . . .	572
Grandmother's Story . . . . .	95	Montalembert's Monks of the West	403
Gresley's (Rev. W.) Sophron and Neologus . . . . .	524	Monthly Medley . . . . .	142
Gurney's (Rev. A.) Restoration; or the Completion of the Reformation	570	Morgan's (Rev. R. W.) S. Paul in Britain . . . . .	170
Harris's (Dr.) Scepticism and Infi- delity . . . . .	430	Monnell's (Dr.) Prayers and Li- tanies . . . . .	429

	PAGE		PAGE
Neale's (Rev. J. M.) Notes on Dalmatia . . . . .	430	Shipley's (Rev. O.) Daily Meditations, Easter to Trinity . . . . .	191
Neale's (Rev. J. M.) Text Emblems . . . . .	230	Shipley's (Rev. O.) Treatise on Humility . . . . .	378
Newland's Catena on S. Paul's Epistles . . . . .	189	Shutte's (Rev. R. N.) Commentary on Philippians . . . . .	189
One Hundred Hymns . . . . .	279	Shutte's (Rev. R. N.) Memoir of Newland . . . . .	281
Ouseley's (Rev. Sir F.) Sermon on Choral Worship . . . . .	192	Skinner's (Rev. J.) Sermons at Harlow . . . . .	478
Oxford Parochial Magazine . . . . .	142	Skinner's (Rev. J.) Four Sermons on the Revelation of the Anti-Christ . . . . .	572
Parish Magazine . . . . .	142	Smith's (Alex.) Edwin of Deira . . . . .	417
Parker's (J. H.) Introduction to Gothic Architecture . . . . .	282	Sneyd's (C. A.) Meditations for a Month . . . . .	46
Parker's Historical Tales—		Stafford's (Anthony) Femall Glory . . . . .	43
Catechumens of Coromandel Coast . . . . .	282	Stanley's (Dr. A. P.) Lectures on the Eastern Church . . . . .	231
Lucia's Marriage . . . . .	45	Stobart's (Rev. H.) Daily Services for Households . . . . .	281
The Forsaken . . . . .	45	Stokesley Secret . . . . .	527
Perry's (Rev. G. G.) History of the Church of England . . . . .	557	Story of Golden Water . . . . .	377
Pew System . . . . .	280	Success of Dissent the Inconsistency of Churchmen . . . . .	192
Phillips (Rev. J. E.), Missionary Pupils . . . . .	229	Sunbeam, or the Misused Gift . . . . .	143
Pigeon Pie . . . . .	95	Things that I doubt . . . . .	280
Plea for Sunday . . . . .	430	Thorp's (Ven. T.) Five Sermons . . . . .	429
Ploughing and Sowing . . . . .	190	Thoughts on Religious Communities . . . . .	47
Plumtree's (C. J.) Oxford Lectures on Elocution . . . . .	377	Three Village Sermons . . . . .	429
Pusey's (Dr.) Commentary on Minor Prophets . . . . .	144	Tracts for Priests and People . . . . .	429
Questions for Self-examination . . . . .	478	Tracts for the Thoughtful . . . . .	528
Ramsbotham's (Rev. T.) Pamphlet, Tents and Offerings . . . . .	572	Tweed's (Rev. H. E.) Apostles and the Offertory . . . . .	182
Records and Documents of the South Pacific Mission . . . . .	431	Two School Friends . . . . .	528
Repeal of the XXIXth Canon, Opinions on . . . . .	94	Tyrwhitt's Nine Sermons . . . . .	282
Report of S. P. G. . . . .	108	Viri Venerabiles . . . . .	378
Report of Oxford and Cambridge Mission to Africa . . . . .	527	Welby's (H.) Mysteries of Life, Death, and Futurity . . . . .	282
Reports of the Melanesian Mission . . . . .	431	West's (Rev. J. R.) Parish Sermons . . . . .	94
Robertson's (J. B.) Enoch, a poem . . . . .	417	What the Bible says to Servants . . . . .	429
Rumsey's (Rev. J. W.) Canticles for the Christian Seasons . . . . .	572	White's (Rev. H. M.) University Sermon . . . . .	192
Sadler's (Rev. M. F.) Doctrinal Revision of the Liturgy . . . . .	164	Wilson's (Rev. W.) Popular Preachers of the Ancient Church . . . . .	475
S. Andrew's Day; or the Brother's Influence . . . . .	572	Wilson's (Rev. H. B.) Three Sermons . . . . .	453
Sand's (Louis) Voices of Christmas . . . . .	47	Wolf's (Dr.) Travels and Adventures . . . . .	136
Sarah Whitwell . . . . .	95	Woodford's (Rev. J. R.) Commission and the Promise . . . . .	192
Scott's (G. G.) Gleanings from Westminster Abbey . . . . .	518	Woodford's (Rev. J. R.) Ordination Lectures . . . . .	478
Sedding's (E.) Carols . . . . .	46	Wordsworth's (Dr. C.) Lectures on Interpretation of the Bible . . . . .	502
Sewell's (Dr.) Christian Vestiges of Creation . . . . .	329	Wordsworth's Greek Testament . . . . .	193, 255
Shaw's (Rev. E.) Six Sermons . . . . .	282	York Journal of Convocation . . . . .	378
Shipley's (Rev. O.) Daily Meditations for a Month . . . . .	330	Young's (M.) Life and Times of Aonio Paleario . . . . .	49
Shipley's (Rev. O.) Daily Sacrifices . . . . .	144	Young Breton Volunteer . . . . .	95

# THE ECCLESIASTIC

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### BRIGHT'S HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

*A History of the Church, from the Edict of Milan, A.D. 313, to the Council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451.* By WILLIAM BRIGHT, M.A., Fellow of University College, Oxford; late Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Scottish Church. Oxford and London: J. H. and J. Parker. 1860.

THE writer of an ecclesiastical history in the present day has a very difficult problem to solve, and it is this: to determine how far he may clothe his historical personages with flesh and blood, indulge in that detail which is essential to the portraiture of living and real character, and yet compress the leading facts and incidents, with documents of all kinds, letters, speeches, edicts, into one, or at most two, moderately sized volumes. The great thirty years' work of Baronius, with the notes of Pagi, as well as the candid history of Fleury, may both be cited, as being those kind of narratives which bring the lives of the several periods under review successively before the mind. In them the events are not merely facts, they are *actions*. Mr. Foulkes published, at Oxford, in 1851, "*a Manual of Ecclesiastical History*," in which is recorded all the leading events and characters, not only of the Christian, but also of the Jewish Churches, extending over a period of twelve centuries; and all this vast mass of matter is comprised in one octavo volume, not very closely printed, and not containing more than four hundred pages. However useful such books as these may be for casual reference, we very much question their utility for the purposes of instruction. Now the historical writing of the present day that enjoys the largest share of popularity is essentially *pictorial* and *descriptive*, very limited in its range, very personal in its

VOL. XXIII.—JANUARY, 1861. B

tone. And the same style has been adapted to geographical subjects even, and with no ill measure of success. For ourselves, we can truly say that the first vivid realisation of the Church of the fourth century was derived, not from the text-books which formed the basis of the examination papers in our university, but from a subsequent perusal of such books as Ullmann's "Gregory of Nazianzen," Dr. Gilly's "Vigilantius and his Times," Dr. Newman's "Church of the Fathers," with others of the same stamp; and this quite independently of their particular bias. The perusal of the Epistles of SS. Cyprian, Jerome, Leo the Great, of the treatises of S. Athanasius, marks a still further advance in the study of ecclesiastical history. In fact, the writer has always held to the notion, that the founts whence others have drawn are open to him too; and so, wherever it was possible, he went himself to the original authorities, and in not a few instances has he found his account in so doing.

Mr. Bright has tried to master this problem of which mention has been made,—to steer a middle course; giving, wherever it was possible to do so, touches of personal character, but at the same time omitting no salient point in the history of the hundred and thirty-eight years over which his work extends. We will candidly admit that we should have been glad to see his present materials expanded into four volumes, instead of one; and yet as, to do this, would have limited the sale of the book so very much, we can hardly regret that the results of such lengthened and deep reading, such profound and accurate scholarship, as well as such true—and because true, such noble and glorious—pictures of the struggles of the Church to maintain and make good her calling as "the bride of CHRIST,"—that all this should be comprised in one small and inexpensive volume.

We trust that this latter consideration will tend towards a very extended reading of this book; for, taking it at its lowest value, as a text-book, it stands before any other similar production in our language for the copiousness of its detail, the originality of the sources from which it is compiled, and the strict integrity and regard to truth that pervades the whole. If we have any fault to find with it,—and one law of criticism seems to be fault-finding,—it is, that there is not sufficient *separation*-mark between the different persons introduced and incidents recorded. This peculiarity necessitates the book being read with considerable attention, else it is next to impossible to follow the narrative when it becomes very crowded, and several different scenes are introduced as contemporaneously as possible: events glide from one into another by an almost imperceptible process, till we are apt to lose that vividness of conception which ought to mark our recognition of the leading incidents of the story. Yet great care and artistic skill are exhibited by the manner in which so many authorities are brought to

bear their testimony to the topic upon hand,—by the way in which the very pith of each quotation is separated from its matrix, to be woven into the text. Cursorily looking over the notes, we see that writers are pressed into the service which we do not often meet with in ecclesiastical histories, such as Hooker, Bishop Forbes, Mill (University Sermons), Routh (*Reliquiæ Sacræ*), Keble (Sermons), Neale, Isaac Taylor, and other of the moderns.

Proceeding more into detail, we notice that Mr. Bright's first chapter extends over about twelve years—from the Edict of Milan to the closing of the Holy Œcumenical Council of Nice; and the first page or two of this chapter commemorates those Eastern martyrs who suffered after the abdication of Diocletian, and whose names are recorded in Eusebius and Ruinart. Then follows a notice of the Donatist schism, of the Councils of Ancyra, Neocæsarea, and Arles, the latter endeared to us by the presence there of Eborius, Restitutus, and Adelphius. After the Licinian persecution arose the Arian heresy, in the analysis of which the keen and vigorous mind of Mr. Bright seems to have found a subject fit to grapple with; for he has probed this heresy to its inmost depths. Why was this heresy so popular, extending, and hard to subdue? The historian shall answer for himself. Because—

“First, it was a form of *Rationalism*, and therefore a relief to minds that shrank from so awful a mystery as the Incarnation of the Eternal. Secondly, it was a vague, elastic creed, congenial to those who disliked all definite doctrine. Thirdly, it appealed to many by its affinity to older heresies. Fourthly, its assertion of a created and inferior God-head would come home to persons in transition from Polytheism to Christianity. Fifthly, the scope which it practically allowed to a profane and worldly temper was agreeable to the multitudes for whom the Church was too austere, who desired a relaxed and adapted Gospel. Lastly, who can tell how many simple souls were allured by the promise of a safeguard against Sabellianism, or against ‘carnal views’ of the nature of God?”—P. 13.

As the teaching has been described, perhaps some would like to know what its author resembled; and as our object in the present notice is not to argue a few points critically with Mr. Bright, but to exhibit the several merits of his book, so that our readers may be induced to read it for themselves, we cannot do better than take this description of Arius, as showing how possible it is, with a few well-directed strokes of the pen, to give a tolerable notion of a man's outward bearing. The passage runs thus: “There might be seen in Alexandrian streets and houses a tall elderly man, in a half-cloak and short tunic, with a worn, pallid face and downcast eyes. The quiet gravity of his bearing,—the sweet persuasive voice, with its ready greetings of heart-logic,—had a wonderful fascination for several of his brother clergy, a large body of laymen,



and many of the consecrated virgins.”<sup>1</sup> Alexander, the Archbishop, drew up a letter of remonstrance to Arius, the great majority of the priests and deacons signing it. “Among the deacons was a young man of twenty-four, or thereabouts, who had been carefully educated for the service of the Church, and had already distinguished himself by treatises ‘against the Gentiles,’ and ‘on the Incarnation.’ His name was *ATHANASIUS*.” So is it that the mighty champion of orthodoxy is introduced to the reader. One of Archbishop Alexander’s letters upon this wretched heresy is cited, as applying the expression *Θεοτόκος* to the Blessed Virgin: in a note the reference is given to the oration of S. Athanasius, as well as the catechetical lecture of S. Cyril, where the same word occurs. The character of Constantine is sketched with a master hand; a summary is taken of all his relations towards the Church, of which he styled himself an external bishop; of his observance of Sundays and festivals; of paschal lights, and jewelled crosses, and stone altars, and sumptuous churches receiving his care; of his attempted legislation upon technical points of doctrine, albeit he was still unbaptized. All that is inexplicable in his history is solved in one short sentence: “While he gave much to his religion, he did not give himself.”

The second chapter embraces a period of rather more than twenty years,—from the Council of Nice to that of Sardica. It gives the doxology which is still sung in the Armenian Church, after the Creed; and upon the Church’s reception of the Nicene formula of the faith Mr. Bright remarks: “It was to them, doubtless, the full utterance of that simple faith in *CHRIST*’s true Godhead, which had ever lain close to the heart of the Church, had filled her rude old hymns with majesty, had burst in broken bonds from the lips of her martyrs, had kindled her abhorrence of ‘a God-denying apostasy,’ and prompted the heathen sarcasms against her worship of a crucified God.” On the finding of the true Cross by S. Helena no positive opinion is given; and we shall not be very far wrong in supposing that our historian looks upon the whole story with a well-merited suspicion. The missionary labours of S. Frumentius in Ethiopia, of S. Nina in Georgia, form two pretty episodes before the re-opening of the Arian troubles began again. S. Athanasius is well defended against the false accusations which had been brought against him, yet he was banished; the Councils of Tyre and Jerusalem were holden; Arius in triumph was restored to Constantinople, Alexander, the orthodox bishop, refusing to receive him, and he was threatened that Arius would appear at Communion in the morning. He was ninety years old, and so he prayed, “If Arius be brought to Communion to-morrow, let me, Thy servant, depart; but if Thou wilt spare Thy Church, and I know Thou wilt, then, lest heresy enter the Church with him, *take*

<sup>1</sup> P. 11.

*away Arius.*" (*Ἀποῦ Ἀρείου*.) Mr. Bright shall describe the death of Arius :—

"It was late in the afternoon of Saturday. In the flush of his assured triumph over the Nicene Council, Arius walked through the city with his supporters, attracting the gaze of all the people. His high spirits were remarked, and doubtless appeared natural in one who was enjoying the discomfiture of his enemies. He seemed that day to have the world at his feet. Suddenly, as the throng approached the great porphyry pillar in the centre of the forum, he stopped short, and withdrew from his friends. An internal disorder, accompanied by violent hemorrhage, carried him in a few moments to the judgment which he had invoked. The corpse was hastily buried, men thought with horror of the Field of Blood, and the next day's Eucharist was undisturbed by heresy. The mode of his death involves no miracle; but if Arnold<sup>1</sup> could ascribe the ruin of the French army in Russia to the 'direct and manifest interposition of God,' it is no wonder that the Catholics saw, in the event which 'took away Arius,' the terrible presence of an avenging visitation."—P. 44.

In the same year Alexander was summoned to his rest; and on the Whitsunday of 337 expired Constantine, having received baptism from the hands of the Bishop of Nicomedia. "'Now,' said he, 'I know that I am really blessed. No one can know as I do the preciousness of what I have received.' He died in the white robes of a neophyte."<sup>2</sup> There is nothing particular in the Council of Sardica to arrest our attention, except the appeal which was lodged on behalf of a condemned bishop with the See of Rome, who may grant a new trial, order the neighbouring bishops to act as judges, sending some presbyters of his own to assist them in the work. "It is evident," says Mr. Bright, "that these rules make nothing for the claim of a Papal supremacy, but rather bear witness against it."<sup>3</sup>

The next ten years, from the Council of Sardica to the retreat of S. Athanasius, were fraught with much and sore evil to the Church. The clouds rose up one upon another so thickly and so darkly, that it almost seemed as if the light of heaven was removed from the Catholic Church. The Donatist faction waxed more violent than ever; the envoys of Constans, Paul and Macarius, were so treated, that bloodshed ensued; so that it became a proverb afterwards among the Catholics, "If Macarius, in his zeal, become cruel, we defend him not; but if you cry out against him, what shall we say of your circumcellions?" The martyrdom of Paul,—the rise of the Eusebian or homoian heresy,—the persecution of the orthodox, under Constantius, in which Dionysius was banished and Hosius was exiled,—the irruption of Syrianus into the church of S. Thomas at Alexandria, with the other persecutions that went

<sup>1</sup> Lect. Mod. Hist. p. 178.

<sup>2</sup> P. 45.

<sup>3</sup> P. 55.

on there,—are very dispiriting themes to dwell upon. The picture is, indeed, enlightened now and then : S. Athanasius was recalled for a short time, and Pope Julius wrote to him, or rather to the Alexandrians about him, a candid letter of welcome ; and after passing through Antioch, Syrian Laodicea, and Jerusalem, he came in festive style to Alexandria, and there a Council of Bishops “affirmed the decrees of the Sardican Council, and four hundred Bishops throughout Christendom were now in communion with Athanasius.”<sup>1</sup>

Yet afar was a scene of peace. In the desert *the solitary life* was going on, and the time was come for the departure of the first great anchorite, S. Antony. Mr. Bright’s mention of this saint is a casual one, yet very simple and touching :—

“The day before this (Jan. 17, 356) Antony had died, aged 105, calmly bequeathing ‘a garment and a sheepskin to the Bishop Athanasius, and entreating that his body might be buried in the monastic solitude, and not taken into Egypt, lest ‘they store it up in their houses.’ Finally, my children, farewell ; Antony is going away, and will be with you no more.’ He died as he had lived, with a sweet bright face, the outward expression of that joyful faith, which had been his strength in temptation, and had prompted his own rule of monastic life. ‘Having begun, persevere manfully ; the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the coming glory. If we spend eighty or a hundred years in pious discipline, we shall not regret for a like number of years, but for all ages.’”—P. 76.

A passage of similar beauty describes the retreat of S. Athanasius :—

“We know that it had its days of calm, when he could compose defences, epistles, and the great orations against Arians, and could join the monks in their communions on Sunday and Saturday, or the twelve psalms of their nocturn office, as well as in the brief prayers ‘darted up’ many times a day ; when they could gather round him as their ‘father’ and arbitrator, and drink in his words as oracles, and marvel at his union of contemplative with active sanctity. We know that there were times when the soldiers employed to hunt him down were so fierce in pursuit, that he had to fly for his life from one monastery to another, or lurk in stifling recesses, where a single attendant could with difficulty visit him,—where he had the pain of being severed from his friends, and the worse pain of knowing that they had suffered for giving him shelter. But we know that he, if any man beside the great Apostle, knew how to be abased as well as how to abound ; that in calm or in storm he was caring for his Church, guarding the simple against Arian craft, watching the progress of the controversy and the trials of foreign confessors, thinking tenderly of other men’s weakness ; keeping through all a patriarch’s heart, undethroned in the hearts of his people.” —P. 83.

<sup>1</sup> P. 64.

Mr. Bright's fourth chapter is almost exclusively devoted to the continuation of the Arian controversy: the Arian synod of Sirmium, the double fall of Hosius and Liberius, the deposition of S. Cyril of Jerusalem, the Council of Ancyra, the 'dated Creed,' the Council of Selucia, the conference at Nice, the Council of Constantinople, together with accounts of the ecclesiastical proceedings of Eudoxius, Macedonius, Meletius, and Aetius. On the whole, no less than *twenty Creeds*, of one sort or another, were put forth since the commencement of this controversy. The objection against conciliar action is well answered in our history: "These tossings to and fro of Arianism, this bewildering succession of formulas, with the perpetual hurry and excitement produced by so many synods, were doubtless a stumbling-block to the heathen, and tended to cast a stigma on synodal action. But the list given above may show on which side was consistency and simplicity. While heresy was thus prolific in self-contradiction, the Church stood by the one Creed of the great Council which gave the law to all her synods."<sup>1</sup> A new phase in the history of the Church is opened up by the accession of Julian, whose character, as a whole, has been treated with great discrimination by Mr. Bright:—

"Three causes," he says, "may be assigned for his apostasy. First, there was in his nature a strong superstitious element, which craved for such excitements as he found in the Ephesian and Eleusinian mysteries. Secondly, his singularly Greek temperament invested with a false power the Paganism which had enlisted so much beauty in its service. Thirdly, Christianity itself, as represented by Constantius,—his odious courtiers, his Arian disputants,—had been miserably associated in Julian's mind with everything that was most worldly, base, and tyrannical. He must rank with those unbelievers to whom bad Christians have been a rock of offence. A wayward eccentricity of temper, conspicuous in his student-life at Athens, would dispose him to identify the system with the men; and his lack of the Roman massiveness and consistency of character will account for the strange union of opposites observable in his religion and in his conduct."—P. 109.

Among the many oppressions to which the Catholics were subject during the reign of Julian the Apostate, perhaps his clemency to the Donatists formed one of the most signal. We venture to say that Mr. Bright stands unrivalled for the masterly way in which, throughout, he has treated the *Donatist schism*. He must have read S. Optatus' treatise very carefully through, ere he penned a single line upon the subject. The factious nature of this schism is revealed in every page of its working. What did they do, when all proceedings against them were cancelled by the Emperor, upon the petition of Rogatianus, Pontius, and Cassianus? They expelled the orthodox bishops, tore the roofs from off churches; they

<sup>1</sup> P. 106.

killed deacons by violence, and dragged women along the street; they slew the infants, and they cast the Eucharist to dogs.

"Altars were broken, scraped, carried away; the timbers of which they were composed were used for boiling water; the chalices which bore the Blood of CHRIST were melted and sold; Baptism was iterated when Catholics joined the sect; consecrated virgins were bidden to put away their purple caps, and receive new ones from the Donatist bishops; the civil power was employed to take away from Catholics the sacred books, the veils, and the palls; the cemeteries were closed against Catholic funerals, as if to exhibit, in the intensest form, their abhorrence of all fellowship with the Church."—P. 119.

Then followed Julian's petty persecutions at Antioch, and his profane attempt to rebuild the temple at Jerusalem. As to the phenomena attendant upon this last outrage, Ammonius testifies to fire-balls arising from the ground nigh the foundations; and of the Christian additions to the story, such as an earthquake, a whirlwind, fire from heaven, a luminous cross in the air, and marks of crosses upon the Jews, Mr. Bright remarks as follows:

"It may be, that in these particulars there is an element of exaggeration, and that in the fiery eruption itself, as well as the attendant circumstances, natural agencies were employed. But that those agencies should manifest themselves at that particular crisis will appear accidental, as men speak, to those only who do not estimate the exceeding awfulness of the occasion,—the unparalleled historical position of Julian, the mystery of iniquity in his general policy, one specially Antichristian malignity of this attempt at a confutation of CHRIST's words, 'his shafts, not at the Church, but at her LORD address,' might well be cast back upon himself, by a manifestation of 'the finger of GOD,' as real and awe-inspiring as any of those *per se* natural phenomena, the presence of which under particular circumstances, made them a sign of judgment against Pharaoh."<sup>1</sup>

Now all this is as it should be, it betokens a reverential spirit, and yet one in which excitement is so kept in the back-ground, that miracles are not to be seen in cases which admit of an explanation on natural grounds, nor are special providences to be overlooked, whilst assigning to a just combination of events the direct and manifest teaching of the Most High. For the interests of the Church, it must ever be a matter of regret that Jovian enjoyed the empire for the short space only of eight months. Our historian says, that he "was not only the first decidedly Catholic emperor, but he was the first consistently tolerant one." He gives a very amusing account of a dialogue that Jovian had with Lucius and the other Arians as he was riding through the

<sup>1</sup> P. 124.

city of Antioch. " 'We pray your Majesty and Piety to hear us.' 'Who, and whence are ye?' 'Christians, my Lord, from Alexandria.' 'What do you want?' 'We pray you, give us a Bishop.' 'I have bidden your former Bishop, Athanasius, be enthroned.' 'So please you, he has been many years under accusation and in exile.'"<sup>1</sup> Then a Catholic soldier interposes on behalf of the absent Athanasius. They renewed their accusations, but Jovian would not listen to them, and when afterwards Lucius was presented by the Arians to be established as a Bishop, he asked, " 'How came you hither, by sea or land?' 'By sea, so please you.'"<sup>2</sup> Jovian uttered a jocose but irreverent imprecation against the sailors for not throwing him into the sea. On the death of Pope Liberius it is remarked, that when his "eventful life was closing, in September, 366, he had the comfort of thinking that, after his melancholy lapse in former days, he had been instrumental in receiving the submission of a great body of Easterns to the creed which he had once cast away. He had succeeded not only to the 'Chair of Peter,' but to the blessing which followed on his repentance; he had been converted, and had strengthened his brethren."<sup>3</sup>

In the unhappy dispute, attended with bloodshed, which arose about the Pontificate between Ursinus and Damasus, Mr. Bright observes: "And we may most reasonably think that the right lay with Damasus, in whose favour we have the recorded opinion, not of his friend Jerome only, but of Ambrose, who tells that 'Holy Damasus was chosen by the judgment of God;' not to speak of the high place which he filled for so many years in the estimation of the orthodox."<sup>4</sup> An account of the fifth short dispossession of Athanasius next follows, and then a summary of Canons of the Council of Laodicea. We are sorry to read this statement on the last Canon, which contains a catalogue of the inspired canon of Holy Scripture; and the more so, as it appears to be founded on a statement of Mr. Westcott's,<sup>5</sup> whose book on the Canon is about as unsatisfactory a compilation as it has ever been our fortune to peruse. "There seems," he says, "at least good reason for questioning the authenticity of this catalogue as a 'part of the original conciliar text.'"<sup>6</sup> It is quite in vain for us to do justice to the immediately succeeding portions of this history. A pathetic account is given of the consecration and the episcopal labours of the great S. Basil, yet we cannot pass by one passage which touches upon his relation to S. Athanasius. Arianism in its worst form was overrunning the East, a special schism between Paulinus and Meletius extended into a dissension between the West and the East. "The miseries of the time weighed down his soul, to whom under heaven could he turn for aid and sympathy?"

<sup>1</sup> P. 127.<sup>2</sup> P. 132.<sup>3</sup> P. 133.<sup>4</sup> Hist. of New Test. Comm. p. 500—508.<sup>5</sup> P. 139.

There was yet living one man, 'one great and Apostolic soul,' the natural centre of unity for all the faithful, honoured both by East and West, able, if any one was, to draw them both together. Whether in regard to particular or general difficulties, it was natural to turn to Athanasius. Very beautiful and very touching is the relation now found between these two saints."<sup>1</sup> And then again, how graphically is the interview between the Emperor Valens and S. Basil described. Modestus the Prefect could obtain no Arian concessions of S. Basil, so Valens tries himself.

"It was Epiphany, in 372, when the emperor attended service in the cathedral of Cæsarea. He found the church thronged with 'a sea' of people. The chant of the Psalms pealed forth like thunder. The Archbishop stood as was then usual, behind the altar, which was between him and the people; but although his face was turned towards them, he seemed rapt and absorbed in the service. Around him stood the attendant ministers, and throughout the church all was reverence, solemnity, and order. The unearthly majesty of the scene struck Valens with awe. His nerves gave way when he advanced to present his offering, and no hand was extended to receive the gift of a heretic; he would even have fallen, but for the support of one of the clergy."

The details of the relations between the Gregories and S. Basil let us into the semi-episcopal life of those times, and a confederacy of some the most illustrious prelates seemed about to be made, when just at this juncture S. Athanasius died. Mr. Bright's summary of his character is perhaps one of the very best descriptions in the book; at the risk of being thought wearisome we give the passage entire:

"His glorious career illustrates 'the incredible power of an orthodox faith held with inflexible earnestness, especially when its champion is an able and energetic man.' One is struck with the variety of gifts and the unity of aim which it exhibits. The infidel historian deemed him fit to rule an empire, and obviously he had to the fullest extent the power of dealing with men; yet he was publicly called for as 'the ascetic' at his election, and in exile he was a model of monastic piety. If he is great as a theologian, and intensely given to Scripture and sacred studies, he is 'pre-eminently quick in seeing the right course, and full of practical energy in pursuing it.' He is as kindly in his judgments of Liberius and Hosius, and the Council of Ariminum, as if he were not the bravest of confessors. He can make allowance for the difficulties of semi-Arians, and recognize their real 'brotherhood' with himself. 'Out of the strong comes forth sweetness.' It is this union of inflexibility and discretion, of firmness and charity, this many-sidedness as a pattern for imitation which makes him emphatically *Athanasius the Great*. And wherever we find him,—confronting opponents, baffling conspirators, biding his time in Gaul or Italy, turning his hour of triumph to good account for his flock, calling on them in the hour

<sup>1</sup> P. 143.

of deadliest peril to praise the everlasting mercies, burying himself in cells and dens of the earth, bearing honour and dishonour, with the same kindness of soul; uniting the freshness of early enthusiasm with the settled strength of heroic manhood, writing, preaching, praying, suffering,—he enkindled and sustained throughout by one clear purpose. What lay closest to his heart was no formula, however authoritative, no council however œcumenic. His zeal for the consubstantiality had its root in his loyalty to the CONSUBSTANTIAL. He felt that in the Nicene dogma were involved the worship of CHRIST, and the doctrine of Christianity. The inestimable Creed, which he is said to have composed in a cave at Trèves, is only his in this sense, that, on the whole it sums up his teaching, but its hymn-like form may remind us that his maintenance of dogma was a life-long act of devotion. The union of these two elements is the lesson of his life, as it was the secret of his power, and by virtue of it, as has been well said, although ‘again and again it is *Athanasius contra mundum*, yet Athanasius is in truth *the immortal*, and ever in the end prevails.’ *Hæc est victoria quæ vincit mundum Fides nostra.*”<sup>1</sup>

Suddenly the scene of the history changes, the curtain falls upon S. Athanasius, and S. Martin of Tours next becomes the theme, around whom cluster many incidents replete with interest, as connected with the man himself as well as the Gallican Church. Then follows the consecration of S. Ambrose to the see of Milan, and the fortunes of S. Basil in the East are to be taken up; we have to hear how the Neocæsareans, while using litanies and processional devotions, “disliked his encouragement of monasticism and the vigil-services which he had introduced;” his antiphonal Psalms and his misereres, and what led him to apply to his own case the old fable of the wolf and the lamb. The next phase in the Eastern Church history contains an important moral. Certain Apollinarian heretics had denied that the Blessed Virgin was the Mother of God; and as a reaction to this heresy, in Thrace and then in Arabia, the women “placed cakes on a stool covered with linen, offering them up to S. Mary, and then eating them as sacrificial food.” S. Epiphanius denounced both the extremes of this error. In the west the question of hypostases was being investigated under Pope Damasus, and on this subject S. Jerome first came into note. “A Dalmatian by birth, who had in early life been an advocate of Rome, had been baptized and had spent some time at Trèves and Aquileia, was now living as a monk in Syria, with two companions. The Syrian monks importuned him to confess the three Hypostases.” S. Jerome wrote to Rome on the subject, and so came out into public life. S. Basil dies, and S. Gregory Nazianzen goes to Constantinople, where Sabellian and Arian both joined issue against him. He was insulted in his own church of the Anastasia, and became, through his lowly de-

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 149—150.



meanour and quiet habits, a mark for public scorn. "They had churches, and the people, he had God and the Angels; they had wealth, he had faith; they menaced, he prayed; his was but a little flock, but it was screened from the wolves, and some of the wolves might become sheep."<sup>1</sup> We all know how, during the sitting of the Council of Constantinople, he retired from his unthankful post. The parting words of his farewell oration are literally given by Mr. Bright. "They lose not God who abandon their thrones, rather they win a throne above. Little children, keep the deposit; remember how I was stoned. The grace of our LORD JESUS CHRIST be with you all."<sup>2</sup>

Just before the resignation of S. Gregory, Meletius of Antioch had conferred the diaconate upon S. John Chrysostom, of whose studies and early life a short notice occurs in the work before us; but ere we can follow his fortunes, another great personage is brought upon the scene. He is thus introduced: "There was now in Rome a professor of rhetoric, about thirty years of age, named Augustine. He was born in the city of Numidia, in 354, and was formally made a catechumen in his infancy, but not baptized. His boyhood was bold and vicious."<sup>3</sup> This leads to an account of Manicheism, of S. Austin's visit to Milan, the relations of S. Ambrose and Symmachus, which finally results in the conversion of S. Augustine. The double resistance which S. Ambrose offered to Justina is very well told, and his celebrated Palm Sunday sermon related with no common vigour. So again both calmness and courage: the people were set to sing hymns, composed by S. Ambrose, and "to chant psalms antiphonally after the manner of the East. He knew 'how mighty a strain' was the doxology to FATHER, SON, and SPIRIT, which 'made all who sang it teachers.'"<sup>4</sup> A word must be said upon the much controverted Ambrosian miracles. The new church, the Ambrosian, wanted some relics of martyrs; S. Ambrose bid men dig before the chancel screen of SS. Felix and Nabor. We use Mr. Bright's words.

"Two skeletons, with a quantity of blood—so he writes to his sister—were found, carried to S. Fausta's, watched there all night, and taken up next day for transfer to the Ambrosian, as the bodies of S. Gervase and S. Protase, of whose martyrdom some old men had heard. As the procession moved along a blind man named Severus, who had been a butcher, touched the hem of the pall, cried out that he had received sight, and called on those who knew him to test his words. Other wondrous cures were spoken of in a sermon preached that day by Ambrose."<sup>5</sup>

S. Austin, as well as Paulinus, both testify to the truth of this account; and it is impossible to overrate the influence which it had

<sup>1</sup> P. 165.

<sup>4</sup> P. 192.

<sup>2</sup> P. 174.

<sup>5</sup> P. 192.

<sup>3</sup> P. 182.

in stopping Justina's persecution of S. Ambrose and restoring him to his proper rights.

And now for want of space our narrative must stop: fragmentary and broken as it has been, we have tried to show some specimens of Mr. Bright's book in chronological sequence, but for the remainder of our paper we must be content with giving his opinion upon events, well known indeed to every student of ecclesiastical history, but appearing to the general reader almost meaningless when separated from their context.

Among these isolated examples, Mr. Bright's account of the baptism of S. Augustine takes a high place:—

"On the eve of the Easter festival, April 25, 387, the baptistery at Milan witnessed a memorable sight. After the series of lessons usual on Holy Saturday, S. Augustine and his son Adeodatus, with Alypius, were led to the font, where a priest and deacon attended on S. Ambrose: with faces turned westward, they renounced 'the devil and his works, the world, its luxury, its pleasures,' and then turned eastward in recognition of CHRIST. Ambrose performed the solemn benediction of the font; each candidate descended into it, was asked, 'Dost thou believe in GOD the FATHER Almighty?' answered 'I believe,' and was immersed in the water, and professed in like manner his faith 'in our LORD JESUS CHRIST and His Cross,' and 'in the HOLY SPIRIT,' and was immersed a second and third time. Ambrose then anointed the head of each, with a prayer that it might be 'unto life eternal.' Their feet were washed, they put on their white vestments, received 'the spiritual seal,' whereby CHRIST *confirmed* them, and were led in procession up the church, chanting the 43rd Psalm, while Augustine's happiness overflowed in tears. They saw the altar in its fair array decked for the Easter Communion, and were at once admitted to the highest privileges of the Church."—P. 198.

In a ritualist point of view we have never read a passage that so brings before the mind all the accessories of the administration of Holy Baptism in the early Church. Of S. Epiphanius's tour in Palestine during the raging of the Origenistic controversy many very apposite illustrations are given, of which we select one:—

"On another occasion, when on his way to celebrate service with John at Bethel, Epiphanius found on a village church door a curtain on which was painted a figure of CHRIST, or of a saint. The sight offended his rigid scruples, and being wont to take his own course with small regard for circumstances, he forthwith tore the curtain, and advised that it should be used as a shroud for the poor. The keepers of the church naturally observed, 'If he *will* tear our curtain, he ought to give us another.' 'So I will,' said Epiphanius; and he did in fact send them the best he could procure."—P. 216.

The Origen controversy affords many little historical episodes, such as the interview that the "Tall Brothers" (three Nitrian monks, who were Origenists,) had with Theophilus: "Theophilus

ordered them to be expelled, when they came to remonstrate, his eyes flashed, his face became livid, he threw his episcopal pall round the neck of Ammonius, (one of the three,) struck him on the face with open palm and clenched fist, cried, 'Heretic, anathematize Origen!' "<sup>1</sup> We are glad to find that S. Cyril, the nephew and successor of Theophilus in the Patriarchate of Alexandria, is cleared by Mr. Bright from all participation in the murder of Hypatia. After a Nitrian monk had been put to death for hitting the Prefect of Alexandria, Orestes, with a stone, the history continues: "Then follows a yet darker tragedy. Hypatia was supposed to have embittered Orestes against Cyril: and some fiery zealots, headed by a reader of the Church, named Peter, dragged her to the Cæsarium, and surpassed all the horrors that it had ever witnessed, by stripping their victim, killing her with potsherds, and tearing her limb from limb. Cyril was no party to this hideous deed, but it was the work of men whose passions he had originally called out."<sup>2</sup> One of the noblest doctrinal passages in the book is elicited by the Nestorian heresy, and one which is to the student of inestimable value, for it gives the local reference in the notes to each of the works of the fathers who are named in the text. "S. Cyril," says Mr. Bright,

"Set forth the unity of CHRIST's person in his seventeenth Paschal homily, without naming Constantinople or Nestorius. He spoke of the Blessed Virgin as '*Mother of God*.' This title, mostly in the form of Theotocos, had been used by Tertullian, Origen, S. Alexander, Eusebius, Constantine, S. Athanasius, S. Cyril of Jerusalem, S. Basil, the Gregories, S. Ambrose, Theophilus, Atticus and others. S. Hippolytus, S. Chrysostom, whose preaching Nestorius loved to imitate, not to speak of S. Hilary, and S. Augustine, had used equivalent language. The word was cherished by Catholics, not primarily for the sake of the Blessed Virgin,—although of course it did express her matchless dignity among human creatures,—but as the symbol of her SON's Divine Majesty, as enforcing the reality of the Incarnation, and so maintaining inviolate the Gospel scheme for a world's recovery. For if the SON of Mary were not literally GOD, He could not bring heaven and earth into unity; to have two SAVIOURS would be equivalent to having none."—P. 312.

An exquisite translation is given of the Sermon of Proclus, and the reply of Nestorius is given with the utmost fairness. The Nestorian Controversy must be reckoned one of the strong-holds of Mr. Bright's masterly exposition of the doctrines of the universal Church, for he recognizes very clearly, as every Church historian must do, that history is but the living representative of doctrine. We take for example the translation of S. Cyril's third letter to Nestorius, as given in our history. "We approach the mystic

<sup>1</sup> P. 239.<sup>2</sup> P. 274.

Eucharist and are sanctified, being made partakers of the Holy Flesh and precious Blood of CHRIST the SAVIOUR of us all. And we do not receive it as common flesh, God forbid ! nor as the flesh of a man who has been sanctified, or connected with the Word according to an union of dignity, or has God dwelling in him ; but we receive it as really life-giving, and as the Word's own proper Flesh, for He being by nature Life, as God did, in becoming one with His own Flesh, render it life-giving."<sup>1</sup> Again, in the explanation given by S. Cyril of his anathematisms to be forwarded to Theodosius, we find him saying in his eleventh article, " We celebrate in our churches, the holy, life-giving, and bloodless Sacrifice, not believing that which is present to be the body of a common man, one of ourselves, nor again the precious Blood : but rather receiving it as having become the proper Body and Blood of the all-quickenings Word. For common flesh cannot quicken, and of this our SAVIOUR Himself bears witness, ' flesh profiteth nothing, it is the Spirit that quickeneth ! ' "<sup>2</sup> S. Cyril felt how closely the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist was entwined round a real belief in the hypostatic union upon which depended the *ὑποούσιον* of the SON of GOD, and what he felt in his day, all true holders of the Nicene Creed must feel now, for the Creed and the Sacrament fall together. And this is the reason why it comes to pass that plain Nestorian tendencies are ever manifested by those who hold mean and low notions of the Church's great oblation, thanksgiving, and commemoration. To revert to the Council of Ephesus, which was presided over by S. Cyril, we can truly say not a more faithful record of its proceedings has ever appeared in print. S. Cyril is not altogether acquitted of blame in not waiting for the arrival of John of Antioch with his fourteen bishops, but the reasons of his delay are fully investigated, and from Mr. Bright's own story it does not appear that S. Cyril was worthy of much censure on this score. At the end of the first section of the Council of Ephesus a very beautiful touch of personal history is given. The day's work was all but done, the sentence of the condemnation of Nestorius

" Was signed by all the bishops : the first signature being ' I, Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria, subscribe to the judgment of the council.' It was now late in the summer evening, the Bishops on issuing from the church, were welcomed with loud applause by the people who had thronged the streets all day. Torches and perfumes were burnt before them, as they proceeded to their several abodes ; and thus ended the first memorable session of the Council of Ephesus. It is interesting to think, that while the bishops were going home that night, after a day of intense excitement, Paulinus of Nola was calmly giving up his soul. His last words breathed forth in a low chant at the hour of vespers, were those of Psalm 132, ' I have prepared a lamp for my CHRIST.'—P. 334.

<sup>1</sup> P. 326.<sup>2</sup> P. 343.

We are bound to give in full Mr. Bright's summary of the character of S. Cyril :—

"He died in June, 444, after a pontificate of thirty-two years, during the last fifteen of which he may be said to have as truly lived for the Hypostatic Union as his mightiest predecessor for the Homousion. Doubtless the fiery spirit, which Cyril could not always restrain, impelled him during this great controversy into some steps which show that he was not an Athanasius. But modern critics of his character have said more than enough on this point, and too little on points of a different kind. Historical justice can never demand that we should take the hardest possible view of his conduct at the opening of the Council of Ephesus, and ignore the noble unselfishness, the patience in explaining over again his own statements, the readiness in welcoming substantial agreement on the part of others, and in a word, the 'power, and love, and self-command,' which made him a true minister of peace in the Reunion of 433. We need not dwell on other instances in which he showed a remarkable forbearance, as when he bore without irritation the schooling of S. Isidore ; on his care for the due probation of aspirants to the priesthood ; his depth and acuteness as a dogmatic theologian ; his faith and thankfulness when treated as a deposed prisoner. The way *not* to understand him, is to substitute a haughty and heartless dogmatist, for the ardent, anxious, often the deeply-suffering man, who, against an opponent, strong in sophistry, in court influence, and in Church power, persevered in defending the simple truth of the scriptural and Nicene mystery, that 'the one LORD JESUS CHRIST, was very GOD of very GOD, Who for us men, and for our salvation came down from heaven, and was incarnate, and was made Man.' In proportion as Christians of this age confess their faith in the atoning work of this one CHRIST, they are daily debtors to S. Cyril of Alexandria."—P. 370.

The contest of the "Two Natures" was carried on with increased vigour, the necessary reaction against which found its vent in the somewhat unguarded statements of Eutyches, which caused him to be brought to trial and condemned by a council. The place of S. Cyril in the East could now be truly said to have lapsed to S. Leo in the West ; by his synods as well as by his writings he ably supported the Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation. Then follows the stormy but œcumenical Council of Chalcedon which deposed Dioscorus in its second session, in which also the tome of S. Leo was read, and "was finished amid loud applause, 'Thus we all believe : Peter hath spoken by Leo ; Cyril and Leo have taught alike ; why was not this read at Ephesus ? why did Dioscorus hide it ?'"<sup>1</sup> How did the council end ? The bishop spoke of S. Leo as the appointed guardian of the vine, and "defended the promulgation of his 'tome,' by weighty precedents," yet Mr. Bright thus defines the final influence of the Council of Chalcedon :—

"The relation in which it left the East and West exhibits very clearly

<sup>1</sup> P. 403.

what could, and what could not be done in the fifth century, by the greatest man who had ever held the greatest of bishoprics. Leo could preside by his legates at Chalcedon, he could secure abundant expressions of reverence, his teaching could be hailed as worthy to rank with that of S. Cyril and S. Athanasius; his legates, with the co-operation of State officers, could persuade the Council to amend its definition of the faith. But his judgments, whether as to an individual, or as to a doctrine, were first reviewed and then confirmed, his version of the Nicene Canons was rejected as corrupt; a canon which he could not but dislike was enacted in spite of his legates' protest, and enforced throughout the East in spite of his own; and he himself was content to denounce it, not on the ground of 'S. Peter's prerogative,' but simply in the name of the Council of Nicæa."—P. 416.

With deep thankfulness, mingled with a regret that our space precludes further illustration, we part with Mr. Bright's "History of the Church." It is in our opinion the *very best* for its size that has appeared in our own or in any other language. It supplies a deficiency that has long been felt, viz., the want of a sound, full, yet cheap book, detailing the controversies and the victories of the Church, during the period of the four œcumenical councils. To the student it is indeed an invaluable boon, for any man taking this book chapter by chapter, and working out honestly the references contained in the foot-notes, would gain such a knowledge of ecclesiastical history, as would stand him in stead all his life long, and enable him to argue on disputed points of doctrine, with the weapons furnished by the profoundest theologians of the profoundest age of the Catholic Church.

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## NORSE AND GAELIC TALES.

1. *Popular Tales from the Norse.* By GEORGE WEBB DASENT, D.C.L. Second Edition enlarged. Edinburgh. 1860. Edmonston and Douglas.
2. *Popular Tales of the West Highlands, orally collected, with a translation.* By J. F. CAMPBELL. Two vols. Edinburgh. 1860. Edmonston and Douglas.

THE authentic history of the ancient world is confined almost entirely to those nations of mankind who inhabited the regions bordering on the Mediterranean Sea. We read the history of the Hebrews and Egyptians, of the Greeks and Romans, and fragments of the histories of other nations which came in contact with them; and this we call Ancient History, whereas, in truth, it is

but the history of peoples who occupied one small portion of the earth's surface. The classical training of our schools and universities has a tendency to fix our eyes too exclusively on ancient Greece and Rome, so that we forget that other nations, great, and ancient, and polished, as well as barbarous and uncivilized, had their day, and played their part, in the history of our race. While our ancestors were yet in the woods, India had edifices whose ruins now excite the admiration of Europe, a literature which claims chairs in our modern universities, and a philosophy not less subtle and profound than that of Greece itself. England was comparatively rude when Christopher Columbus discovered a new world, peopled, not by barbarous savages, but by a people for ages civilized and cultivated by all the arts of polished life.

People are now awaking to the importance, not only to philology, but to theology also, of disentombing and studying the literature—and where there is no literature, the floating traditions—of those races whose story lay outside the domain of classical antiquity. To what but the common origin of our race from a single centre can we attribute the remarkable fact, that stories from the Bible and from Herodotus are repeated, with substantially the same features, though with the varying hues of various climates, in Hindostan and Mexico, in the wilds of Norway, and among the glens of the Scottish Highlands? The old theory, which explained all such coincidences by the simple solution that they were somehow copies from Hebrew, Greek, or Latin models, can maintain itself no longer in the face of our higher standards of historic criticism. The labours of the brothers Grimm on the Continent, and of Mr. Dasent and Mr. Campbell among ourselves, not to mention other names, clearly show, to quote Mr. Dasent, “not only that there was no such wholesale copying at all, but that, in many cases, the despised and vernacular tongues have preserved the common traditions far more faithfully than the writers of Greece and Rome.”

We do not think it necessary to say much about Mr. Dasent's very interesting book, as it has been for some time before the public, and is pretty well known. Mr. Campbell's book is only two months old, but we are quite sure that it will turn out as great a favourite as its Norse predecessor. We have read it very attentively, and are inclined to agree with the ‘Times’ reviewer, that it will prove “one of the greatest literary surprises of the nineteenth century.” Mr. Campbell is in every way fitted for the task which he imposed upon himself. He is a scion of a noble family, which has often played a conspicuous, if not always a loyal, part in the history of Scotland. He received a liberal education and possesses a cultivated mind. He has travelled in most parts of the world, and unites habits of minute observation and keen reflection with a disposition which is evidently genial and cheerful. Above all, he is a native of the country whose traditions and legends—or rather,

portions of whose traditions and legends—he has collected, and clothed in an English dress ; and he can speak its language with ease and fluency. We have compared his translations with the original—for he has wisely given the tales in Gaelic and English—and we can testify to the general fidelity of his rendering.

The following is Mr. Campbell's own account of how he first took to collecting these tales :—

“It so happened that a piper was the instructor of my babyhood. He was a stalwart, kindly, gentle man, whose face is often before me, though he has long since gone to his rest. From him I first heard a few of the tales in this collection. They had almost faded from my memory, but I remembered their existence, and I knew where to search, so I began at the beginning of 1859 by writing to my Highland friends, of all degrees, for stories of all kinds, true stories excepted . . . I begged for the very words used by the people who told the stories, with nothing added, or omitted, or altered. Those who could wrote Gaelic, those who could not did their best in English—translated at first or second-hand from Gaelic ; and when I had so gathered many versions of a story, I thought I might safely conclude that it had been known in the country for many years, and was essentially a popular tale.

“My next step was to go at Easter to a Highland district, near to the lowlands, where a gamekeeper had marked down a lot of talebearers, and I was soon convinced that there was plenty of game, though hard to get.

“This difficulty may be worth some explanation, for it exists everywhere, and bears on the collection of tales everywhere. Highland peasants and fishermen, especially those dwelling near the lowlands, are shy and proud, and even more peculiarly sensitive to ridicule than peasants elsewhere. Many have a lurking belief in the truth of the stories which they tell, and a rooted conviction that any one with a better education will laugh at the belief, and the story, and the narrator and his language, if he should be weak enough to venture on English, and betray his knowledge of Sgeultachd (storiology) and his creed. He cannot imagine that any one out of his own class can possibly be amused by his frivolous pastimes. No one ever has hitherto . . .

“The first step, then, towards the acquisition of a story is to establish confidence. It may be that the would-be collector sees before him a strapping lad dressed in the garb of a west country fisherman—a rough blue bonnet, jacket, and trousers. He steps out and ranges up alongside. The Highlander glances from under his bushy eyebrows, and sees with his sharp grey eyes that the new comer is a stranger ; he looks rather like a Saxon : Highland curiosity is so strong, and he longs to ask whence he comes ; but politeness is stronger, and it would be uncivil to ask questions at once. So with a nervous kick of one foot, and a quiet shy glance, the fisherman jerks out, ‘It’s a fine day.’ ‘Tha n<sup>1</sup> latha briagh’ (the day is fine), replies the stranger ; and, as he speaks, the whole face and manner of his companion change as if by magic ; doubt and hesitation, suspicion and curiosity, become simple wonder ;

<sup>1</sup> This, we suppose, is a misprint, for ‘n—un latha—the (literally, one) day.



his eyes and his heart open wide at the sound of his native tongue, and he exclaims, 'You have (speak) Gaelic! you will take my excuse, by your leave, but what part of the Gaeldom are you from?' And then, having found out all that is to be discovered, the ice being broken, and confidence established, it oozes out gradually that the fisherman knows a story, and after much persuasion he tells it, while he rows the gentleman who can talk Gaelic across a Highland loch. At parting, he adds that he has only told it to please a 'Gael,' and that he would not have said one word to a 'Gall' (stranger<sup>1</sup>). But the man who is fluent in his boat, is shy and awkward when set down to repeat his story for transcribing, and it is only when set with his neighbours whom he knows, that his story is put on paper.

"Or it may be an old dame in a tall white mutch, with a broad black silk band, a red cloak, and clean white apron. She is seventy, and can walk ten miles; she has known all the neighbouring families for generations. If you can claim cousinship with any, she is your friend; but she *will* praise the ancestors, and tell of the adventures of Rob Roy Gregorach, the last of the freebooters. 'But, Mary, can you say, Murachag and Mionachag?' 'Huch! my dear, that is an ursgeul (tale), that is nonsense. The Good Being bless you, I knew your grandmother,' &c., &c. So one must rest contented with the fact, that old Mary knows one tale, and probably many more, which a week's persuasion might perhaps extract.

"Or it may be a pretty lass, whose eye twinkles with intelligence at every catch-word, thrown out as a bait, but whom nothing will induce to confess that she knows the foolish tales which the Minister has condemned.

"Or it is an old wandering vagabond of a tinker, who has no roof but the tattered covering of his tent . . . there he lies, an old man past eighty, who has been a soldier, and 'has never seen a school;' too proud to beg, too old to work; surrounded by boxes and horn spoons, with shaggy hair and naked feet, as perfect a nomad as the wildest Lapp or Arab in the whole world. It is easy to make friends with such men. A kind word in their native language is all that is required, but to get their stories is another affair. 'Donald, did you ever see the like of *this*?' Up starts the old man on his elbow,—'Och! Och! that's a fairy arrow, I have seen that; och! och! no fairy arrow will ever hit the man who has that—no fire will ever burn the house where that is. That's lucky, well! well!' and the old man sinks down on his bed of fern. But the elf shot has hit the mark, and started a train of thought, which leads at last to a wild weird story; but before that story can be written, the whole tribe decamp, and are lost for a time."

And in this way Mr. Campbell managed to collect a number of tales, which fill two good-sized volumes; and he promises to give

<sup>1</sup> Gall does not, as Mr. Campbell translates it, mean a stranger ἀπλῶς, but a lowlander. Why the highlander calls the lowlander "Gall," which seems a modification of "Gael" suggests a curious speculation, which, however, we have no time or space to pursue at present. The highlander has a most magnificent contempt for "the spindle-shanked Gall," as he calls him, and believes himself capable of thrashing half-a-dozen lowlanders any day.

the public some more, in the event of their receiving the present collection favourably. Nothing, indeed, can be more praiseworthy than Mr. Campbell's conscientious and painstaking labour in collecting, comparing, and arranging his tales. Ladies and gentlemen, Presbyterian ministers and parochial schoolmasters, game-keepers, farm labourers, and fishermen, were all employed as Mr. Campbell's auxiliaries; while he himself, in addition to his duties as general superintendent, roved about in quest of tales or illustrative information: now enticing a tale from a Highlander, as he rowed him over the bosom of some lonely lake; now making merry with some tale-tellers at a roadside inn; now accosting an old Highland tinker in the streets of London, and wheedling a tale out of him before they parted; now chatting pleasantly and comparing notes with an old woman in the Isle of Man.

It is still a common custom in the Highlands—though it is gradually receding, with many other old customs, before the inroad of Southern ideas—to while away the long winter nights by the recitation of popular tales and legends. Old and young resort in crowds to the houses of those who are regarded as good reciters. Grates, except in a few isolated instances, are new-fangled inventions, which the conservative spirit of the Highland peasant despises. A blazing fire of wood or peat burns on the hearth, and diffuses a genial warmth all through the room. Chairs, stools, benches, and tables are soon occupied by eager listeners, and the round of stories begins to circulate. The best story-tellers generally lead off, but the most timid gradually pluck up courage to tell a story, as they become infected with the enthusiasm inspired by the recollection of the old heroic times, when Fingal fought and Ossian sang; when savage giants were overcome by the superior cunning of the Gael, and when fairies in their green dresses scoured the hills and glens by moonlight, and danced and feasted by day in caves beneath the hills. So lively an impression do these tales often make on the imagination, that both reciters and listeners often shed tears, or give way to immoderate laughter, as the pathetic or the ludicrous predominates. In thinly peopled districts of the Highlands, whose populations are too poor to support resident representatives of the useful arts, a tailor or shoemaker will now and then be sent for to supply the wants of a family. He lodges and boards in the family as long as his services are required, and then removes to another house, and so on, till a whole district is clothed or shod. These itinerant tailors and shoemakers are generally very popular men, for they are in most cases good tale-tellers, and always enliven their stay with a few *sgèulachdan* every evening. Thus it frequently happens that the work of two or three days extends over a fortnight; but the workman and his employers are mutually satisfied, and so it is all right.

The Highlanders have always been famed for their hospitality;

but the stranger who can establish his character as a good *sgeulach-dair* is especially a welcome guest, and is heartily invited, if he is otherwise agreeable, to stay as long as he likes. Evening after evening the members of the nearest families congregate at the house where the stranger is lodged, to hear his tales; and so absorbing is the interest excited, that sometimes the audience do not disperse till an early hour in the morning, when some of them have perhaps a lonely walk of three or four miles to their homes—no joke, when the imagination has been strung to the highest pitch of excitement, and the solitary pedestrian, mayhap, has to run the gauntlet of some old churchyard or haunted spot. Sometimes three or four companions will escort a timid lad home. When this escort is not available, a ghost-fearing youth will trust, *κατὰ τὸν δεύτερον πλοῦν*, to his legs, and tear away at a spanking gallop, without ever looking behind him. We have known an instance of a farm-servant galloping for five miles at the top of his speed, to escape from some unearthly being who kept whistling close behind him, and now and then touching his streaming hair. When he arrived at his destination, half dead with fright, panting with his race and *minus* a shoe, he discovered that his relentless pursuer was nothing else than a silk ribbon, which depended from his highland bonnet, and fluttered in the breeze.

One of the chief difficulties which Mr. Campbell encountered in collecting his tales arose from the misdirected piety of some of the Presbyterian ministers, principally those belonging to the Free Kirk. The religion of the more remote parts of the Highlands is divided between the Roman Catholics, the Establishment, and the Free Kirk. In the Western Islands, and through the entire length and breadth of Ross-shire, Caithness, and Sutherlandshire, the "Scottish Episcopal Church" has hardly any adherents—its very name is scarcely known. The ruthless sacrilege of the so-called Reformation in Scotland seems to have brought down a curse upon that country, which forbids the Church from ever fixing its roots in its soil again. Except in the counties of Aberdeen, Forfar, Perth, and Kincardine, and under the protection of the Stuarts of Appin, the Church in Scotland since the Revolution can scarcely be said to have existed. The cruel persecutions which were the result of the '45 do not sufficiently account for this remarkable fact. We fear it must be attributed to the simple, but forgotten truth, that since the religious Revolution of Scotland in the sixteenth century, the Church has never presented herself to that nation in her real character and beauty. She has always been "halting between two opinions," grasping with one hand the gates of the Heavenly City, and with the other serving Mammon. She has never thrown herself generously on the people of Scotland, and opened to them all her treasury of gifts. She has always approached them in the train of the world, either in its trappings and

pageantry, or in its servile expediency; never in her own Divine beauty and strength. Even when she was established, extempore prayers and black gowns were very common,—perhaps as common as a liturgy and surplice. Indeed, we could point out a wealthy congregation in Perthshire, where, till within the last eleven years, a dignitary went through *all* the service in a black gown. The success of S. Ninian's, Perth, S. John the Evangelist's, Aberdeen, and the two mission churches in Dundee, shows that the Scottish people are *not* opposed to the Church, when she openly avows her character and mission. The bane of her progress has been the trimming policy of her rulers; their constant endeavour to please God and the world at the same time. If she is to escape from the intestine strife which threatens at present to overwhelm her, it can only be by boldly and courageously avowing her principles, and leaving God to take care of the consequences. This she has *never* done, except in a very few instances. A Church whose "foundations are upon the holy hills" could never have been so thoroughly rooted out, as is the case with the Scottish Church, if she had done her duty. The Scotch, and the Highlanders in particular, are a peculiarly impressible people; so much so, that even now, as these Popular Tales abundantly show, the ancient faith, in spite of its violent overthrow, has still some of its torn roots clinging to the Highlander's heart, which ever and anon shoots out a slender sprout above the ground. He is sufficiently Presbyterian to include in the name of "sermon" all his ideas of religious worship, but he is sufficiently Catholic to believe that, if he draws a circle around him, and makes the sign of the Cross in the Name of the TRINITY, no evil spirit can step within that circle to do him harm. This is only one out of many instances which show that the creed of his forefathers, in the agony of its death-throe, left some of its fibres buried deep in the soil of the Highlander's mind; and if the Church is ever again to recover her hold upon him, it must be by entwining her roots among those buried fibres, and not by dressing out in a surplice a high-and-dry creed, which shocks his Presbyterian prejudices without appealing to his Catholic instincts.

The restive, imaginative Highlander does not take kindly to that strait-laced Puritanism, which "strains at a gnat and swallows a camel;" which denounces it a deadly sin to take a walk on Sunday, or to play an instrument, though the music be sacred; and which forbids the old custom of reciting popular tales, because they are evidently the work of the devil, there being no allusion in them to justification by faith, or the damnable errors of Popery. The Highlander's imagination is impressed, and his reason readily convinced, by an appeal to the supernatural. Let those whom he is taught to respect and reverence tell him that it is wicked to recite a *sgeulachd*, and the chances are that he will never tell one again. The Presbyterian

ministers have so far succeeded in their crusade against Highland tales, that many Highlanders, especially if they are members of the Free Kirk, would think they were selling their souls to the devil by telling a tale. One poor man told Mr. Campbell that he would not tell him a tale if he rewarded him with a landed estate. Mr. Campbell has some very sensible remarks on this stupid bigotry; and we quite agree with him when he says that—

“at all events, the old spirit of popular romance is surely not an evil spirit to be exorcised, but rather a good genius to be controlled and directed. Surely stories in which a mother’s blessing, well earned, leads to success; in which the poor rise to be princes, and the weak and courageous overcome giants; in which wisdom excels brute force; surely even such frivolities are better pastime than a solitary whiskey-bottle, or sleep, or grim silence. . . . I have never heard a story whose point was obscenity publicly told in a Highland cottage; and I believe that such are rare. I *have* heard them where the rough polish of modern ways has replaced the polished roughness of ‘wild’ Highlanders; and that where even the bagpipes have been almost abolished as profane.”

But Highland tales are not “frivolities.” To say nothing of their value in a philological and ethnological point of view, they contain a great deal of wisdom, and are always entertaining. Some of the tales take the form of poetry, and are chanted by the narrator; others are recited in a kind of measured prose. Some are traditionary legends of the “Fein” (Fingalians); and many of these are poems of superior merit, far surpassing in beauty the translations of Macpherson, and recited round many a Highland hearth long before Macpherson was born. Some, again, relate to fairies and giants; and others are wild romances, with the scenes and characters shifting from the Highlands to Ireland, and from Ireland to Lochlain, (Scandinavia.) Others are popular histories of events which happened within the last few centuries. Of these, however, Mr. Campbell has not given any, as not coming within the scope of his work. One of these tales relates how the MacLean of that day exposed his wife on the Lady Rock, because she had made his servant blow up one of the ships of the Spanish Armada, for jealousy of the Spanish lady who was on board. There is also an abundance of children’s tales, of which Mr. Campbell has given several. Mr. Campbell has also given specimens of riddles, puzzles, and proverbs, of which there are great numbers in the popular lore of the Highlands.

Certain professions were for generations hereditary in certain families, who were supposed to excel all others by a supernatural endowment. There were, for instance, distinct families of bards and physicians. Mr. Campbell gives a wild legend of one of these hereditary physicians, called Farquhar; and Mr. Cosmo Innes, in a note, shows that the legend is founded on an historical fact.

Some of the cures prescribed by these physicians are very amusing. Here are two:—

“The wife of a man who was suffering from rheumatism consulted the Olladh Muilleach (the Mull physician). He (the physician) went to see him, bringing a birch rod; and having got his patient out of bed, ordered his wife to lay the birch rod smartly on his back, and chase him till the doctor would say it was enough. He would not allow her to cease till the poor man perspired freely, and became supple and free from pain.”

Whether this was a *bond fide* cure of course we do not venture to say; but a real, genuine cure, not unlike the above, came within the writer's knowledge many years ago in the Highlands. An elderly man had been afflicted with rheumatism for a long time, and had gone on crutches for months. One day, as he was out in the fields, a vicious bull bore down upon him. The cripple hopped away on his crutches as fast as he could. Seeing, at last, that the bull was close upon him, he flung away his crutches in very desperation, took to his heels, and found that he had the perfect use of his limbs. We do not suppose, however, that modern physicians are likely to belabour their patients with a birch rod, or to expose them to the onset of an enraged bull.

It is curious that the above cure through the instrumentality of the birch rod, has its counterpart in the Arabian Nights, where the sage Dooban makes King Voonan play at ball till he perspires, and absorbs some medicaments from the handle of the “Golfstick.” Are we to infer from this that the ancients knew more of the nature of rheumatic affections than the moderns? or is it an additional link in the chain of historical evidence, which points to the far East as the indigenous home of the Celtic family? Many of the stories in Mr. Campbell's collection have cousins and cousins-german in the Arabian Nights.

Here is another cure by the Mull physician, which displays much simplicity in the patient, and much common sense and quaint humour in the doctor:—

“Another man went to him for a cure for sore eyes. The doctor examined his eyes, but told him he was likely to suffer in a more serious manner from horns that would soon appear on his knees. The man seemed much alarmed, and asked if there was any way in which he could prevent such a calamity. ‘No way,’ said the doctor, ‘but by keeping your hands on your knees for three weeks. At the end of that period come to me, that I may see how you get on.’ The man did as he was advised, and went to the doctor.

“‘Well,’ said the doctor, ‘have the horns made their appearance?’ ‘No,’ said the man.

“‘Have you attended to my advice?’ said the doctor. ‘Oh, yes,’ said the patient. ‘I have kept my hands continually, night and day, on my knees.’

“ ‘How are your eyes?’ said the doctor. ‘My eyes are quite well,’ said the man. ‘Very well,’ said the doctor, ‘go home and keep your mind easy about the horns, and don’t rub your eyes.’ ”

The descendants of this physician are said to be still in Islay, and still resorted to for their medical skill.

The Highlands have their Bœotia, called Assynt, the inhabitants of which are proverbial for their stupidity. There are many stories of the same character as that of the man who, when asked if his house was a good one, brought one of the stones as a sample.

“The Assyndiach was once sent by his wife to take her spinning-wheel to the turner’s, to get it mended. In coming back, the wind set the wheel in motion: so he threw the whole thing down, saying, ‘Go, and welcome.’

“He struck across the hills, and reaching home, asked his wife if she had got her wheel yet.

“‘No,’ said she.

“‘Well, I thought not,’ said he, ‘for I took the short cut.’ ”

“A traveller once stopped at his (the Assynt man’s) house, to ask the hour. He lifted a large sun-dial from its stand, and put it into his lap, that he might see for himself.”

“Seeing a four-wheeled carriage, he exclaimed, ‘Well done, the little wheels; the big ones won’t overtake them to-day.’ ”

“He once took his child to be baptized. The minister said he doubted if he were fit to hold the child for baptism.

“‘Oh, to be sure I am, though it was as heavy as a stack.’

“This answer showing little wit, the minister asked him how many Commandments there were.

“‘Twenty,’ said he, boldly.

“‘Oh, that will never do; go back and learn your questions.’ (Shorter Catechism.)

“Half way home he met a man.

“‘How many Commandments will there be? There must be thirty, for the minister was not content with twenty.’

“He was set to rights on this point; and turning back, (it was winter,) he thought the Clergyman would not refuse him this time.

“He had slipped the child into his great-coat sleeve, and tied up the cuff with a string; but the string got loose, and the bairn fell out, and the clever father never heard it, for it fell into a snow-wreath. In the church he discovered his loss, and said to the clergyman, ‘I am very sorry, but not a bit of Kenneth have I.’ (No wise man will ever name an unchristened child.) The unlucky infant nearly died in the snow, and I do not know that the Sacrament was administered.”

Another version of this story is told by Dean Ramsay. It may be necessary to explain to some of our readers that there are no godparents in the Presbyterian mode of administering Baptism. The father holds his child in his arms, while the minister gives him a long lecture on his parental responsibilities, and examines him in

the Shorter Catechism. If he does not answer satisfactorily, his child is not baptized.

We hope to continue our remarks on the subject in our next number. For the present we will conclude with one more story of the simple Assyndiach.

"Seeing a hare for the first time, he backed from it, repeating the LORD's Prayer, till he fell into a duck-pond, from which his wife drew him with difficulty."

According to the Highlander's creed, you should never turn your back on an enemy, be he man or ghost. If you think yourself no match for him, retreat slowly, but always facing him, so as to be ready to receive him, should he attack you. This adventure with the hare is like the "Seven Swabians" in Grimm; and that, again, resembles the old ballad called the Hunting of the Hare.

## HOME LIFE OF ENGLISH LADIES.

*Home Life of English Ladies in the Seventeenth Century.* By the Author of "Magdalen Stafford." London: Bell and Daldy.

It has been charged against the later English Church that she has proved herself incapable of producing saints. Those jewels of special rarity and purity which it was the grateful work of the Bride of CHRIST in earlier ages to prepare for His crown of glory are not, it is said, to be found in our communion. Now this charge is up to a certain point true, and in so far as it is just, it may be attributed to two causes; first, to the fact that the model of the Christian saint has never been set before our people; the counsels of perfection till within the last few years having been never taught, scarcely even heard of. Secondly, because the very name of saint has fallen into disrepute, owing to the more than doubtful character of much of the mediæval hagiology.

But in another sense the charge is altogether untrue. We are very sure that during all these years of apparent barrenness there were, and at the present time, in religious houses and elsewhere, there are, many hidden saints of GOD who in silence and humility are ripening to a glorious harvest; and there was one period when the existence of very many such blessed persons was patent to the eyes of all. In the seventeenth century there were great aspirations after a high degree of holiness on the part of men and women alike, and that with very considerable success, and the records of their spiritual history which have reached us are peculiarly interest-



ing, because the whole movement was so thoroughly Catholic, although with certain features of its own. We have a witness to the truth of this statement in the unassuming little work which stands at the head of our pages. The "Home Life of English Ladies of the seventeenth century," does not profess in the first instance to give a history of women specially distinguished for religion in those days. It desires only, as the preface tells us, "to draw a picture of the ordinary interests and pursuits of English ladies of a past century." It happens, however, of necessity that if the memory is preserved for two or three hundred years of persons who were not celebrated in any public capacity or by their own talent, they must have been noteworthy for that sanctity which so far outlives all human fame. In the volume before us, we find that nearly all the women mentioned in it have been rescued from the common oblivion, by the fame of their peculiar holiness, thereby rendering the book a proof of the fact we seek to establish, that the English Church can and does produce saints, and that she has done so notably in the midst of the most licentious age of these later times.

Our first glance at "Home Life" recalled to us a very excellent work of a similar description, published some fifteen years ago, and entitled, "English Churchwomen of the seventeenth century," and on comparing it with "Home Life," we cannot but feel surprised that the author of the latter work should have gone over so much ground already occupied. Several of the lives recorded in both are the same, and many of the letters and other documents used in the compilation are found in both alike.

We can hardly suppose that the author of the present work was not aware of the existence of its predecessor, but it might almost be so inferred from the similarity of the records. There is, however, one distinction between the volumes which is sufficiently marked. In the first of these works there is an evident intention throughout to compare the Anglican model of sanctity with the Roman, to the disparagement of the latter, whilst in "Home Life" there is obviously no other intention than to draw a picture of quiet modest Englishwomen of that age in the midst of their home affections and duties. We shall give a brief sketch of the most remarkable chapters noticed in this work, reserving to ourselves the right to judge of the real extent of their progress in the religious life. The first on the list in "Home Life" are the Evelyn family given *en masse*. The author apparently makes little distinction in the goodness of father, mother, and children. But there is one member of the family who stands out pre-eminently with all those signs and tokens of saintliness which are the invariable characteristics in all communions of those called of God to high devotion. Mary Evelyn (who is also one of the examples given in the earlier book) passed a life on earth of but nineteen years, and she had every quality which could make this world attractive to her; she was beautiful, witty,

talented, and she excelled in the accomplishments most valued in society ; she had warm friends among the rich and great, who introduced her at court, where she excited universal admiration, whilst the still sweeter incense of honourable love was offered to her again and again. But from all the seductive pleasures thus opened to her she turned, with the longing desire to live a virgin life in communion with her God alone : from her earliest youth she was in the habit of spending whole days in fasting and prayer, and never failed to prepare herself for the Blessed Sacrament with an ardour and austerity which would astonish the most rigorous amongst us in these days. She lived a retired life—absolutely refusing a high place at Court, which was offered to her. Even in the midst of that godly family we read that Mary Evelyn had to endure the common trial of the saints of God, in the restraint and denial of her highest aspiration. One of her most ardent desires was to place herself under the direction of some priest whose counsels might help her up the steep path to the difficult heights she sought to attain ; but this her father refused, in the mistaken idea that her conscience, already so tender, would become over scrupulous under such a system. On her deathbed alone, when direction could no longer avail, was she allowed any such privilege, and then she thankfully used it for confession before receiving her last communion. It is mentioned in “The English Churchwomen of the Seventeenth Century,” that after her death a letter was found written by her to a divine, not named, begging of him to become her “ghostly counsellor,” and praying “that God would give her courage to tell him all her faults ;” thus showing how strong was the desire she had yielded in obedience to her father, and how to the last she retained the hope that he would yet allow her the privilege she craved. This reverent obedience to her parents, which never failed, was tested at last in a manner which terminated in bringing their sorest trial upon them. When she was about eighteen, her friend, Lady Falkland, who was passionately attached to her, persuaded Mr. and Mrs. Evelyn to allow her to take their daughter with her to London for the winter. Mary soon, however, found that she could not endure the life of gaiety into which she was brought, and wrote entreating her parents again and again to allow her to return home ; they were, however, allured by the advantages she derived in the metropolis, especially in the cultivation of her rare talent for music, and compelled her to remain : the result was fatal to her mortal existence, though not to the spiritual life, which shone the brighter amid temptation. When at last she was allowed to return home, she brought with her the seeds of a deadly malady—small-pox—and died seven days after, with all the joy of one whose home had never been on earth.

Mary Evelyn owed much, no doubt, to the high devotional feeling of her mother, and the holy discipline in which she brought up

her children ; but we may judge from the following passage referring to Mrs. Evelyn, that this system of education was really not the exception, but the rule.

"The prominence given to the religious element in the education of her children, were quite in accordance with the tone of thought which prevailed amongst the more excellent of her century. Religious instruction, far from being confined to a stated lesson imparted in a short hour spared from accomplishments, was the ground-work on which the whole system rested. Habits of self-restraint were early enforced, and a deep sense of moral responsibility inculcated ; for a careless, thoughtless childhood was not by these guides of youth held a meet preparation for a godly and Christian life.

"Anna, Lady Halket, began when young to observe stated days of fasting. From her earliest years she was in the habit of noting down the most remarkable events in her life, tracing the hand of Providence in the ordering of them. To this record she was often glad to have recourse for comfort and encouragement, during the vicissitudes of her sorely-tried life. Her mother's chief care, we are told, had been 'to instruct her children in the principles and practices of religion, teaching them to begin and end every day with prayer and reading a portion of Scripture in order, and daily to attend the church, as often as was occasion to meet there, either for preaching or prayer.'

"In self-discipline Lady Halket made progress betimes. Having in a quarrel with her sister, whilst they were at play, bitten her finger, she was so overwhelmed with remorse, that, after a passion of tears, she resolved, and kept to her resolution, never to join in any games in which she found herself tempted to anger. Upon another occasion, disappointed at being left at home by her mother who had gone out visiting, the young philosopher consoled herself by counting up all the misdeeds of which she might possibly have been guilty, had she accompanied her, and balancing the reproofs they would have cost her against the pleasure she was denied. And so constantly did she train herself in this habit of thought, that 'what she most earnestly desired became indifferent to her, and she observed that she more readily obtained her desire in anything about which she was thus indifferent, than in that she was most eager upon.'

"Frances, Lady Carbery, was extolled by Jeremy Taylor for being as excellent a mother as she was 'a rare wife.' To her children he describes her as having been 'kind and severe, careful and prudent, very tender, and not at all fond.' And again, 'the severe and angry education' which she herself received, he accounted amongst the special mercies of her life.

"The whole system of early training, at this time, tended strongly to eradicate that frivolity of temper, and unreality of tone, which stunt so fatally the growth of all moral and mental excellence. On the other hand, it especially fostered that child-like spirit that wins its way into the Kingdom of Heaven. But severity did not necessarily include harshness, even if sometimes it unfortunately assumed that form. Children, though permitted less familiarity of address than at present, were, perhaps, admitted to still more constant intercourse with their parents.

"In Evelyn's time, it is true, 'colleges of young gentlewomen,' as he termed them, existed in the environs of London. But, generally, female education was not only conducted at home, but the mother was herself the chief instructor there. For, though accepting assistance from other sources, she was not content to depute her highest duty wholly to the hands of another. It was by their mother, then, that the young daughters were instructed in their household duties. And, whilst in these and in her works of charity they contributed their aid, she led and joined in their devotions. In one instance, an oratory was added to the nursery for this purpose. Thus at the rising of the sun, and the going down thereof, the incense of praise, and the pure offering of infant lips ascended an acceptable sacrifice on high."—Pp. 63—66.

It must be remembered in reading of the devout women of the seventeenth century that they had to grapple with difficulties peculiar to the age in which they lived, and which enhances in no small degree their self-denial and faithfulness; in the first place the laxity of morals and luxuriousness of life which characterized those times were such as to render it difficult for women, especially those of high rank and connected with the court, to maintain even that modesty and reserve which are now, speaking generally, universal; and when we find them far exceeding this by spending every hour they could call their own in austere retirement and unremitting religious exercises, we may well feel that many have acquired the name of saint who merited it less.

Again; we must not forget that during the times of many of those who were the most devoted to the Church, the true faith was proscribed and all the privileges of their membership with CHRIST'S Body had to be obtained in defiance of the penalties of the law.

One of the most interesting stories recorded in "Home Life" is that of Lady Warwick, because the contrast between the luxury and splendid pleasures of the court ladies and the holy severity of those who had chosen the more excellent way, are both represented in the course of her own history.

In early youth Lady Mary Boyle was, as our author tells us, "a light-hearted, careless, self-willed girl, living in and for the present hour—her spirit imbued with a deep taint of worldliness;" her gravest occupations were the toilet and the theatre; her severest studies the reading of romances. But there were graver charges against her than these: she was habitually disobedient to her father, but more especially in the important matter of her marriage. She permitted herself to cherish and avow an attachment to a man whose addresses he had forbidden. She received him alone on one occasion when confined to her bed from illness, in order to arrange with him a definite engagement. She saw him daily in direct opposition to her father's wishes; and finally, having extorted from the old man some kind of conditional consent, she married her

lover secretly to avoid a public wedding. But the time was coming when she was to find in her own awakened soul a terrible retribution of remorse for these sins of her youth.

On entering her husband's family she found a strict religious rule which, though extremely irksome to her after the life of pleasure she had led, yet compelled her reverence; her sister, Lady Ranelagh, who was a deeply religious woman, strove to win her to give herself up to a better life, but Lady Mary shrank from the sacrifice, "afraid," as she said herself, "of slaying my Isaac, losing all my joy and delight, as if I might never have been merry after my so doing."

Then God, Who saw no doubt the hidden promise lying underneath her thoughtlessness and love of pleasure, sent heavy trials upon her. She lost her eldest child; then her father; her husband ill-treated her so that she was at times weary of her life. For a while she strove to drown the sense of anguish in amusement, but in vain; earth, and the things of earth, were failing her; a voice, she said, was ever sounding in her ears, "what shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world and lose his own soul?" At length the work was completed by a sudden stroke, which brought her low before her God. Her child was struck with dangerous illness, and in her terror and dismay she vowed herself solemnly to God's service if He would restore him to her. The prayer was granted, and she turned with all her heart to the fulfilment of her vow.

Lady Warwick's first care in beginning this new life was to seek for retirement, and she went down at once to her father-in-law's seat, in Essex, and placed herself under the spiritual guidance of Dr. Walker, the domestic chaplain of Lord Warwick: "trembling," it is said, she "sought from his lips guidance and direction."

"To that new way of life into which he guided her, she now steadfastly dedicated herself; and to it from henceforth she unswervingly adhered.

"The sincerity of her convictions was speedily tested. The return of Lady Warwick and the rest of the family from London involved her again in society, and in pursuits which rendered it difficult for her to maintain her newly-formed habits of prayer and devotion. The change in her opinion and mode of life was too marked to pass without much painful comment, and provoking ridicule. She, who had been the idlest and gayest of the party, on whose aid they had always relied for the furtherance of any schemes of diversion, now withdrew at set times for the observance of private devotions. Her costly dresses were discarded that she might have more to bestow upon the poor. Romances were laid aside for the Bible. The society of the gay and thoughtless was shunned by her, whilst she became acquainted with holy and strict divines, who much frequented the house, but whose conversation she had not hitherto much affected. Resolution to continue as she had begun, and strength to vanquish the temptations by which she was assailed, were not to be derived from any resources of her own. Coun-

sel and encouragement she had from the care and kindness of Dr. Walker, and her constant, truest friend, Lady Ranelagh. But the might to carry on the warfare on which she had entered was to be obtained only from on high ; and in constant fervent prayer she alone found her necessities supplied.

"To gain uninterrupted leisure for this purpose was not easy. To obtain it she made for herself a solitude and a sanctuary amidst the grounds that surrounded her home, the old Priory of Lees."—Pp. 155, 156.

It would take too long to tell of all the evidences given in the remainder of her life, that it was indeed one meet for the inheritance of the Saints in light whom God had thus rescued from the world.

The bitterness of her remorse and self-condemnation for the sins of youth was beyond words ; her charities were enormous, and her kindness and generosity to her equals, as well as her inferiors, un-failing. She never faltered in the holy life she had set before herself ; her feet once turned into the way of the Cross departed from it no more. She was permitted to work for her Master almost to the last day of her life, for her death took place unexpectedly, and after a slight indisposition. She appears, however, to have had some presentiment herself of the near approach of her great change, for on the morning of the day on which she died she said to some friends who were with her, "Well, ladies, if I were one hour in heaven, I would not be again with you, well as I love you."

A few hours later, while engaged in prayer with her spiritual guide, she was heard to give a deep sigh, and it was found that she had passed away to complete the worship of earth in that of heaven.

We cannot refrain from extracting a considerable portion of the account given of Lady Maynard, one of the most beautiful characters mentioned in this book. With her there was no need of conversion : from the day when she first put on the bright Baptismal robe she kept so pure, her life had but one upward course, shining more and more unto the perfect day. With the single exception that she did not lead a celibate life, her whole existence was that of one who was a Saint indeed ; and probably her early age and motherless condition when married to a man much older than herself were the cause of her willingly accepting a protection amid the temptations of the court. After mentioning her marriage, the description thus continues :—

"Soon afterwards Bishop Ken appears to have formed her acquaintance, and from that period down to her death, which took place in 1684, when she was little more than forty, he acted as her spiritual adviser. In her funeral sermon he speaks of having known her more than twenty years, and of having been admitted into her most intimate thoughts. It is from this sermon that all we know of her life and character is derived ; and what we are about to relate of it shall be given for the most part in the Bishop's words.

"She was early deprived by death of her mother, to whom she was in all respects so dutiful a child, that she protested her daughter had never in any one instance offended her. For nine years of her life she was surrounded by the temptations and trials of the Court. But, whilst there, she lived with all the abstraction of a recluse; for she not only conquered the world, but triumphed over it. For secular greatness she had a noble contempt, and was superior also to all those vanities and diversions which to her age might have offered temptations. No frivolous amusements could allure, no vain pomps dazzle that serene soul, whose satisfaction was found in the service of God, and whose sole recreation it was to do good and to seek the happiness of others. Her own words are :—'We are to seek for comfort and joy from God's ordinances, and not to take the usual course of the world, to drive away melancholy by exposing ourselves to temptations.'

"At peace with herself, at peace with God, and at peace with all the world, she was so little given to talk, and was so careful to conceal her goodness, that it did not appear at first sight. Yet after a time her virtue would break out, whether she would or no. Like Moses, her face shone and she did not know it.

"She looked always pleased rather than cheerful. Her conversation was even and serious; yet easy and affable. Her interpretations of what others did were always candid and charitable. Never was she seen indecently angry, or out of humour. Never was she heard to give an ill character, or pass a hard censure, or speak an idle word. But 'she opened her mouth in wisdom, and in her tongue was the law of kindness.' Mildness softened her reproofs. To the afflicted she administered consolation from her own manifold experience of the Divine goodness. For she behaved with so condoling a tenderness, that she seemed to translate their anguish on herself.

"Her sympathy was ready for all in misery. Besides her private alms, which she carefully concealed from observation, she was a common patroness to the poor and needy, and a common physician to her sick neighbours. Often would she with her own hands dress their most loathsome sores, and sometimes keep them in her family, where she gave them both diet and lodging till they were cured. She would then clothe them, and send them home, to give God thanks for their recovery. If they died, her charity accompanied them sometimes to the very grave, and she took care even of their burial.

"In her family she always united Martha and Mary together. For she took a due care of all her domestic affairs; and managed them with a wise frugality, with a constant deference to God's merciful providence, and without either covetous fears or restless anxiety. But withal, 'she sat at the feet of Jesus, and heard His Word,' and of the two was still most intent on 'the better part.' She studiously endeavoured to make all that attended her more God's servants than her own, and treated them with meekness, indulgence, and condescension, like one who was always mindful that she herself also had a Master in heaven. But her oratory was the place where she principally resided, and where she was most at home; and her chief employment was prayer and praise. She had devotions suited to all the primitive hours of prayer; for which she had out of several authors transcribed many

excellent forms. With David she praised God seven times a day, or supplied the want of these solemn hours by a kind of perpetuity of ejaculations, which she had ready to answer all occasions, and to fill up all vacant intervals. And, if she happened to wake in the night, even for midnight she was never unprovided with proper prayers. Thus did this gracious soul, having been enkindled by fire from heaven in her baptism, live a continual sacrifice, and kept the fire always burning, always in ascension, always aspiring towards heaven, from whence it fell.

"To prayer she added meditation, and study of the Holy Scriptures, and of other serious and devout books, in which she spent most of her time. Her religion was not grounded on the indifference of an unreasoning faith, or imbibed from education only, but proceeded from a well-studied choice, directed by GOD'S HOLY SPIRIT, Whose guidance she daily invoked. But, her choice once made, she was immovable as a rock, and so well satisfied in the Catholic Faith, professed in the Church of England, that to the strictness of a primitive saint she joined, we may believe, the resolution of a martyr. For in an age when the generality of the nation were like children, tossed to and fro with every wind of doctrine, she still continued steadfast in the Communion of the Church of England. When the priests and service of God were driven into corners she daily resorted, though with great difficulty, to the public prayers. She was also remarkably charitable to all the suffering royalists, whom she visited and relieved, fed, clothed, and comforted. The silenced, plundered, and persecuted clergy she thought worthy of double honour. To their use she dedicated a certain sum yearly out of her income. Nor did her zeal, stimulated by opposition into energy, grow faint and languid in the hour of prosperity. Morning and evening she offered up to God the public offices, and when she was not able to go to the House of Prayer, she had them read to her in her chamber. Her devotions were enlarged on the Fasts and Festivals of the Church, but especially on the LORD'S DAY, the hours of which she divided between the church and her closet. She never failed, on all opportunities, to approach the holy altar.

"When she came home she recollected, and wrote down from memory, abstracts of the sermons which she heard in church, that she might be 'not only a hearer of the Word, but a doer also.' To these devout exercises she added fasting. On those days, appointed by the Church for that purpose, she used a particular office of prayer and humiliation for the sins of the nation, and was importunate at the throne of grace to avert God's judgments, and to implore His blessing on the land. And, when enfeebled health forbade the continuance of these austerities, she was accustomed on days of abstinence to employ other modes of mortification."—Pp. 180—185.

In conclusion, two facts appear to us to be especially deduced from the work we have been considering, which, with no especial purpose of showing the state of religion in England at that period, yet offers an unconscious testimony on the subject which is very valuable. We find then, first, that the Church of England has proved herself capable of nurturing a very high degree of sanctity amongst her children at a period full of especial difficulty, and infi-



nity less favourable to such a result than the present. But these holy persons, though known to us after a lapse of centuries, were little noticed or cared for at the time of their existence: it is the principal characteristic of real holiness that it seeks to hide itself from the gaze of the world—and as it was then, so it is now—we are very confident that a future generation will seek out the record of many a saint living now amongst us unknown; and we doubt not that the eyes of rejoicing Angels, and, far better, the LORD of Angels Himself, are looking even now with love on blessed souls who, in this our Church of England, are reaching to a high perfection.

Secondly, we find that the saintliness of the seventeenth century was eminently *Catholic*. These holy women, of whom we have been speaking, lived in the very same practices which have proved themselves the true aliment of the spiritual life since the Catholic revival took place amongst ourselves.

We find in every instance that the Blessed Sacrament was the crowning desire and joy of these holy persons, for which they prepared themselves with an austerity that would hardly obtain among us now. They lived in habits of regular and frequent devotion, saying the seven canonical hours in their oratories, attending all the services of the Church, keeping fast and holyday, practising almsgiving, fast, and mortification of various kinds. The invariable rule was also that they would be under spiritual Direction, to which they appear to have yielded a remarkable obedience. It was a peculiarity of the system which then prevailed, that, whilst so living under Direction, they did not usually seek Absolution, save *in extremis*. This, of course, was an error; Direction, without Confession and Absolution, being necessarily an incomplete system. And it is especially noticeable, as showing how mistaken those persons at the present day are, who, while they vindicate the use of Confession, condemn Direction as not being Anglican. The history of the seventeenth century rather proves the reverse of their statement to be true; but, in reality, history, more comprehensively studied, assures us that *all* Catholic truth and discipline is our rightful heritage, and therefore, of course, Confession and Direction equally.

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## LYDE'S ASIAN MYSTERY.

*The Asian Mystery, illustrated in the History, Religion, and Present State of the Ansaireeh or Nusairis of Syria.* By the Rev. SAMUEL LYDE, M.A., Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. London: Longmans. 1860.

THE common belief in the unity of the Mohammedan religion, which prevails among Englishmen generally, soon fades away before the realities of history, or the evidence procured by a personal visit to the East. There is, in fact, no religion which is so divided and cut up into sects as the Mohammedan, and in which the sectaries are so bitter against each other. These divisions took their rise at the very commencement of the religion, for the believers in the mission of Mohammed could not agree as to the successor of the prophet: while one party received the Khalif Abu-Bekr, another, equally powerful, acknowledged Ali, Mohammed's son-in-law, as the only lawful head of the new religion. The cradle in which was rocked that infant power which was soon to be the scourge of the Church in Asia and Africa, was from the first stained with blood: Omar, the successor of Abu-bekr, was murdered, and so was Othman, his successor. When Ali succeeded, he had to hold his own against Telha and Zobeir, two of Mohammed's companions, and Ayesha his widow. Again was assassination used to remove the obnoxious Khalif; and Moawiyah, no relation of the prophet, succeeded by mere force of arms. He was the founder of the dynasty of the Omeyyades. Ali had married Fatmah, the daughter of Mohammed: by her he had three sons, Hassan, Hosein, and Mohsin: Ali, Hassan, Hosein, and nine of his descendants, are revered as the twelve Imauns, and are acknowledged as the only true successors to Mohammed by the Shiites, who anathematise Omar and Othman with great bitterness. The followers of the latter are called Sunnites.

These two, the Shiites and the Sunnites, compose the two great divisions of the Mohammedan religion: speaking generally, the Persians and Indians, and those of the more eastern parts of Asia, are Shiites; while the Turks and Western Arabs are Sunnites. These two sects have ever been as fiercely opposed to each other, as ever were both against the Christians. To this day the Shiite thinks it his duty—among some it is a part of their creed—to anathematise the Khalifs of the Sunnites. Another difference has sprung up between these sects: the Sunnite considering it necessary to explain the Koran by a commentary, like the Talmud of the Jews; the Shiites rejecting all such tradition.

Again, these two sects are subdivided into a number of smaller ones, certainly not less than one hundred, each with its peculiarity different from the other. By far the greater number of these sects are of Persian origin, and have connection with the Shiites: most, if not all, the colleges of Dervishes are such, e.g., the Turning, or, as they are commonly called, the Dancing Dervishes; and the Howling Dervishes, well known to every visitor at Constantinople. The strange sect of the Aïssoua, serpent and scorpion eaters, in North Africa, is, on the contrary, Sonnite. The Yezidees, or Devil worshippers, are purely of Persian origin, perhaps a remnant of the Manichees, at any rate they acknowledge the two principles, the good and the evil; and while they believe that the good will finally prevail, they hold that the evil is the great power in this world, and therefore ought to be propitiated. This combination of Mohammedanism with the ancient superstition of central Asia has led some of the sects to assume a *mystery* in worship and teaching, a mystery only communicated to the initiated, and of which the generality of the members are entirely ignorant.

One of these sects, the Druses, has been prominently brought before our notice during the past year; few, perhaps, are aware that their mystery has been fully investigated and disclosed by De Sacy in his "Exposition of the Druse religion;" Mr. Lyde has done the like for that of the Ansaireeh. A long residence among this people for the purpose of establishing schools, a perfect knowledge of their language, have given Mr. Lyde excellent opportunities for correct information, and the further advantage of becoming possessed of some of their secret books, especially the most important, the "Manual of Sheiks," renders us confident that we are in possession of one of the "Asian mysteries."<sup>1</sup>

The Ansaireeh inhabit a mountainous country in the north of Syria, of which the town of Latikiah is the capital. Latikiah—Mr. Lyde writes it Ladikeeh—is the ancient Laodicea of Seleucus Nicanor: it is now chiefly famous for its tobacco, which is in request all over Turkey. A chain of mountains stretches from north to south, and is separated from Lebanon by the river Nahr-el-Khebîr, the ancient Eleutherus. These mountains are the special abode of the Ansaireeh: they are found also in other places,—Tartees, the ancient Tarsus, is full of them; a large number is found also in Antioch; Baghdad, the cradle of their race, contains at least five hundred of them. These Ansaireeh have been generally confounded with the Assassins, of whom we read so much in the history of the Crusades, especially in the historian William of Tyre.

<sup>1</sup> We regret to have to record the death of Mr. Lyde on April 1, 1860, at Alexandria. We had the pleasure of making his acquaintance at Algiers in 1859, when he was seeking restoration of health. Mr. Lyde expresses a hope that the work he commenced in Syria will be continued, and the schools he established will be carried on—a hope in which we cordially join.

Mr. Lyde gives the following as his opinion as to the origin of this people and their religion :—

“ I have no doubt that a part of the present inhabitants of the mountains are the descendants of the ancient Canaanites, whose graves and sites of tombs on every high hill still remain, and are visited by the Ansaireeh of to-day ; the Gnostic ideas may well have been introduced into their religion in its cradle in the East, for that religion certainly came from thence, and doubtless found in Syria, as is asserted, an ignorant population ready to receive it, and, perhaps, in some things, to add to its former superstition.

“ But well-established tradition, and difference of physiognomy, prove conclusively that not all the present inhabitants of the mountains of the Ansaireeh are the original inhabitants of that region. Part, at least, have come from those regions whence came the religion of the sect. That sect is divided into two principal parts : Shemseeh, so named from Shem, the Sun, and also called Mawakiseh, Gaibeeh, and Shema-leeh ; and Kumreeh, also called Kelazeeh. Now, I will show that the Shemseeh are the original people of the mountains, and the Kumreeh, a people who came from the East, from Djebel Sindjar in Mesopotamia, and elsewhere.”—P. 50.

Another portion of the people were originally Kurds, who built many of the castles on the mountains.

The founder of the religion seems to have been a certain Nusair, and Abu-Shuaih his son, who lived in the time of the eleventh Imaun ;<sup>1</sup> after him was Hosein ibn-Hamdan, the great apostle who spread the Ansaireeh religion “ in all countries.” Another apostle is mentioned by Gregory Bar Hebræus, (Abulfaradj) of whom the following story is related. In the year 891, an old man appeared at Akab, (called also Cupha, a city in Arabia) in a village which the inhabitants call Nazaria. This old man set up for a great saint, was constant in fastings, prayers, and preaching ; he then chose twelve apostles. The governor thinking him dangerous, imprisoned him, swearing that he would kill him. His maidservant, having made the gaoler drunk, stole the key and let him loose : the keeper, fearing the wrath of his master, declared that an angel had delivered him : a story readily taken up by his followers. This, of course, gave great impetus to the spread of his doctrines.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Lyde gives a particular account of the twelve Imauns, revered by the Shiites, the last of whom, Mohammed, was but six months old when his father, Hassan the eleventh, was poisoned by the Khalif of Baghdad, who was a Sonnite. Mohammed lived till he was twelve years old ; the Sonnites say he was drowned in trying to cross the Tigris ; the Shiites, that he entered into a cave, from whence, like King Arthur in Britain, and Boebelil in Spain, he will issue to lead his followers to the final conquest of the world. He is called “ The Director.” In the Indian mutiny he was said by the Mussulmans of Lahore to have appeared and promised to restore dominion to them. We should like to hear more on this point ; it is worth careful investigation, in order to a protection against future mutinies : if the Shiites of India look for the reappearance of Mohammed, we may expect constant local rebellions by persons professing to be the last Imaun ; perhaps even periodical risings of the whole Mohammedan population.

The doctrines themselves have on the face of them their Persian, or, perhaps, Hindoo, parentage; though the original schism of the Shiites and Sonnites was political rather than religious—for it originated in the contest for the Khalifate between Ali and Omar—yet it soon assumed an intensely religious aspect. Ali became, not only the only true Khalif, not only the true successor of Mohammed, but his partizans looked upon him as a manifestation of the Deity. “The Shiite notion of an Imaun is precisely the same as that which the Thibetians form of their Grand Lama, and the Burmese of their Bodhisatwas.”<sup>1</sup> De Sacy says, “The dogma of the union of the divinity to Ali and the Imauns of his race owed, if I am not mistaken, its origin to the ancient system of the Parsees. It is also to the ancient theology of the people of Eastern Asia that we must refer the origin of the transmigration of souls; and perhaps the study of the books of the Grecian philosophers contributed to strengthen and extend this opinion among Mussulmans.”<sup>2</sup> The religions of India and more Eastern Asia delighted in mysteries; some recondite truths to be known only to the initiated, of which the popular religion is only a type or outward manifestation. These they grafted upon Mohammedanism, and selecting Ali as their champion, they endowed him with supernatural powers, made him a manifestation of the Deity, a sort of Buddha. This is not an Incarnation, as some writers on Hindoo religion have thought, but a descent of the Deity into a human being: “The Sabians,” says Shahrestani, “say of God that He is one in His essence but multiple, because He multiplies Himself in person before the eyes of men. The bodies or persons are the seven planets which govern the world, and those good terrestrial objects, in which God descends without ceasing to be one. There is also a descent of His *essence*, or a *descent of the whole Deity*, and a *partial descent*, or a *descent of a portion of His essence*, which takes place according to the degree of preparedness of the person.”<sup>3</sup>

From this we can easily see how Ali could become a manifestation of Deity, and the twelve Imauns something of the same, only in a much lower degree. The great difficulty that presented itself was, how to reconcile all this with the Koran? for it is quite clear that such doctrines are entirely contrary to it. The heretical sects proceeded to solve this difficulty in much the same way as Quakers and Swedenborgians have treated the Scripture, namely, by allegorizing it, teaching an inner or esoteric meaning, *Il-Batin*, in opposition to, and subversive of, the literal or apparent meaning, *Iz-Zahir*. This allegorizing is called *Taweel*, in contradistinction to *Tanzeel*, *descent*, which is used to express the literal interpretation. By this *Taweel* a door is opened for all kinds of heresy, and has led, in different sects, to a rejection of every precept of that

<sup>1</sup> Taylor, p. 152, quoted by Lyde, p. 77.      <sup>2</sup> De Sacy, p. 31. *Ibid.* p. 77.

<sup>3</sup> Quoted by De Sacy, *Introd.* p. 36. Lyde, p. 78.

book. This mystical interpretation was, however, very far from satisfying the sectarians. They longed for some far greater mystery. different sects were consequently formed by different leaders, Ismaeleeh, Assassins, Loopees, Druses, &c. Each of these have their own peculiar mystery, into which only a few are initiated. There is a course of degrees, generally seven, in one case nine, into which the initiated is led step by step. In the first, he was taught blind obedience to his teacher; then he was prepared for some great and mysterious truth by being shown the contradictions and absurdities of the Koran; the last degree of all is pure Atheism, and is the solution of all doubts—that there is neither heaven, hell, or reward or punishment, that a man's own will is the *ultima ratio* of all. This last among the Assassins, was imparted but to a few only of the initiated, the rulers; the ruled were blindly to obey.

“The Ansaireeh believes in one GOD, self-existent and eternal. This GOD manifested Himself in the world seven times in human *form*, from Abel to Ali, son of Abu-Taleb, which last manifestation was the most perfect, that to which the others pointed, and in which the mystery of the divine appearances found their chief end and completion.

“At each of those manifestations the Deity made use of two other persons; the first created out of the light of His essence, and by Himself; the second created by the first. These, with the Deity, form an inseparable Trinity, called MAANA, ISM, BAB.

“The first, the Maana, *meaning*, is the designation of the Deity as the meaning, sense, or reality of all things.

“The second, the Ism, *name*, is also called the Hedjah, or veil, because under it the Maana conceals its glory, while by it it reveals itself to men.

“The third, the Bab, *door*, is so called because through it is the entrance to the knowledge of the two former.

“In the time of Adam, when Abel was the Maana, Adam was the Ism, and Gabriel was the Bab. In the time of Mohammed, when Ali was the Maana, Mohammed the Prophet was the Ism, and Salmân-il-Farisee, or the Persian, a companion of Mahommed, was the Bab.”—P. 110.

The last Maana, Ali, the Ansaireeh have deified. He takes the place of Allah of the Mohammedans; he is spoken of as having created us, as having formed JESUS in the womb of Mary, as having sent and taught Mohammed, as being omnipresent, omnipotent, &c. He was not flesh and blood, but a luminous appearance. His acts were *Zahir*, apparent only. Thus he was not really married, only apparently so. In the catechism, in answer to the question “If Ali be GOD, how did he become of the same nature man?” the reply is, “He did not so become, but took Mohammed as his veil, in the period of his transmutation, and assumed the name of Ali.” Again: “What is the divine appearance? It is the appearance of the Creator in humanity by means of the veil.” And

still more exactly : "As the Maana is entered into the Bab, so it has concealed itself under the Ism, and has taken it for itself." Ali is supposed to reside in the sun, whence he is called the "Eye of the Sun;" and the Ansaireeh, when they worship, turn towards the sun. The souls of men, they believe to be of the essence of light, and after undergoing purification, become stars in heaven, "which were their first centres."

There are also a series of feasts, some popular, some special for the initiated; of the former the Yetâs or Epiphany is worth noticing from its clearly Christian origin. Yetâs means "immersion," and of course is borrowed from the Eastern Church, which keeps the festival of our LORD'S Baptism on that day. Among those for the initiated only is that of the Nuroos or equinoctial feast, one of Persian origin. That of the Meelad, on December 25, as the birthday of Issa (JESUS), though mentioned in their book as one of great sanctity and merit, is not kept by the modern Ansaireeh.

The great secret or mystery, for which they hold their secret meetings is this :

"The mystery of the faith of the Unitarians, the mystery of mysteries, the chief article of the faith of the true believers, is the veiling of the Deity in light, that is, in the eye of the sun, and his manifestation in his servant Abd-in-Noor. Light is described as the eternal Maana, or meaning, which is concealed in light. The Deity, thus concealed in light, manifests himself in Abd-in-Noor, the 'servant of light,' which is wine : this wine being consecrated and drunk by the true believer, the initiated, in the Kuddâs, or sacrament. This Kuddâs, or sacrament, is the great mystery of the Ansaireeh."—P. 112.

In the Catechism, of which a German translation has been made by Dr. Wolff, we read as follows :

"Q. lxxvii. What is the offering (Kurbân)? *Ans.* The consecration of the bread, which the true believers take in hand for the souls of their brethren, and on that account the Mass is read.

"Q. lxxviii. Who reads the Mass, and brings the offering? *Ans.* Your great Imauns and preachers.

"Q. lxxix. What is the great secret (mystery) of God? *Ans.* The Flesh and the Blood, of which JESUS has said, 'This is My Flesh and My Blood; eat and drink thereof, for it is eternal life.'"—P. 278.

The singular fact of introducing a Christian sacrament into Mohammedanism is one of the most curious features of this sect; more especially, since that sacrament involves the use of wine, so strongly forbidden in the Koran.

Such, Mr. Lyde tells us, is the "Asian mystery," at least as far as regards one sect; probably there is little difference in the principal doctrines of the others. All are clearly of Persian, or perhaps, of Hindoo origin; and all arrive at the conclusion of the old heathen philosophers—pure Atheism; a disbelief in the existence

of anything superior to each one's own will. We are forcibly reminded of the older mysteries of Eleusis and Isis, and we can hardly come to any other conclusion, but that their doctrines were similar in denying a Providence, and a state of reward and punishment hereafter.

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## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

*The Femall Glory: the Life of the Blessed Virgin.* By ANTHONY STAFFORD, (1635.) A new edition, with Seven Illustrations, after Overbeck; together with the Apology of the Author, now first printed. Lumley: 1860.

THIS book, which is in every way beautifully got up, is interesting as expressive of the devotion of some of our forefathers. The imagination is too largely indulged by the writer to admit of its being helpful to the reality of a spiritual growth in the soul. The imaginative faculty, which is so serviceable when it is kept in a due subordination to faith, destroys itself when it revels too largely in the possible manifestations of unseen power. The book was, at the time of its publication, probably, a reaction against the Puritanism of the day. It naturally had to encounter an attack from that quarter. The book, as now published, contains extracts from Barton and Prynne, who assailed it, and Heylin and Dow, by whom the author was defended, as well as the author's own apology at length. The following extract will serve as a specimen of the style in which the work is written; we have modernized the spelling:

"If the inn was so splendent, so sumptuous, what may we think of the amiable guest that lodged in it, her mind beset with thoughts clear and radiant as her own eyes? He that dares attempt the expression of these her internal gifts is ignorant of her sublimity; he who dares not, knows not her humanity, her sweetness. As no style can ascend so high as her exalted worth, so on the other side none can descend so low as her humility. Encouraged, therefore, by her meekness, not my own sufficiency, I shall endeavour to limn her soul in little (since in great neither my time nor ability will let me,) which will appear an enterprize as hardy and vain as his who should limit the light or circumscribe the air. Know then, modest reader, (and receive this knowledge with the same extasy and zeal I write it,) that her internal lustre was far greater than her external; like in this unto the tents of Kedar, as soon covered with dust, and almost burnt up with the heat of sun, as soon beaten and stricken with tempestuous weather; but in the meantime all inwardly glittering with glory and magnificence."

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*All Saints and its Patron, with an Appendix of Correspondence.* By a Member of the Congregation. Guernsey: Barbet.

"ALL's well that ends well!" And so perhaps it will be more graceful and more suitable to the occasion, to follow the idea suggested in



the title of this Pamphlet, and congratulate Mr. James, the "Patron" referred to, on the success which has attended the long and painful negotiation on which he has been engaged, rather than to dwell on the mean and slippery conduct of some of his opponents.

Our readers are doubtless aware of the miserably low standard of Churchmanship which prevails in the Channel Islands. The commonest requirements of the Prayer Book have been habitually set aside, and a mode of worship has existed much more akin to that of the French Protestant "Temples" than to that of any branch of the Catholic Church. And to such an extent has this state of things been sanctioned by the Diocesan, that the Bishop of Winchester, a very few years since, declined, on application being made to him, to interfere in the case of the Parish Church of S. Helier's, Jersey, which to this day has neither Altar nor Font, *on the ground that the Churches of the Island were not under his jurisdiction, but under that of the Dean or Commissary.*<sup>1</sup> In other words, there was no law at all. Most meritorious, therefore, in our judgment, was the conduct of Mr. James, who acquired the Patronage of a Chapel built under the anomalous jurisdiction which is current in the Island of Guernsey, with the view of securing the services of a clergyman who would pay at least some regard to his ordination vows; and certainly he could not have expected interference from the so-called Diocesan.

Mr. James appears, however, to have calculated without his host. The Bishop did interfere with a vengeance, and proceeded to claim an authority over the Chapel which the best legal authority pronounced to be altogether untenable. Happily this claim has now been withdrawn; but only after aspersions of the gravest kind having been thrown upon Mr. James and others; and after most unreasonable delays interposed, and most harsh measures being resorted to by the Bishop. And we are of opinion that the writer of this pamphlet has only done justice to Mr. James in putting forth this very temperate statement in vindication of "the Patron of All Saints."

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*Two Sermons, preached in Lichfield Cathedral, on February 5th and October 21st, 1860.* By the Rev. G. H. CURTIS, M.A., Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford, Principal of the Lichfield Theological College, and Prebendary of Lichfield Cathedral. Oxford and London: J. H. Parker.

THESE are two excellent Sermons, showing how the exigencies of man's nature are still what they were in past ages, and how the same means which once sufficed to minister to those necessities must again, if rightly applied, produce the same results. We quote one passage as embodying very beautifully that idea. After pointing out "for ages before men were created upon the earth, God had been laying up there, as in a treasure-house, patiently and deliberately, layer upon layer, stratum upon stratum, mineral treasures which would, in course of time, draw together and afford a livelihood to the myriads of immortal beings

<sup>1</sup> The writer has had the letter in his possession.

who are now swarming in these districts," and how unhappily "the church bell is drowned by the factory bell," the Author goes on,—

"If in surrounding districts the means of grace, the suggestions of beauty, the voices of the past, the tranquillity requisite for a higher culture, are sadly deficient,—here they are positively superabundant. In a spot, abandoned indeed by the great tide of men, but easily accessible from every quarter, we have been left in charge of one GEM,—one beautiful and costly instrument of good,—which was not built by our forefathers' stint and indecision, which has not been defended by the weak arms of indifference and disloyalty, and will not be retained, even now, amid the rushing eddies of modern life, by the folded arms, the vacant thought, the self-indulgent habit, or the undermined faith in all that it symbolizes and represents. Brethren, do you suppose that these noble arches, under which we are now gathered, were built by the toil, and thought, and liberality of men who had not faith in what they were doing? Can we think that the cell of Chad, the brave Missionary to Pagan Mercia, grew into a Church, and the Church expanded into a Cathedral, and the Cathedral flowered out into the magnificent structure which is before us now,—without being watered by the prayers, and tears, and sweat of generations, who believed in the work they were doing, and did it 'with their might'?"

"And so too it must it be with us, if we are to be worthy of the gift they have bequeathed to us. What we have to do is plain: try to make this noble Cathedral again a blessing to the Diocese,—a place to which pilgrimage may once more be made, not now in superstition, but in search of that which, however denied, human nature can never cease to crave,—tranquil beauty and religious peace,—a place where 'the beauty of holiness,' the most perfect form of Divine Worship, may be perpetually presented, free as air, open to all comers,—a place where the busy, heated, perhaps scoffing minds of men, fevered with everlasting toil and anxiety, may breathe a new spirit, and bathe their parched souls in sounds and sights of heaven; where hard worldly men may be recalled in memory to their mother's knee, to the purer thoughts of childhood, the nobler ambitions of their youth; and where the tear shall be started which is often the first beginning of a true repentance; and Music, like glorious sunshine, shall break up the Arctic ice which has frozen through many a year their dying souls, and 'kept them fast bound in misery and iron.'"—P. 9.

The two last numbers of Mr. Parker's series of historical tales are both interesting, though very different. *The Forsaken; or the Times of S. Dunstan*, affords us a glimpse of that good and great man, which is very attractive: and *Lucia's Marriage* supplies a graphic account of that peculiar form of persecution called "deportation," when Christians were exposed in the desert at the mercy of the wild beasts who inhabit it. We are somewhat disposed to quarrel, however, with the style which is gradually being assumed in these books. Terseness, brevity, and the familiar tone of the author with the reader have reached a somewhat undesirable pitch. We give an instance from each of these works. Here is one of the "*mises en scène*" in "*Lucia's Marriage*"—"a wild, wild desert—night—a kind of camp." In the "*Times of S. Dunstan*" we are made to assist at a feast with a coarseness of detail which is the reverse of appetising, and which concludes thus: "Ugh! how the smell sticks in one's nose."

The Rev. F. G. LEE has published a volume of *Miscellaneous Sermons*, (Masters,) with the twofold view of raising money for his church at Aberdeen, and of procuring a wider circulation for sound theology,

than the sermons of an individual author under ordinary circumstances can hope to gain. On both these grounds do we wish the volume success, though we scarcely think that in all cases the respective authors have given fair specimens of their ordinary style of preaching.

*Meditations for a Month*, (Rivingtons,) by C. A. S. (CHARLOTTE AUGUSTA SNEYD,) are pious and pleasing, as far as they go; but with so many older and deeper books of devotion in existence, we should have doubted the need of this publication.

*Thoughts on present circumstances of the Church in Ireland*, a Charge by the Bishop of Cork, (J. W. Parker,) are many of them very good, but not very remarkable.

A small book, entitled, *Devotions for the Holy Sacrifice*, from the Sarum Missal, appears to supply a great desideratum at the present day, when persons are beginning to understand the privilege of assisting at the Great Oblation when they are not prepared to communicate. We are glad also to see special devotions provided in it for persons who are practising the counsels of perfection. It is time that the religious life should be recognized as a distinct element in the English Church. It is to be obtained on application to the Editor of the *Union*.

Another manual of a similar description, *Devotions before and after the Communion*, from the Writings of the Saints, (London: Painter,) has reached a third edition, and will be prized by persons who accustom themselves to very high-wrought forms of devotion. Some of the prayers—most of which are very beautiful—have long been in use amongst us. We must, however, protest strongly against the extremely undesirable dedication which appears in this work. It is by such little external things that prejudices are needlessly aroused—that we bring our good cause into evil repute.

The Rev. W. P. S. BINGHAM has contributed a *Paper*, read before a Clerical Society in Lincolnshire, on the subject of the XXIXth Canon, of which the chief merit in our opinion is, that it brings out to view very clearly what was the social condition of the Church when the idea of spiritual affinity, arising out of the sponsorial relation, took its rise. At that day the presenting a person for Baptism was, in many instances, an equivalent to adopting such person into your family; and so it was needful to guard the relationship from the carnal temptation to which it might become the occasion, just in the same way as we find it necessary to guard the residence of a wife's sister in a family. Now this state of things has passed away, and there is no object in attempting to make the relationship such as Mr. Neale, in his Letter to the Bishop of Oxford, tells us that he has found it to be in some places on the continent. We aim only at securing a slight additional guarantee for the Christian education of the child, and we certainly think that that will be best secured in our own lax age, by approximating as nearly as we can to requiring three communicant sponsors, in addition to father and mother, rather than by repealing the Canon, and so requiring only one.

Mr. EDMUND SEDDING has made a very acceptable addition to our stock of Carols, (Novello and Masters.) We do not meet with any so dramatic as "Good King Wenceslas," nor any that quite rival the sim-

plicity of such old favourites as "As Joseph was a walking;" but there are several which will be gladly welcomed by the many choirs and families that have learnt in the last few years to take delight in this truly Catholic recreation.

The English Church Union, which we some time since recommended to our readers, as likely to rally the scattered forces of the High Church party, commences with the new year a monthly periodical of its own, entitled *The Church Review*. And certainly, if the pressure of dangerous foes from within and from without upon the Church is ever to unite her faithful members in a course of common action, now, one would think, the time is come.

The first Part of the *Tunes* for the new *Hymnal*, which we noticed in our last number, has followed quickly upon the heels of the volume which it is intended to accompany. Or rather, it is a *Noted* edition of the Hymnal, with the Music in Four Parts at the top of each page, after the manner of Dr. Gauntlett's and Mr. Chope's "Hymns and Tunes." It is not to be expected that we should consider every separate hymn to be mated to its most appropriate tune; but when it is said that the Tunes of the Hymnal Noted, and some from all the best recent collections, have been made available for the work, as well as that the editorship has been placed in the hands of Mr. Monk, the well-known editor of the "Parish Choir," and himself the author of such first-rate music as that to the "Offertory Sentences," and of tunes like "Merton" and "Sherborne," assisted by Sir Henry Baker, the general editor of the whole, Mr. Dykes, Precentor of Durham, Mr. Wilkins, of Southwell, and other *practical* Church Musicians, it will be seen that the undertaking *must* be a great success.

We have seldom seen a Christmas book which has appeared to us more thoroughly successful than *Voices of Christmas*, by LOUIS SAND. (Masters.) Generally speaking, the gay outside at this season covers either sentimental semi-religious trash—translations from the German, or a *réchauffé* of obsolete poems in illuminated borders; but here a tasteful binding attracts us to a hearty English Tale, full of piquancy and interest, while the delineations of character are given with considerable humour; in which an under-current of earnest feeling teaches one of the deepest truths of our religion, the duty if need be of martyrdom in will as well as in deed. This might be supposed an uncongenial lesson for Christmas-tide; but is of course the special lesson for S. Stephen's Day, with which the story is connected, and the course of the tale brings out so well the exceeding weight of glory which follows our light sufferings here for the love of CHRIST, that the impression it conveys is altogether soothing and cheerful. We have not been blind to the palpable imitation of Dickens which pervades the work; but we can hardly regret that the style which has been proved so popular should be used for the benefit of the Church.

In *Thoughts on Religious Communities*, a Letter to a Friend, (Masters,) we have a *resumé* of all the popular objections which are brought against Sisterhoods, and the prejudices which exist concerning them. These are met by a clear-headed straightforward refutation, which can hardly fail, one would think, to do its work. The "Thoughts" con-

sist mainly of extracts from various writers ; but it is the more valuable from the testimony it thus brings us from so many different quarters. We heartily recommend this unpretending *brochure* for distribution to all who are interested in the progress and increase of an element so important in our social system as the Religious Life, technically so called. It is refreshing to find such sentiments proceeding from a place so uncatholic as Jersey.

*The Manse of Mastlands*, (Bell and Daldy,) is a translation from the Dutch, giving the history of a Protestant pastor of the Low Countries, with the description of his church and parish. The subject is certainly somewhat new, and the style quaint and agreeable. The whole work reminds us strongly of a Dutch picture of still life, which though homely enough has the merit of being true to nature. It gives us full details of the household life of pastor, wife, and children, with such accounts of the manner of religion favoured by Dutch Protestants, as makes us more than ever devoutly thankful that Lord Macaulay's hero could not succeed in importing all the institutions of his native land into England.

*The Schoolmaster's Studies*, an address delivered by the Rev. R. A. ASHWELL, the very able Principal of Culham Diocesan Training College, (Oxford : J. H. Parker,) deserves very great commendation. It is the work of a man who thoroughly understands the wants and feelings of those whom he is addressing, has a great freshness and reality about it, and keeps clear of sermonizing. The concluding part, on the Schoolmaster's "Social Position," is truly excellent.

"One of the first things a true Church schoolmaster ought to set himself to do is to acquire the habit—I believe any man may acquire any habit he pleases—of standing alone when necessary. A man who has to be an example, in any degree, however small, must have in himself a larger fund or stock of moral strength than is needed in other cases. You have to *give out* moral strength to other people, and not to *receive it from them*. This is fatiguing to the spirits, wearing to the soul and heart. You must *learn* it, and you must acquire the *power* (humanly speaking) by the practice. *Much* miscellaneous consorting with people with whom you have no close real bond of sympathy tends to wear down the clear outline of a high and earnest character, just as the ceaseless lashing of the breakers will ultimately wear down even a granite coast. *This* you must avoid, *so far as is consistent with the rest of your duty*. Strive to deserve the sympathy of those who are really your superiors. Form a few solid friendships among those like-minded with yourselves, friendships based on realities, on like studies, like tastes, like aims, like hopes; not that miserable counterfeit of friendship which consists in mere herding together, to keep off the sense of mental vacuity. Keep up *these* associations, keep up these friendships, when possible, by actual meeting, by correspondence, and above all by a manner of life consistent with the basis on which you and they are friends; but avoid making up for the want of true and congenial society, by lowering your own standard down to the level of inferior characters, in order to gain their temporary companionship. Your position requires you to be a *pattern* layman, and no man can be a *pattern* who has not moral strength enough to bear the test of occasional isolation. A frail house may stand, if one of a row; but we build a tower or a lighthouse to stand alone, and we build it strong and with firm foundations. So build ye the edifice of your own character, that when storms beat upon it and floods come, it may stand, being founded on a rock."—Pp. 43, 44.

## THE REFORMATION-PERIOD IN ITALY.

*The Life and Times of Aonio Paleario ; or, a History of the Italian Reformers in the Sixteenth Century, illustrated by original letters and unedited documents.* By M. YOUNG. 2 vols. London: Bell and Daldy. 1860.

It is often asked, what is the reason why the fate of the Reforming movement north and south of the mountain chain which forms the spine of Europe has been so different? There appear to be two causes to which this is mainly due: one political, the other moral. The former of these has been so ably handled by Macaulay, that nothing more need be said on that point. As our readers will remember, he shows<sup>1</sup> how, north of the Alps, the Papacy represented the dominion of foreigners—the interference of a nation alien in blood, in character, in habits; how the Englishman or the German grudged to see his money go to nourish strangers in his land, or to maintain the splendours of a court that, remote and unknown, he cared for but little. From this cause the Reformer was looked upon as a deliverer from slavery, semi-political, semi-religious; and the doctrines he inculcated ran through the length and breadth of the land, rapidly as we have seen those of political freedom do in our own days. But the other cause we think is not less important; namely, that which is due to the relation between the doctrines of Protestantism and the natures of those to whom it was preached. Protestantism is a subjective and self-centred form of religion. It places all its reliance on *direct* spiritual influences. In the eyes of its professors, all forms and ceremonies, all helps and aids to devotion,—music, ritual, the symbolism of art,—are an offence and hindrance, rather than an assistance to devotion. It is evident, then, that such a form of religion is adapted for a cold, unimaginative temperament, one impervious to external influence, whose appreciation of symbolism is but dull and heavy. Such is the Teutonic character; such is not the character of the nations of southern Europe, as it was not that of the Celt. Their warm and imaginative temperaments require a channel through which they may vent themselves; and this they find in the objective worship of the Catholic Church, even in spite of the appended subjectivity of modern Romanism. In Italy, moreover, the movement looks more like an intellectual conceit than religious revival.

We believe, then, that to this cause the weakness of the Southern Reformation movement was very much due; and that, if ever the experiment be repeated, it will either not succeed, or produce

<sup>1</sup> Essay on Ranke's History of the Popes.

evil consequences. Reformation, to be successful in Italy, must come from within, and not from without. If the doctrines of Zwingli or Calvin be imported beyond the Alps, they will not be accepted as the religion of Italians, though they may help to destroy what remains of faith in that land. Even under the most favourable circumstances, how speedily have division and degeneration arisen in Protestant countries, and in how many places have the doctrines of the early Reformers been developed either into mysticism or heresy! In how many countries has the new doctrine been abjured after a short trial!

The book whose title we have just written enforces this truth upon us. It shows us how weak the hold of the new doctrine was, how much it was confined to men of education; and that, even with these, it was often rather a theoretical idea than a heart-felt reality. We have said that the book enforces this truth upon us; but we must by no means be understood to say that this is the author's design. Far otherwise; as a quotation from the preface will readily show:—

“Though the accuracy of all historical and biographical details has been strictly and impartially weighed, yet the author does not hesitate to avow a partizanship in the great principles for which the Italian Reformers suffered exile, poverty, and death. It is but a sorry object of ambition for a writer to balance the scales of argument with such delicate nicety, that the reader, if not left doubtful to which side truth inclines, is at least dubious as to the opinions of the author.”

The author, however, need not have been at the trouble to make this statement of his opinions, since they are evident enough from the work itself. For example, the book is full of censure (justly enough) of Rome, for persecuting those who differed from her; but when the imprisonment of Henri Etienne, owing to a dispute with the Consistory of Geneva, is mentioned, he only remarks:—

“These were arbitrary measures, considered necessary for the maintenance of sound doctrine during the conflict of religious opinions.”—Vol. ii. p. 518.

And again, when mentioning the expulsion of Bernardino Ochino from Zurich, on a charge of heterodoxy, the author becomes an apologist:—

“However severe it might appear to turn an old man and his family out of the state in the middle of winter, it was nevertheless a case which required the cutting off the right hand and the plucking out the right eye, for fear of contamination.”—Vol. i. p. 392.

We have no more love for heterodoxy than the author, but we must confess that the fires of persecution appear to us equally hateful, whether lighted by Rome or by Geneva.

On one or two occasions we are favoured with a direct statement

of the author's opinion upon various mooted points in theology and Church discipline. Two of these we will quote. One is with reference to the controversy on vestments and ceremonies:—

“With the hope of pleasing all parties, and of winning over the moderate Roman Catholics, many things were retained for which there was no Scriptural authority, and which were stumbling-blocks in the way of the more enlightened and conscientious Reformers, who desired to be entirely released from the trappings of Popery, and from the garments spotted by the flesh. Could they have foreseen that this arid controversy would be again revived in the nineteenth century, and even be made a stepping-stone to the communion of Rome, they might perhaps have been more decided in making a root and branch reformation in externals, rather than risk the future tranquillity of the Church, and would have expunged from the Rubric every trace of Papal ceremonial.”—Vol. i. p. 462.

The other is contained in a note on the following extract from a letter:—

“Thus have many ancient martyrs acted who would never abandon the Articles (of faith) held by the Catholic Church, which (as says S. Paul) is the pillar and foundation of truth.”

To this the author says:—

“The reader may perhaps be desirous of turning to this passage of S. Paul, but we must own that we cannot assist him in finding it.”—Vol. i. p. 375, (note.)

Has the author forgotten 1 S. Tim. iii. 15, or to what does he refer that passage?

We must, then, confess that we receive with very great hesitation the statements of the author in this book. Knowing that it is written under the influence of a party spirit so decided, we cannot but feel that every fact and character has been looked at with a mental bias, and that every statement, either in favour of the one side or against the other, must be received with a certain amount of hesitation. We do not mean in any way to accuse the author of wilful misrepresentations; but any one reading this book would rise from it with a far different opinion of the character of those who filled the chair of S. Peter, in the sixteenth century, to what he would have, had he spent the same amount of labour over the volumes of the just and impartial, and certainly more learned, Ranke.

We would gladly give an example of this by extracting the author's character of Pius V.<sup>1</sup> (Fra Michele Ghislieri, chief inquisitor,) and placing by the side of it an<sup>2</sup> extract from Ranke's work, but space will not admit of it. We therefore pass on to say a few words about the special subject of the book.

The “Life and Times of Paleario,” treats of a period of about

<sup>1</sup> Vol. II. pp. 518, 519.

<sup>2</sup> History of the Popes, by Leopold Ranke, Vol. I., pp. 269—273. Bohn.



eighty years, comprising the greater part of the sixteenth century. The life of Paleario himself is contained in nine chapters, interpolated here and there among a number that treat of the general history of the times. This arrangement has a bad effect; it makes the book neither a biography nor a history, and tends to mar the interest and add to the confusion almost inevitable in a record of this period. A history of the Reformation is always intricate, because of the number of characters that have to be introduced, and the wide extent of country over which it ranges. The stage is, so to say, always crowded, and the scene always shifting; and thus the plot of the drama is obscured. It has been then our object to separate the story of Paleario, as far as can be, from the general narrative of the movement in which he was concerned, and to present to our readers in an abbreviated, but connected form, the main features of his life.

But little is known about the early years of Paleario. When we have said that he was born about the beginning of the year 1500, at Veroli, an old episcopal city on the Cosa, and was baptized under the name<sup>1</sup> Antonio, we have stated all that can be ascertained with certainty. It is probable that his parents were members of an old family, but at the time of their son's birth their property was but small. They appear to have died while their son was yet young, though not too young to remember them with deep affection.

Being thus left his own master in early life, and in possession of a small estate, he quitted Veroli for Rome, in order to pursue more readily those classical studies in which he afterwards became distinguished. We do not know whether he actually witnessed those horrors of the sack of Rome, which our author describes at length in another part of this history, but he arrived at that city several years before that event, and was there again for some time after it. It is however not improbable that, like many other students, he retired from the city on the approach of Bourbon's army, and so escaped the misery of witnessing such licence and rapine.

Paleario chose for his chief subjects of study the works of Cicero and Aristotle, the former of whom appears to have been always before his eyes, as the model for his own letters and orations. The latter, to some of which we shall presently refer, are thoroughly Ciceronian in style. He adopted the law as his profession, but devoted the greater part of his time to the study of theology.

Although possessed of some property, he had not enough to render him entirely independent, and we accordingly find him about the year 1529, domesticated in the house of a rich noble, whom in a letter to a friend he denominates<sup>2</sup> "Cæsar noster." He

<sup>1</sup> This he subsequently changed to Aonio, as being more classical and euphonious.

<sup>2</sup> The author thinks it possible that this may be Cardinal Cesarini. Vol. I., p. 73 (note.)

appears to have had charge of his patron's library, but in consequence of an affront to which he was subjected, owing to the false accusations brought against him, he threw up his post in disgust and quitted Rome, in order to seek out a more congenial abode than he could find in that city. Writing to a friend (Mauro d'Arcano) he says :—

“ So earnestly do I think after philosophy, and those studies, to which before the capture of Rome by the Spaniards, I had devoted six years, that now, having laid them aside for two years past, I ardently desire to resume them. From the avarice of those whom it would not be proper to name, there are no professors of philosophy at Rome. I hear that literature flourishes in Tuscany ; there is nothing to prevent my going straight to Siena, unless I first visit Perugia, where my friend Ennio is vice legate.”—Vol. I., p. 76.

At Perugia he met with a warm reception, and his friend offered to procure him “ an honourable post in the college of young students,” but he says with regard to him, “ as this college is full of barbarisms, my first object was to leave as soon as possible.”<sup>1</sup> He accordingly left it after a stay of some months, and arrived at Siena on the 27th Oct., 1530.

He had intended to make but a short stay at this place, and go on to Padua, then in the zenith of its reputation as the abode of learning and science ; but difficulties with regard to money detained him some time, and his wish was at last gratified only by the sale of his paternal estate. The letters<sup>2</sup> written at this time, show him to have been a thorough Italian in character, passionate but generous, free-spoken, and yet at times, given to dissimulation. We however have not space to quote them, and must leave our readers to study them for themselves. They give many interesting pictures of the manners and customs of those times.

The end for which Paleario had so long laboured was now at last reached, and in the quiet university town of Padua he gave himself up to intense study, varied only by the society of learned men. Before long, he composed and published a poem in three parts, on the immortality of the soul, of which we have the following high commendation from the hand of Saldoletto, Bishop of Carpentras.

“ It is written in good and accurate Latin, and shows evident mark of great diligence and discernment ; brilliant passages may also be found, strikingly conspicuous for classic taste. But what I appreciate more than all the rest, are the Christian sentiments and the pure and upright religious opinions it contains. The veneration towards a beneficent Creator, and the feelings of piety found here, are not only calcu-

<sup>1</sup> Vol. I. p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. I., p. 87—91.

lated to instruct the ignorant, but are suited to fan the flame of devotion, and direct the mind towards pure religion."—Vol. I., p. 155.

About the year 1537, Paleario returned from Padua to Siena, having at last decided to settle in the neighbourhood of this town. He accordingly bought a small villa in the territory of Volterra, and shortly afterwards married. His house was not ill-suited to be the abode of a scholar and lover of Cicero, as it had once belonged to A. Cecina, a friend of Cicero, and still bore his name.

During his residence at this place, he published a<sup>1</sup> book on the benefits of CHRIST's death, which at the time gave rise to considerable controversy, and concerning which we shall have more to say anon. Troubles now came upon him; he had made many enemies, and a cry of heresy was raised against him. The storm which now broke forth appears to have been gathering for many years. Shortly after his first arrival at Padua, he had returned for a brief period to Siena, in order to defend a friend, Antonio Bellanti Petrini, from a false and malicious accusation brought against him under the Saline<sup>2</sup> laws. His bold defence of his friend appears to have made him enemies among those powerful in the state, and an opportunity now occurred for them to attack him. He was known, though a layman, to be a student of theology, was suspected of favouring the German Reformers, and a quarrel with an ignorant friar eventually compelled him to make a journey to Rome to defend himself from the perils that were gathering around him. Paleario's own letters are the chief sources from which we derive our information, and consequently, it is very difficult to ascertain the exact grounds on which his accusers rested their charges. Paleario himself attributes them to pure malice, and to the misinterpretation, or rather wresting of the meaning, of certain passages of his book. He asserts most emphatically in a letter to Francesco Bandini, Archbishop of Siena, that "I do not acknowledge anything to be holy or right either in my words or writings, except it be approved by the *ἐκκλησία καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολική*. This sentence, full of heart, energy, and piety, I depose as a sure testimony before you, as a most holy man, and as the most religious and best sanctuary I know of."

We find him however, about the same time in correspondence with the Swiss and Genevese reformers, so that there may have been some ground for suspicion, in a day, when unhappily, tolerance was an unknown virtue. Fortunately for him, at this time his friend Saldoletto visited Italy, and he and other powerful men interested themselves on Paleario's behalf, so that the accusation against him was quashed. It is doubtful whether he was actually

<sup>1</sup> Vol. I., p. 316.

<sup>2</sup> Laws forbidding the importation of salt, except in certain stated cases and manners. The penalties were very severe. Vol. I., p. 103.

brought to trial, no mention of it occurring (according to our author) in the archives of Siena, but we find among his works an oration in his own defence, composed for delivery before the Senate of Siena. Whatever may have been Paleario's opinions,<sup>1</sup> this oration is evidently the work of a clever and eloquent man, and contains many passages which remind us of his great pattern among the ancients.

Notwithstanding this victory, the enemies of Paleario were sufficiently powerful to hinder him from succeeding at Siena. Already they had prevented his election to the chair of Philology, and not long afterwards he was disappointed in his attempt for that of Belles-lettres. In the year 1546, he was invited by the Senate of Lucca, to be professor of eloquence and the orator to the republic. In discharge of the latter part of his office, he had to make two orations every year before the Senate. Some of these are quoted by our author, and are interesting, as giving a lively picture of the state of learning at that time, and of the feelings and desires of the learned. At Lucca, five years of his life passed away, and in his fiftieth year he resigned his post, not apparently without some disappointment at having done so little in comparison with what he had hoped to do. He had, during this period, suffered frequently from illness and anxiety, and what was perhaps worse, lost by death two of his best friends, Cardinals Bembo and Saldoletto, to whom he could always look for protection.

His last appointment was to a post at Milan, in which city he remained till summoned to Rome on a charge of heresy, grounded on that very oration delivered at Siena, to which we have already referred, and on the teaching in his work on the benefits of CHRIST's death. It seems strange that a charge of so old a date should be again revived; but it appears that Paleario, while at Milan, was in frequent and close correspondence with the Reformers in Switzerland, and had committed to their charge a work against the Papacy, in the hope that it might be brought forward by them whenever a general council should assemble.<sup>2</sup> The chair of S. Peter was now occupied by Pius V.,<sup>3</sup> who had formerly filled the office of Chief Inquisitor, and been then distinguished for the indomitable courage and relentless severity with which he applied himself to rooting out every taint of heresy. It is very probable that some tidings of these acts of Paleario would come to the ears of Pius, through the agency of the emissaries of the Inquisition, and so bring him under suspicion. Be that, however, as it may, two or three years<sup>4</sup> after the election of Pius, Paleario was cited to

<sup>1</sup> In this oration he highly praises Bernardino Ochino, who had lately fled from Italy, to avoid a similar charge, and who already held such extreme reforming doctrine as to say, "The vows of the religious orders are not only invalid, but ungodly," (p. 378.) and calls the Pope Antichrist, (p. 379.)

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii. p. 543.

<sup>3</sup> Michele Ghislieri.

<sup>4</sup> The exact date is uncertain: probably it was about 1568.

appear at Rome. The exact period of his imprisonment there, the mode of his examinations and trial, are entirely unknown. The only account of his death is contained in an extract from the registry of the Society<sup>1</sup> of S. Giovanni Decollato de' Fiorentini, some members of which attended him at his death. We give this as quoted in the book :—

“On Sunday night our company was summoned, and on Monday, the 3rd of July, 1570, Messer Aonio Paleario, of Veroli, an inhabitant of Colle di Val d'Elsa, was consigned to us in Tordinone, as condemned and sentenced by the ministers of the holy Inquisition, who confessed, and penitently asked pardon of God and of His glorious Mother, V. Maria, and of all the court of heaven, and said he wished to die as a good Christian, and that he believed all that the holy Roman Church believes. He did not make any will, except giving us the two letters below, written with his own hand, entreating us to send them to his wife and children at Colle di Val d'Elsa. The holy mass was then celebrated, and at the usual hour he was taken to the bridge, where he was hanged, and then burned. Rome, 8th July, 1570.”—Vol. ii. p. 561.

The author, with M'Crie, feels great doubt of the truth of the statement about the faith in which Paleario died. The record, however, it must be admitted, bears all the marks of truth upon it.<sup>2</sup>

Above, we have alluded to a little book, entitled, “*Trattato utilissimo del Beneficio di Giesu Christo Crocifisso verso i Christiani*,” and a few words about it may not be uninteresting to our readers. It was published in all probability about the year 1540, and few books have obtained a greater or more rapid circulation. In the year 1549 it was placed in the “Index,” and it is computed that at least 40,000 copies were destroyed by the Inquisitors. So successful was the war waged against it, that Macaulay says, “It is now as hopelessly lost as the second decade of Livy.” Such, however, has not proved to be the case; a copy was discovered a few years ago in the Library of S. John's College, Cambridge. This, together with a French translation of 1552, and an English version by Courtenay, Earl of Devon, has been reprinted by the Rev. Churchill Babington, Fellow of that College. From the preface to his work we learn that the Cambridge copy was printed at Venice in 1543, and that there is another copy, now at Laibach, which was printed at Tubigen in 1565. It has been disputed whether this is the book alluded to by Paleario in his oration, and, consequently, whether he was the author of it; but there seems strong presump-

<sup>1</sup> A society of Florentines, established at Rome, who attended persons condemned to death in their last hours. Four of their number passed the last night with the criminal, assisting him in the arrangement of his worldly affairs, if necessary, and comforting him with the ministrations of religion. (Vol. ii. p. 561.)

<sup>2</sup> We know that he used similar words upon a former occasion.

tive evidence in favour of its being his production.<sup>1</sup> The book itself begins with stating the natural wretchedness and lost condition of man, shows that this state has been remedied by the Sacrifice of CHRIST, and that on Him alone forgiveness, justification, and sanctification depend. It points out the effects of faith, and that those who are truly united to CHRIST lead holy lives, and put on CHRIST by framing their conversation after His example. It concludes by giving four remedies against distrust of God's power or willingness to save, namely, prayer, frequent communion, remembrance of Baptism, and a constant sense of God's predestinating or fore-ordaining power over all things. There is very much that is valuable in the book; but the statement of the depravity of man's fallen nature is, as was the case with many of the Reformers, extreme. Take, for example, the following passage:—"Non e lingua che potesse esprimere la millesima parte della nostra calamita, perche essendo noi stati creati da Dio con le sue proprie mani, habbiamo perduta quella divina imagine et siamo divenuti simili al diavolo, fatti connaturali et una medesima cosa con lui," &c.<sup>2</sup> This passage, as may readily be supposed, was most open to attack; and we find that it is the one most successfully assaulted by Catherino, in his treatise against the work.

We might go on to say more of the contemporaneous history, which occupies so large a portion of these volumes; but space forbids. We have selected that part of the work which tells the story of Palæario, because it appeared to us not only the special feature that distinguishes this work from others on the same period, but also most likely to interest our readers, as the result of *bond fide* research on the part of the author. Not, indeed, that the history of a period so stirring is without interest; but others have already made it familiar to many of our readers. We will, therefore, but briefly indicate the principal events which this work brings before us. Commencing with the sack of Rome it details at length the disputes and intrigues of Charles V. and Francis I., the personal history of the chief Reformers and men of note of the day; among others, of Valdes, Ochino, Vermiglio, Contarini, and Vergerio; the progress of the Reformation in Switzerland, Germany, and England; the history of the Council of Trent, and the abdication and last days of Charles V. In all this there is much interesting and valuable information. The author has evidently bestowed time and trouble in investigating the documents referring to these times, which are contained in foreign libraries; but the effect of so much labour is considerably marred by the discursive manner in which the book is written, and by the frequent recurrence of reflections and platitudes, to which the school of theology of which the author

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i. ch. viii. Vide Ranke's History of the Popes, vol. i. p. 105, (ed. Bohn,) for the contrary opinion.

<sup>2</sup> Trattato utilissimo, p. 3. (Babington.)

boasts himself a member seems particularly addicted. While, then, we thank him for much new information on a very interesting period of Church history, we must again express our regret that he undertook his work in the spirit of a partisan, and excluded equity from the list of things necessary for the right accomplishing of his task.

### DR. HESSEY'S BAMPTON LECTURES.

*Sunday. Its Origin, History, and Present Obligation, considered in Eight Lectures preached before the University of Oxford in the year 1860, on the foundation of the late Rev. John Bampton, M.A.*  
By JAMES AUGUSTUS HESSEY, D.C.L. London: Murray.

"THE thing that hath been it is that which shall be, and that which is done is that which shall be done." Questions which roused men's minds centuries ago, which stirred ill blood in families and parishes or agitated kingdoms, respecting which divines prayed and pamphleteers scribbled and partizans wrangled, and good men doubted and sceptics sneered, and which it has been thought were quietly settled and disposed of, start back again to life with the same noise, arouse the same interest and excite the same passions as at their first starting. Our own times have been remarkable for the reopening of questions deemed closed for centuries. The relations of Church and State, the nature of the Royal Supremacy, the laws which regulate the election of Bishops, matters which our immediate ancestors received as settled from their forefathers, and which in dutiful affection for them, they never thought of questioning, have been debated by us with interest, zeal, and no little acrimony. Compared with the inertness of the preceding century, the activity of the present strikes one as almost overstrained. In one point of view it looks like a restless curiosity which inquires into every thing which has come down from the past, while in another it seems to represent a desire to get at the truth at all risks and hazards.

One of the questions thus stirred now-a-days is that of the Sunday. There has been a certain traditional observance of Sunday assented to universally by Englishmen for centuries. That churches should be open and shops closed, that no places of amusement should cater for public favour, that business should be suspended and the weary labourer rest,—these things have been acknowledged on all hands as constituting proper and decorous observance of the

**Lord's Day.** And Englishmen have plumed themselves—and with justice—on the quiet dignity of their English Sunday as free from the licence of the Continent, or the rigid Sabbatarianism of Scotland. This mode of Sunday observance, this *via media* seemed to harmonise with our whole religious system : perhaps as being something peculiarly English we were very proud of it. And men have acquiesced in it without knowing why, just as they have in the “Dearly Beloved,” or the pews and clerk of the parish church. They did not trouble themselves about Lord's Day, Sabbath, or Sunday, or the Commandments or ecclesiastical traditions, and were content to acquiesce in the settlement they found, caring little for and knowing less about the strifes and controversies to which two hundred years ago the Sunday question gave birth.

But suddenly, and very suddenly, we find ourselves plunged into the midst of quarrels, strifes, and questionings, very like those which agitated the days of Laud and Charles. The whole Sunday question has been rudely stirred, and the grounds of its observance questioned. The puritan party, who for long have arrogated to themselves the guardianship of Sunday, have suddenly found themselves called upon to render a reason for its observance, and as of old find themselves unable to extricate themselves from the horns of the dilemma—“If the fourth commandment is binding, why do you not keep Saturday? If it is not, *prove*, if you can, from Scripture the obligatory observance of the first day of the week.” It is fair to say that puritanism has not provoked the attack, for it has not been allowed to restrict the liberty of the people on Sunday. It has contented itself with denouncing excursion trains, steam-boat traffic, opening of Kew Gardens, and the like ; but excursion trains have run, steam-boats plied, and Kew Gardens been thrown open, notwithstanding, and puritanism has been compelled to content itself with lording it in private families, and inflicting its Sabbath austerities on helpless and unresisting children. But the question has been stirred by the opponents of the observance of any religious day at all, as well as by those who wish to exchange an English Sunday for a continental one. Hence the assumed anxiety for the working classes and the attempts to throw open the British Museum and the National Gallery on Sundays.

Now, as we said, all this has stirred the question, Is the observance of one day in seven a Divine ordinance? Is that day Saturday or Sunday? Is Sunday the same as the Jewish Sabbath, or altogether a different institution? Do we keep it because God orders it in Holy Scripture, or because the Church has enjoined it? Questions of this kind are asked on all sides, and the little force and cogency of the arguments upon which sabbatarianism rests, and the inconsistencies of its professors, are exposed unsparingly and mercilessly. On the other hand puritanism goes on muttering “Keep holy the sabbath day,” and we are brought back



to Archbishop Laud, Dr. Bownd, and Peter Heylin; and the Sunday band question was but a nineteenth century repetition of the Book of Sports.

Dr. Hessey divides the views held respecting Sunday into two grand divisions: 1, that which considers the law of the Jewish sabbath still binding, the day being changed. This Dr. Hessey calls the sabbatarian view. 2. That which considers the Jewish sabbath repealed, and the observance of the LORD'S Day to be of ecclesiastical institution like any other festival. This he calls the Dominical view. But besides these, there are those who dislike sabbatarianism and yet shrink from the last proposition, who do not believe the fourth commandment to be binding, yet do not like to degrade Sunday to a level with an ordinary feast or fast or thanksgiving-day appointed by public authority; who value and venerate the LORD'S Day as a Christian institution, and as part of the traditional observances of the Catholic Church,—holding a position sufficiently intelligible to an educated mind, but which requires some degree of mental cultivation to apprehend,—and so sharing the fate which all such positions meet, whether in politics or religion, to be followed by a few thoughtful men, "caviare to the general." It is such as these upon whom Dr. Hessey has conferred a great benefit, and who will find what they want in his lectures.

This is just the period when we might expect the Church through the Universities to enlighten men's minds and free them from the perplexity in which puritanism has entangled them. Many who are truly desirous to keep Sunday holy, and are keenly alive to the inconsistencies of sabbatarianism are scarcely able to give any reason for their belief or their practice. We consider, therefore, Dr. Hessey's publication most opportune, and take this opportunity of thanking him for the bold way in which he has demolished various fictions connected with the subject of Sunday, and placed the observance of the LORD'S Day on a sound, secure, and rational basis. The position he takes up is as follows:

"That the LORD'S Day (a festival on the first day in each week in memory of our LORD'S Resurrection) is of Divine institution and peculiarly Christian in its character, as being indicated in the New Testament, and having been acknowledged and observed by the Apostles and their immediate followers as distinct from the Sabbath (or Jewish festival on the seventh day in each week,) the obligation to observe which is denied, both expressly and by implication, in the New Testament."—P. 19.

We propose then to treat the subject historically, by Dr. Hessey's help, though rather reversing his arrangements, as we shall begin with the Sabbath, the history of which commences with the history of creation, for "GOD blessed the seventh day and sanctified it, because that in it He had rested from all His work which GOD

created and made." The day was then set apart as a sacred day, or at least God intimated that it should be, which is all that Genesis ii. 23 really asserts. Dr. Hessey well says :

" But still the blessing and sanctifying of the seventh day is mentioned so long before it was actually imposed upon man. This is, at any rate, a stubborn fact. How is it to be accounted for? We may reply with Bede, God sanctified the Sabbath, '*non actu et reipsâ, sed decreto et destinatione spâ, quasi diceret, 'Quia quievit Deus die septimo, hinc illum diem ordinavit Sibi sacrum, ut indiceretur festus colendus a Judæis.''*' We may remember, that though *we* know perfectly well the cosmogony as it is set forth in Genesis, nay the very words uttered by the Creator during and after the completion of His work, and the counsel and confederation of the glorious Three in One in accomplishing it, there is not sufficient evidence for believing that its great and wondrous tale was disclosed to mankind before Moses wrote it. Genesis was a revelation to Moses, not to Adam. We may urge, with Archbishop Bramhall, 'that the sanctifying of the seventh day there, is no more than the 'sanctifying' of Jeremy 'from his mother's womb,' that is the designing or destinating him to be a prophet; or than the 'separating' of S. Paul 'from his mother's womb.' So the sanctification of the seventh day may signify the decree or determination of God to sanctify it in due time; but *as* Jeremy's actual sanctification, and S. Paul's actual separation, followed long after they were born, *so* the actual sanctification of the Sabbath might follow long after the ground of God's decree for the sanctification of that day, and the destination of it to that use.'"—Pp. 136, 137.

Modern divines have generally assumed, that the Sabbath was observed by the patriarchs, and only re-enacted by Moses at the delivery of the law. Thus Horsley answers the question what observance of the Sabbath is due from Christians, by the assertion the same as was given by the patriarchs before the law. And Graves instances the Sabbath as one of the external observances of the religion of Noah. But for this assertion they bring forward no evidence whatever. They assume it, that is all; and as the assumption falls in with the popular current of sentiment on the subject, the assertion passes unquestioned. The difficulties of proving a negative are notorious; but in this case we think the difficulties of proving an affirmative are at least equally great. It is nowhere said of Adam or Abel that they observed the Sabbath; it is said that they worshipped God by sacrifice, and one of the periods at which they did so, "the end of days," probably harvest, is mentioned. But it is not said that the Sabbath was an institution in the primeval Church. The history of Noah brings out incidentally the division of time into sevens, and upon this the theory of patriarchal Sabbath observance has been built. The Sabbath is mentioned nowhere in the history of Melchisedec, the priest of the most high God, or Abraham, the father of the faithful, or Isaac,

the son of promise, or Jacob, the founder of the nation; the word or thing occurs nowhere in the Book of Job, which is full of the theology and religious rites of the remotest antiquity. *Continual* sacrifice occurs, but no sabbatical worship is mentioned, no special honour put on the Sabbath day.<sup>1</sup> The Scripture *proof*, then, is, to say the least, deficient. Nor does tradition assist. The so called precepts of Noah, which the Jews considered as containing the germ of all truth preserved among the Gentiles, are equally silent with Scripture as to the observance of the Sabbath. Among the Gentiles themselves you meet with many vestiges of primeval truth and primeval worship, but a Sabbath they knew nothing of. It does not seem to have formed part of the primeval religion. "It is only in the East that anything like a septenary division is found to prevail."<sup>2</sup> The decads of the Greeks, the Kalends, Nones, Ides, the Nundinæ, (said to be an Etruscan element) of the Latin calendar, show their calendars were formed on different principles. The fancies of the *πάνδημος ἱερεῖς*, the universal recognition of the seventh day, owe their origin to the national pride of Philo and Josephus. Any schoolboy knows classical literature is quite innocent of any recognition of the seventh day as more holy than the rest. Dies fasti, nefasti, festi, profesti, intercisi, feriæ publicæ et feriæ privatæ, meet us. But a regular weekly seventh-day rest from labour and business only excite the scoff of the hard working Roman: "Septimo die otium placuisse ferunt, quia is finem laborum tulerit, dein blandiente inertia, septimum quoque annum inertiae datum."<sup>3</sup> The satirist is not behind the historian in expressing his contempt for the

"metuentem sabbata patrem  
... cui septima quæque fuit lux  
Ignava, et partem vitæ non attigit ullam."

And the early Fathers seem of one mind as to the utter want of truth in the exaggerated notions of the patriarchal observance of the Sabbath which the Jews entertained. It seems to have been one of the arguments urged with much force against the Jews in days when Judaism was a formidable enemy of the Church, that neither circumcision nor the Sabbath could be necessary to secure God's favour, seeing the patriarchs were accepted by Him, without

<sup>1</sup> You find each of the ten Commandments recognized as principles before the law, except the fourth. God only is worshipped, idols are put away, God's name venerated, honour given to parents; murder, adultery, theft, covetousness, regarded and treated as sins and offences,—not a trace of the Sabbath. You find sacrificial worship and traces of a ritual, but no trace beyond Noah's waiting seven days of anything the other way, and even then it does not follow because time was divided into *sevens*, that every seventh day was regarded as holy. Noah's history shows the first, does it the second? Vid. Heylin.

<sup>2</sup> P. 140.

<sup>3</sup> Tacit. Hist. v. 3. Juv. Sat. xiv. 96, 106.

either. The patriarchal worthies are over and over again spoken of as living rather according to the Christian than Jewish law, because they neither observed circumcision nor the Sabbath. It may be sufficient to quote one or two passages in which this is stated very strongly. Thus Justin Martyr quoted by Dr. Hessey.

"As for *σαββατίζειν*, he constantly uses that with exclusive reference to the Jewish law. He carefully distinguishes Saturday (*ἡ κρονικὴ*), the day after which our LORD was crucified, from Sunday (*ἡ μετὰ τὴν κρονικὴν ἡ τις ἐστὶν ἡ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡμέρα*), upon which He rose from the dead. He asserts, that the fathers before Abraham, and Abraham himself and his sons up to the days of Moses, pleased GOD, without keeping Sabbath (*μὴ σαββατίζαντες*)—that as before Abraham's days there was no need of circumcision, so before those of Moses, there was no need of *σαββατισμός* and Feasts and Offerings—that the New Law requires us to keep a perpetual Sabbath, a position which he contrasts strongly with the conduct which he attributes to the Jews, namely, their placing the whole of their religion in cessation of work for one day—(*σαββατίζειν [ὑμᾶς, corr.] ἡμᾶς ὁ καινὸς νόμος διαπαντὸν ἐθέλει, καὶ ὑμεῖς μίαν ἀργαυντες ἡμέραν εὐσεβεῖν δοκεῖτε, μὴ νοοῦντες διὰ τί ὑμῖν προσετάγη*)—and that to turn from sin is to keep the delightful and true Sabbaths of GOD. (*σεσαββάτικε τὰ τρυφερά καὶ ἀληθινὰ σάββατα τοῦ Θεοῦ.*)"—Pp. 56, 57.

And Tertullian :

"The great and learned enthusiast, Tertullian, is our next writer. His date may be placed at the termination of the second century. Of course I do not forget that he became a Montanist about A.D. 202, and that, therefore, the orthodoxy of some of his works is more than questionable. But I quote him, as in other cases, as a witness to facts. Here are some of his expressions :—' He who argues for Sabbath-keeping and Circumcision must show that Adam and Abel, and the just of old time observed these things.' (*Qui contendit et Sabbathatum adhuc observandum, quasi Salutis medelam, et circumcisionem octavi diei, propter mortis comminationem ; doceat, in præteritum justos sabbatizasse et circumcidisse, et sic amicos Dei effectos . . . cum neque circumcisionem neque sabbatizantem Deus Adam instituerit, consequenter quoque sobolem ejus Abel offerentem sibi sacrificia, incircumcisionem nec sabbatizantem laudavit.*) Then he goes on to insist upon the idea which we have found elsewhere, that the Sabbath was figurative of rest from sin, and typical of man's final rest in GOD. It and other ceremonial matters belonging to the Mosaic dispensation, were only intended to last till a new lawgiver should arise who should introduce the realities of which these were shadows."—Pp. 61, 62.

Supposing, too, that the Sabbath had been matter of obligation in the Patriarchal Church, it is strange to find no allusion to it during the captivity. The condition of the Israelites, indeed, in Egypt was such as to preclude any observance of the Sabbath. They were slaves, and at the disposal of their masters. But we do

not find it even existing as a tradition among them, as something which, though they were unable to keep it, ought to have been observed. When safe from their enemies they journeyed without scruple on the Sabbath as well as any other day. When they gathered a double quantity of manna on the sixth day, they do not seem to have had the slightest idea that the next day had any peculiar sanctity about it. The rulers of the congregation came and told Moses, and he said unto them, "This is that which the LORD hath said, To-morrow is the rest of the holy Sabbath unto the LORD; bake that which ye will bake to-day, and seethe that ye will seethe; and that which remaineth over, lay up for you to be kept until the morning . . . And Moses said, Eat that to-day, for to-day is a Sabbath unto the LORD, to-day ye shall not find it in the fields; six days ye shall gather it, but on the seventh day, which is the Sabbath, in it there shall be none." Yet so little did the people understand him, that they went out as usual to look for manna, and incurred his reproof. The first impression we gain of the transaction is, that Moses' doctrine of a Sabbath was a novelty to his hearers. Dr. Hessey is quite right in considering this "the first promulgation of the Sabbath."<sup>1</sup> But it may be urged against this, that when this hint respecting a Sabbath was succeeded by an enactment, and the fourth commandment issued from Sinai, the seventh day was expressly hallowed because of God's rest from creation; and that there is in that an appeal to a fact known and recognised by the Jews sufficient to indicate that the Sabbath was a part of the primeval revelation. But considering the peculiar circumstances of the Hebrew people, their past history and future destiny, this allusion to God's resting on the seventh day is quite intelligible without having recourse to a supposition founded on so little evidence. The Jews had been in Egypt where the honour due to the Creator had been lavished upon inferior and unworthy objects, and the Jews were to be the especial maintainers of the Unity of the Godhead, and the worshippers of the true God. What so natural or so congruous with the end of their national existence as to remind them at this juncture that God was the Creator of all things, and to embody, by specially setting apart the day as sacred on which the work of creation was finished, the great fundamental truth that all things were made by God? Thus every Sabbath would witness to the purpose for which God set them apart, and be in unison with the other details of the system. When they rested each seventh day because God had rested on that day from creation, they could not forget that He was the Maker of heaven and earth, and besides Him there was no God.

And this peculiar fitness of the Sabbatical institution to the circumstances of the Jews is borne out by the reasons assigned in Deuteronomy for the observance of the Sabbath: "Remember

<sup>1</sup> P. 149.

that thou wast a servant in the land of Egypt, and that the LORD thy God brought thee out thence, through a mighty hand, and an outstretched arm, therefore the LORD thy God commanded thee to keep the Sabbath day."<sup>1</sup> The Jews themselves looked upon the Sabbath as something peculiarly their own, something which distinguished them more than even circumcision. Not without reason, truly, for God Himself enjoined Moses, saying, "Speak Thou also unto the children of Israel, saying, Verily My Sabbaths ye shall keep; for it is a sign between Me and you, throughout your generations, that ye may know that I am the LORD that doth sanctify you. Ye shall keep the Sabbath therefore; for it is holy unto you; every one that defileth it shall surely be put to death; for whosoever doeth any work therein, that soul shall be cut off from among his people. Six days may work be done; but in the seventh is the Sabbath of rest holy to the LORD; whoso doeth any work on the Sabbath day, he shall surely be put to death. Wherefore the children of Israel shall keep the Sabbath to observe the Sabbath throughout their generations for a perpetual covenant. It is a sign between Me and the children of Israel for ever, for in six days the LORD made heaven and earth, and on the seventh day He rested, and was refreshed."<sup>2</sup> So that after this explicit declaration of the peculiar relation of the Sabbath to the children of Israel, it is not surprising to find echoes of the Divine words in the writings of inspired seers. "I gave them My Sabbaths," saith God by Ezekiel, "to be a sign between Me and them, that they may know that I am the LORD that sanctify them;"<sup>3</sup> and Nehemiah, "Thou camest down also upon Mount Sinai, and spakest with them from heaven, and gavest them right judgments and true laws, good statutes and commandments, and madest known to them Thy holy Sabbath, and commandedst them precepts, statutes, and laws by the hand of Moses Thy servant."<sup>4</sup> We think a Hebrew could have come to no other conclusion than that the Sabbath, like circumcision, was a sign which separated him from the rest of the world, and whilst he bore in his flesh the visible mark of his being of the family of Abraham, so was his weekly sabbath intended to proclaim to all the world his worship of JEHOVAH. It is not a little remarkable that circumcision and the Sabbath are spoken of in much the same language. Thus—

#### *Circumcision.*

"Ye shall circumcise the flesh of your foreskin, and it shall be a token of the covenant betwixt Me and you." Gen. xvii. 11.

#### *Sabbath.*

"It is a sign between Me and the children of Israel for ever." Exod. xxxi. 17.

<sup>1</sup> Deut. v. 13.

<sup>2</sup> Exod. xxxi. 12—18.

<sup>3</sup> Ezek. xx. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Neh. ix. 13.

*Circumcision.*

"I will establish My covenant between Me and thy seed after thee in their generations, for an *everlasting* covenant." Gen. xvii. 7.

"The uncircumcised man-child whose flesh of his foreskin is not circumcised, *that soul shall be cut off from his people*, he hath broken My covenant." Gen. xvii. 14.

*Sabbath.*

"Wherefore the children of Israel shall keep the Sabbath, to observe the Sabbath throughout their generations for a *perpetual* covenant." Exod. xxxi. 16.

"Ye shall keep the Sabbath, therefore, for it is holy unto you. Every one that defileth it shall surely be put to death; for whosoever doeth any work therein, *that soul shall be cut off from among his people*." Exod. xxxi. 14.

The parallel is complete: both are signs, both are tokens of perpetual covenant with the descendants of Abraham, both are obligatory, under pain of death. And this may, perhaps, throw some light upon our LORD's words: "Moses therefore gave you circumcision, (not that it is of Moses, but of the Fathers,) and ye on the Sabbath day circumcise a man. If a man on the Sabbath day receive circumcision, that the law of Moses should not be broken, are ye angry at Me, because I have made a man every whit whole on the Sabbath day?"<sup>1</sup> He seems to intimate the parallel which was between them.

We think, then, we may safely infer the non-existence of the Sabbath previously to the time of Moses, on these grounds:—the non-issuing of any command at the time of creation, the fact of God's rest, and having thereby hallowed the seventh day, being all that is recorded; that by no other people save the Israelites has the seventh day been observed, even when the seventh division has been recognised,—a division easily accounted for by natural causes, without having recourse to the supposition of a Sabbath; that there is no evidence whatever to show the Sabbath was observed by the patriarchs, or was at all familiar to the Israelites on their emancipation from the bondage of Egypt, so much so that they were utterly ignorant, when Moses talked to them of the Sabbath, as to what he meant. They had no notion why there was double manna on Friday, which surely they would have had if there had been even a faint tradition of Sabbatical observance handed down from their fathers. Nor, it is worthy of note, does Moses appeal to any such tradition.

Further, in evidence of the peculiarly Jewish character of the Sabbath, it may be urged, that the Prophets, all through their writings, speak of it as something peculiarly their own; and that it is spoken of in exactly the same manner, and almost the same words, as the rite of circumcision.

<sup>1</sup> S. John vii. 23.

How, then, was the Sabbath observed by the Jews? Dr. Hessey thus sums up:—

“Well, but if the Sabbath, strictly so called, was a positive institution of the Jewish nation—a sign of the many things which have been mentioned—and a federal sign, embracing many under it, have we given a full account of it? By no means; we have to show that it was to be so observed as to be a present blessing. *Rest* was to be its primary characteristic. Its very name, and its appearance as the antithesis of labour, imply this. But what sort of rest? Surely not total inactivity, ἀργία in the worst sense of the word, intermission of all exercise of body, of mind, of affections personal or social, moral or spiritual. Surely it was not designed that on this day the whole machine, so to speak, of Jewish humanity should be stopped, and the pulsations of a mighty nation chilled, even deadened into silence. Such a view has, I firmly believe, no foundation in Scripture. The Israelites were indeed to rest from all labour for subsistence, they were to do no servile work, no fire was to be kindled in their habitations on the Sabbath day (though this prohibition did not forbid the preparation of what every man must eat, for that might be done by them), they were to carry no burdens, they were to restrain their feet from unnecessary journeys, and to break off their ordinary ways and professions: these points we gather most certainly from Scripture. But the Rest was (except on the Great Day of Atonement, which alone was a Fast) of the nature of a Festival. Men might eat bread with their friends on that day, as our SAVIOUR’S example shows. Men might do works of charity or kindness on that day; His example shows this again. And it was a Festival to GOD as well as to themselves—‘Non sibi solum, sed Deo vacabant.’ It was marked publicly by double sacrifices, and by change of the shew-bread; by the receiving of instruction (this is evidenced by the provision that the whole law should be read in the Sabbatical year) from the Priests and Levites who were scattered up and down the country, and from the Prophets, as appears from the question, ‘Why resortest thou to the Prophet to-day, it is neither New Moon nor Sabbath?’ It was further marked by the institution of convocations, which would not have been holy meetings, but mere crowds, except they were employed in prayer and instruction. Singing praises to GOD must also be considered to have formed a part of Sabbath worship, if we may trust that heading of one of the Psalms, ‘For the Sabbath Day.’ (These convocations would seem to have been the germ of the synagogues in which Moses and the Prophets were read on the Sabbath.) In families, the day was marked by release of servants and of cattle from their ordinary work; and in the case of individual Israelites, no doubt, contemplation of GOD’S works and meditation in GOD’S law found a place in the Rest provided for them.”—Pp. 155—157.

We deem it of the utmost importance to have this point well established. The Sabbath was an essentially Jewish ordinance; it came with Moses, it perished with Moses. Like all other ordinances of the Law, it was fulfilled in CHRIST. It has no place under the Gospel; it has vanished for ever away. We heartily



thank Dr. Hessey for the bold utterance with which he concludes his fourth lecture, and dismiss this part of our subject.

"Therefore the Sabbath, the Sabbath of the Fourth Commandment, with everything contained under the word Sabbath, or akin to it, days and times and years, the strongholds and yet the weaknesses of the Law, is abolished. It was a positive ordinance of Judaism, and with Judaism has disappeared."—P. 169.

That the Sabbath was a peculiarly Jewish institution, and perished with the Law, we consider as capable of as demonstrative *proof* from Scripture as the most ardent Protestant can desire. But we are free to confess that there is not such positive proof from Scripture of the Apostolical institution of the LORD's day, any more than there is *positive proof* from Scripture for the practice of infant Baptism, Confirmation, or the doctrine of the Priesthood, or of the Eucharistic Sacrifice. In all these cases there are quite sufficient indications in Scripture of the observance of all these ordinances and teaching these doctrines by the Apostles, which, becoming stereotyped, as it were, by the universal consent of the Church, stamp with sufficient authority these and kindred institutions and dogmas. Baxter, as quoted by Dr. Hessey, p. 15, says well:—

"And that as this change had the very same author as the Holy Scriptures (the HOLY GHOST in the Apostles), so that *fact* hath the same kind of proof that we have of the Canon, and of the integrity and uncorruptness of the particular Scripture Books and Texts; and that, if so much Scripture, as mentioneth the keeping of the LORD's Day, expounded by the consent and practice of the Universal Church from the days of the Apostles (all keeping this day as holy, without the dissent of any one sect, or single person, that I remember to have read of,) I say, if all this history will not fully prove the point of fact, that this day was kept in the Apostles' times, and consequently by their appointment, then the same proof will not serve to evince that any text of Scripture is canonical and uncorrupted; nor can we think that anything in the world, that is past, can have historical proof."

But then one very important feature of the proof (and we think more important than Dr. Hessey seems to think it) is the "consent and practice of the Universal Church," which is a very different thing from the cuckoo cry of the "Bible, and the Bible only." And it is, we are sure, the feeling of this deficiency of *Scriptural* proof for the observance of the LORD's day which leads the ordinary Protestant mind to rest in the Sabbatarian theory of a change of day without change of law, as apparently possessing, on the whole, fewer difficulties, and involving no necessity of recognising the Church.

We need not follow Dr. Hessey through his comments upon the various tests by which he establishes the "high probability" of the

Apostolic institution of the LORD'S Day, though we think he overrates the force of the Scriptural argument. The great events connected with the first day of the week, the great truth of which (how different to modern "schemes of salvation") the Apostles were witnesses, and which was the key-note to their preaching—the Resurrection of the LORD JESUS CHRIST—this by itself would fix the first day of the week upon the minds of His first followers. The wonders of Pentecost would strengthen this feeling. When then we find S. Paul at Troas celebrating Holy Communion on the first day of the week, and writing to the Corinthians respecting the observance of it, (1 Cor. xvi. 1, 2,) we may without much fear assume that the first day is identical with ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα of S. John, and that very likely the assemblies spoken of in Heb. x. 25 took place on that day. But surely we cannot but feel this is a very slender foundation to build up such an observance as the LORD'S Day. Troas and Corinth are not the Catholic Church, nor S. Paul or S. John the only Apostles. A captious observer might require evidence of the doings of other Apostles, and the custom of other places, before, on Protestant principles, he acknowledged the Apostolic institution of the LORD'S Day. We say, by itself, the evidence is slight, when looked at from the merely Protestant point of view, though not slight when taken into connection with the acknowledged universality of the observance of the LORD'S Day by the Catholic Church from the beginning. That commentary of fact leaves us no doubt as to the Apostolic nature of the LORD'S Day; and we have only written as we have to show the utter folly of the common Protestant notion of requiring everything to be proved from Scripture, and expecting demonstrative proof in a matter which only admits of moral. "At any rate," Dr. Hessey well observes, "if we may judge from parallel instances, it is all that the nature of the case allows."

But Sabbatarianism replies, supposing the Apostles did observe, and by observing make obligatory the first day of the week, (which we readily allow,) and so supersede the seventh day; the duties enjoined by the fourth Commandment are only transferred from the seventh to the first day. We have a Christian Sabbath, but still a Sabbath! Now to this we reply, that next to the fiction of a patriarchal Sabbath this fiction of transference is the greatest that we know. We will let Dr. Hessey dispose of it.

"The replies may be made almost as concise as the question. In no one place in the New Testament is there the slightest hint that the LORD'S Day is a Sabbath, or that it is to be observed Sabbatically, or that its observance depends on the fourth Commandment, or that the principle of the Sabbath is sufficiently carried out by one day in seven being consecrated to God. Whatever the LORD'S Day had, was its own, not borrowed from the Sabbath, which was regarded for religious purposes as existing no longer. Nay more, when certain Judaizing per-

sons had troubled the Church by insisting that the law of Moses was binding upon Gentile converts, the Apostles met in council. Their decision was that certain things should be *abstained* from by the Gentiles, but they did not enjoin any positive ceremonial observance connected with the older Covenant, not even the Sabbath. And to this it should be added, that S. Paul in writing to the Colossians (ii. 16,) to the effect, that 'the handwriting of ordinances that was against us, which was contrary to us,' was 'blotted out by CHRIST,' 'taken out of the way by Him,' and 'nailed by Him to His Cross,' subjoins this remarkable exemplification of his meaning: 'Let no man, therefore, judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of an holy day, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath days: which are a shadow of things to come; but the body is of CHRIST.' In writing to the Galatians (iv. 9, 10,) he says, in like manner, 'Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years. I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain.' No testimony can be more decisive than this to the fact that the Sabbath was of obligation no longer."—Pp. 48, 49.

Our space will not allow us to follow Dr. Hessey at length through the evidence he adduces from the Fathers respecting the observance of the LORD's day and its complete separation from the Sabbath; but we will set before the reader the result of his inquiries in his own words:—

"Many interesting points have been brought to our notice in the quotations adduced. The writers speak variously of the Sabbath, some insisting on the fact of its abrogation, some bringing out its allegorical and typical character. And they speak variously of the LORD's Day; some referring to the Circumcision day as a type of it; some to the commencement of the manna shower, as an honour conferred by anticipation upon it; some to the primeval creation of light for its sanction; some, in fact the great majority, to the LORD's Resurrection as having been its reason. They are not critics, and perhaps we cannot always coincide with their exegesis of Scripture, or sympathize with all their expressions, either in the passages now adduced or in the rest of their compositions. But with every abatement, their negative agreement is most valuable. None of them speak of the Sabbath as binding upon Christians, or as connected with the Christian life, except in a typical instructive sense; none of them identify it with the LORD's Day; none of them transfuse the spirit of the Sabbath into the LORD's Day, or refer either to the Fourth Commandment or to God's rest after the Creation for the sanctions of the LORD's Day. With the exception perhaps of what is said in that one passage of Tertullian, (which however need mean no more than I have attributed to it,) and with merely this difference, that a form of worship, an orderly arrangement of teaching, and of administration of the LORD's Supper have sprung up, and that recognised buildings for the holding of its Christian assemblies now exist, the LORD's Day is the same free and purely Christian institution, after the lapse of so long a time, as it was when S. Paul preached at Troas, or S. John was in the spirit on the desert rock in the *Ægean*."—Pp. 71—73.

Having established then the Apostolical authority of the LORD's Day as distinguished from the Sabbath, and its observance on that ground during the early ages, Dr. Hessey proceeds to consider the history of LORD's Day observance from the appearance of the celebrated edict of Constantine which prohibited all work, save agricultural, on the Sunday. In the long list of authors quoted, whilst at this period the observance of the day is rather enforced than voluntarily rendered, nevertheless, to quote Dr. Hessey's words:—

“In no clearly genuine passage that I can discover in any writer of these two centuries, or in any public document ecclesiastical or civil, is the Fourth Commandment referred to as the ground of the obligation to observe the LORD's Day. In no passage, too, is there anything like a reference to the Creation words, as the ground of the obligation to observe it, with the exception perhaps of that one passage in Chrysostom in which the command for the seventh day is made *αἰνιγματωδῶς* to shadow forth the command for the first. In no passage is there anything like the confusion between ‘the seventh day,’ and ‘one day in seven,’ of which we have heard so much in England since A.D. 1595. In no passage is there any hint of the transfer of the Sabbath to the LORD's Day, or of the planting of the LORD's Day on the ruins of the Sabbath, those fictions of modern times. If the Sabbath appears, it appears as a perfectly distinct day. And what is still more to our purpose, looking at the matter as a practical one, though law proceedings are forbidden, and labours for gain (at any rate in towns) are forbidden, and amusements unseemly for a Christian on any day are forbidden, no symptom is as yet discoverable of compulsory restrictions of, or conscientious abstinence from such recreations and necessary duties (other than trades and professions) as are permissible on other days, so long as they do not interfere with Divine worship, and the things connected with it, and appropriate to the LORD's Day.”—Pp. 114, 115.

Thus up to the end of the sixth century the evidence is clear as to the distinction drawn between the Sabbath and Sunday, and the absence of all puritanical restrictions on the Christian festival.

Contrasted with the clear and decisive manner in which the Fathers separate the LORD's Day from the Sabbath, the change in the tone of some mediæval writers is very remarkable. We would recommend the perusal of the latter part of Lecture III. to Bishops Villiers, Bickersteth, and Co., seeing that the mistakes made by various mediæval writers and councils on the subject are as ludicrous as those in which they indulge when holding forth upon the subject of the Sabbath. “The rise of ecclesiastical Sabbatarianism in the Church of Rome anterior to the Reformation” is a very remarkable phenomenon, and we cannot but hope Mr. Dyce will allow his pamphlet referred to by Dr. Hessey to see the light.

It is very curious to find all the common places of Puritanism anticipated in the middle ages: Alcuin, in the eighth century, as-

serting the transference of the Sabbath to the LORD's Day; S. Bernard enforcing the observance of the fourth Commandment; the very phrase, "the Christian Sabbath," first appearing in the writings of Petrus Alphonsus; all kinds of "Apocryphal judgments" overtaking "Sabbath breakers;" and to crown all Archbishop Chicbele confounding the two days. "*Die Dominico videlicet die septimo.*" What a satisfaction it must be to the Record to find itself in such company, and to discover such men were "sound on the Sabbath."

Dr. Hessey accounts for this by supposing it arose from a necessity the Church felt in consequence of the multiplication of festivals of finding some higher sanction than mere Church authority for the LORD's Day, and accustomed to refer to the Old Testament as furnishing analogy for her great festivals, analogy led the way to identification of the Sabbath with Sunday. We are not sure this explains the matter; we wait till the whole subject, new to many of our readers, has received more investigation. Neither do we in fairness think Dr. Hessey ought to put this theory on the Church. It was a theory of a school within the Church, but not the theory propounded by the Church. Pope Gregory the Great spoke strongly against it; and in our own country, Archbishop Islip, at Canterbury, and Archbishop Neville, at York, were very careful in injunctions and expositions to put Sunday on its right grounds, and to distinguish it from the Sabbath.

But from whatever cause it is certain that at the time of the Reformation Sunday was very badly observed. In Elizabeth's time theatres were open and bears baited. And if we may venture upon giving utterance to so unpopular an opinion, we think the Book of Sports does not deserve such wholesale condemnation as it has received at the hands of all writers. Might it not have been an attempt to wean the people by degrees from the brutal sports of degrading pastimes which were a disgrace to Sunday? It surely was an improvement on the state of things under Elizabeth.

We have not space to pursue the history of Sunday observance further, nor to follow Dr. Hessey through his very full but rather heavy dissertations in the 6th and 7th Lectures. We part with him, thanking him for having rendered good service to the Church at the present juncture by handling the Sunday question in these lectures. He has furnished many who dislike Sabbatarianism, and yet dread any approach to a continental Sunday, with sound arguments whereby they may be able to hold the sanctity of the day against all comers. The LORD's day is no Sabbath, but it stands on higher ground, and claims our obedience with higher sanctions, than the festival, e. g., of SS. Simon and Jude. Dr. Hessey has illustrated this position against secularists and Sabbatarians learnedly and well, and has brought a great amount of reading and research to bear upon his subject. His book, for the reasons we gave at

the beginning of this paper, (to say nothing of the fact of its appearing in the form of Bampton Lectures) will not be popular. The Sabbatarian theory is too deeply ingrained in the nation to be easily upset. And perhaps, under present circumstances, it may be well to acquiesce in a pious fraud, and not disturb the received notion about the fourth commandment. But intellectually and historically Sabbatarianism is untenable. Dr. Hessey has shown this clearly, and that the Church of England has never committed herself to it, notwithstanding the (we must say) unfortunate insertion of the Decalogue in her Communion Office, is equally certain. We refer our readers to Dr. Hessey's excellent remarks on this subject:—

“Our Church, therefore, would seem, while she directs us to regard whatever is moral in the Fourth Commandment, to permit us and even to direct us so far to spiritualize whatever is positive in it, as to substitute for the Sabbath, and the description of it and of the way in which it is to be observed, the LORD'S DAY and a description of it, and of the way in which it is to be observed, according to the genius of Christianity. We are nowhere told that we are to obey the Commandments called moral, *because* they are contained in the Decalogue. They are binding upon us *because* they are elements of the great natural law, written in our hearts at first, and authoritatively republished by CHRIST. We are nowhere told that the Decalogue is absolutely and in every respect moral; indeed, that opinion of Calvin seems to be a probable one, that it was intended to be a synopsis of the whole Jewish Law of every kind, moral, ceremonial, political. Our Church seems to have considered it in like manner to be a synopsis, spiritually regarded, of the whole law by which Christians are bound, both moral and positive, and without requiring us to accept it in its exact terms, to have placed it before us as a sufficiently convenient summary of all Christian duty. (Most of the expositors include every Christian duty, moral and positive, under its provisions, either in the spirit or in the letter.) Do what we will, place the LORD'S DAY on whatever grounds we please, (unless we adopt the fiction that the first day of the week was the actual seventh from the Creation,) we must spiritualize it in some way or other as we utter the prayer about keeping it. The Sabbatarian spiritualizes it in his peculiar way, i.e., by saying actually of the First Day, what was originally said of the Seventh Day. The man who holds the purely Ecclesiastical theory spiritualizes it in his way, or rather in a variety of ways which will be mentioned presently. He then does no strange thing, but Christianises the oldness of the letter, who, when he hears the Fourth Commandment rehearsed in his ears, thinks of the day hallowed by CHRIST'S Resurrection, the birthday of the world to life and immortality, and desiring grace to observe it worthily, says, ‘LORD, have mercy upon me, and incline my heart to use rightly Thine own day, the LORD'S DAY.’”—Lecture V., pp. 203, 204.

“And now I beg you to observe the striking features of this view. It no more binds us to the very words of this Commandment than the repetition of the same words after the Second bids us consider it a sin

to cultivate statuary or painting, or after the Fifth to look forward to our days being long either on earth generally or in a literal Canaan."—Lecture V., p. 206.

The truth is, that Sabbatarianism, as of old, is the tenet of a school within the Church, not the teaching of the Church. It has, brought about, we confess, a state of things for which we have reason to be thankful, and therefore, as we said, we may afford to be gentle with it, and, while steadily resisting its encroachments, yet not be too anxious to impress upon the people that the fourth commandment has no longer any force. Meanwhile every attempt like the present to put the matter on its right footing ought to be welcomed by thinking men, and will do its work among the few, who in turn may influence the many.

We wish we could part with the Bampton Lecturer without differing from him in any material point; but the very good service he has done renders it more necessary to protest against his marring his own work. We cannot disguise our regret and wonder that after so much learning as this book displays, he should be found advocating the practice of evening Communion. He must surely know that antiquity, which witnesses so clearly for the LORD'S Day, witnesses equally clearly for morning celebrations. If the tradition of the Church is worth anything in the one case, it must be in another. Sabbatarianism is not more opposed to Catholic practice than evening Communion. S. Chrysostom's evidence is not to be got rid of by calling it exaggerated, nor does S. Augustine's reasoning affect a question of fact. The fag-end of a paper is not the place to enter upon this large and important question, but we cannot close these remarks without putting upon record, first, our astonishment that the Bampton Lecturer should have gone out of his way to advocate such a new-fangled and dangerous practice as evening Communion; and, secondly, our regret that the preacher who has so thoroughly exposed the fallacies and absurdities of Sabbatarianism should have been induced to lend the weight of his name and office towards propagating a greater evil than Sabbatarianism—a practice which can only end in the entire desecration of the Blessed Eucharist—stripping it of its mystery, and lowering it in people's minds to the level in which Dissenters regard "the ordinance of the LORD'S Supper." This is what its advocates mean. It is part of a system to assimilate, as far as may be, the Church to the conventicle. Dr. Hessey would himself shrink from such a consummation. We hope by the time his Lectures reach a second edition (and they deserve to do so) he will have been brought in this particular to a better mind.

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## BOONE ON THE THEORY OF BELIEF.

*Sermons chiefly on the Theory of Belief.* By the late Rev. JAMES SHERGOLD BOONE, M.A. Longman, 1860.

THE author of these discourses was distinguished at Oxford, where he took his first degree in 1820. He became the incumbent of a church at Paddington, and died in 1859. The editors of this volume tell us that it is published

“in compliance with the desire expressed by many of the author's parishioners and friends, to possess at once some additional memorial of his distinguished abilities, and further abiding reminiscence of those lessons which, during a prolonged and valued ministry, they had heard with profit and admiration from the pulpit.”

There was good reason, we think, for this publication. The volume will be read with interest; it contains some valuable contributions towards the cause which at this time must be continually present to the minds of Churchmen—the cause of Belief as against Unbelief.

The style, indeed, is not entirely to our taste. Mr. Boone appears to have formed it on other models than those with which the great preachers of the last thirty years have made us familiar. It is sometimes heavy, sometimes turgid, sometimes arid and severe to an extent which seems hardly compatible with the purposes of English preaching: there is a want in several places of terseness and simplicity; and many of our author's sentences attain the dimensions of other men's paragraphs. But the matter of the book gives evidence enough that his reading and thoughts were not archaic; as the editors say, he especially directed his intellectual powers “towards the speculative problems of modern thought;” and, as we shall see, he devotes a good deal of his attention in some of these discourses to the controversy with Pantheism and Positivism, and with the spiritualistic infidelity of Francis Newman and Theodore Parker.

The book is divided into three parts; 1. On the Formation of Belief; 2. On Development in Religion; 3. Miscellaneous Sermons. The first part contains five sermons, which indicate throughout the disciple of Bishop Butler. What is the nature and value of Belief? It implies, not necessarily a *comprehension* of the thing believed, but always an *apprehension* of it. It implies, also, the objective reality of the thing believed. “It is directly opposed to scepticism,” which should ever be regarded as a calamity, not as a ground of boasting; “which arrests exertions while it cannot impart peace,” and leaves man without a career of energy, or a haven of repose.” For in truth man must believe something; or, as



he elsewhere expresses it, men *must have some creed*; there is a "religious sense" in man which is really "indestructible." This great truth Mr. Boone enforces repeatedly and earnestly; and his teaching might be summed up in the words of a poet far too little known.<sup>1</sup>

*"Man needs some faith. Profound, insatiate need!  
No vice can stifle, fortune supersede,  
Folly forget it, literature console,  
Nor unbelief dissemble from the soul.  
Man needs Religion; other curbs to bind  
His heart's corruption, arrogance of mind,  
Sallies of fancy, stratagems of gain,  
And storms of passion,—else are tried in vain.  
Man needs some faith; and if his pride repel  
What heaven reveals, his fear shall learn of hell,  
What heretics invent, impostors teach,  
Or death, the last apostle, comes to preach."*

Belief, says Mr. Boone, must be personal conviction. So strongly does he state his views on this point, that we should not wonder if they caused some perplexity. Readers who are told that "individual conclusions drawn from individual investigation are indispensable to form an individual believer," may ask, how in that case, Christianity could be a Gospel for the poor. Mr. Boone's words are, we think, too stringent and absolute for the case; they suggest more than can be expected from unlettered Christians: and, indeed, in a subsequent passage, p. 29, he qualifies them by admitting that such persons must take many things on trust. We go with him much more readily when he insists on the manifold nature of Belief, on the duty of consulting various forms of evidence, and of exerting spiritual as well as intellectual faculties in the study of things Divine. On this latter point it is impossible for a Christian teacher to insist too urgently. Christianity does not address itself to the mere intellect. It does not pretend to convince without a previous preparation of the heart and soul. If a man has a will to do God's will, he shall know of the doctrine. A deep consciousness of the Divine presence, of moral responsibility, of the evil and bitterness of wrong doing, of man's helplessness when left to himself,—this, together with an intimate persuasion that a revelation of God for man's help is to be expected, and an honest resolution to follow the "kindly Light" wherever it guides us,—is a condition indispensable for the true appreciation of Christian doctrine.

In the third sermon "the immense superiority of Scripture over tradition" is insisted on by our author. We fully agree with him that Scripture must be "the ultimate court of appeal." But what he says of the uncertainty of "mere oral tradition," is surely inapplicable to "creeds and symbols;" and to say that "oral tradition *may* have preceded by some years the written records of the

<sup>1</sup> *Moile's State Trials*.

New Testament," (p. 44,) is manifestly inadequate. It *must* have preceded them; the preface of S. Luke is proof enough of that. Mr. Boone's remarks on the Sixth Article are just and seasonable. The dictum about "the Bible only being the religion of Protestants" is, as he says, an exaggeration, and as such, "tends to defeat its own purpose, and may put us in the wrong on account of a strained and excessive application of a principle, while we are entirely right as to the main point or principle itself. Our Church in its Sixth Article . . . while it goes to Scripture as the one criterion or proof, cautiously abstains from declaiming that we are not to derive our creed, or the confirmation of our creed, partly and incidentally from other sources. . . . Why should we reject the true use of tradition, because others have perverted that use, or laid an inordinate stress upon it?"

We would add further, that to appeal to this Article in behalf of popular Protestantism, is so thoughtless as to be really puerile. The Article affirms, that all points requisite for salvation *are capable of Scripture proof*. It does not say that any one can prove them, without reference to the Church; nor that all *important* points can be Scripturally proved. What it denies is, not the authority of ecclesiastical tradition as elucidating the true sense of Scripture, (on which see the Twentieth Article) but simply that proposition of Roman doctors, that tradition has preserved to us some points requisite for salvation which are neither directly nor indirectly capable of Scripture proof.

But to return. Mr. Boone again pleads for "a just deference" to "the decision of the Church at large" in his fourth sermon, on the Laws, Conditions, and Limits of Belief, in which he discusses "the credibility of testimony," and concludes with the exhortation, "Be willing to believe." The fifth sermon is on True and False Rationalism; it notices the various senses of the word reason, as, 1, the process of ratiocination; 2, the power of thinking; 3, the aggregate of the intellectual powers; 4, the "sound mind" of Scripture, "the *whole* mind exercising a judicial function, by the aid of its moral and spiritual discernment, as well as of its purely intellectual activities" (pp. 78, 79.) The opposition between reason and faith is, as he says, "seldom, if ever, real;" some of our readers will remember an essay by the late R. H. Froude, which exhibited the real opposition as between experience, or sight, and faith. Reason, says Mr. Boone, in the large sense, must be the decisive power. "It is reason that may bid us bow to authority; it is reason which may bid us accept and obey with reverential gratitude a divine revelation." "We are all agreed that reason has *some* office; for that Christianity, in its highest and most essential distinctions, is a system of influences which *transcend*, but do not oppose the understanding."

Transcend it, indeed, they do. When reason—

"has done all, when it has gone to the whole length of its most extended line, what happens? Before the ultimate problem of the universe it falls baffled and overtaken. On the most solemn and mysterious subjects it seems to see all possible alternatives, and it sees in them perplexities and even apparent contradictions, which it can neither solve nor reconcile. . . . Its *own* voice, its own verdict is, These things are too high for me; I cannot attain unto them; how shall I know the length and the breadth, the height and the depth of that which passeth knowledge?"—P. 85.

Rationalism, then, in the sense of

"a scheme which asserts the absolute supremacy of human reason, as the one sufficient discloser and interpreter of Divine providence; a scheme which, against positive evidence, and merely on the strength of unsupported conjecture, repudiates everything mysterious, everything miraculous, everything supernatural, everything directly and specially revealed or inspired, everything which man's reason cannot grasp with a perfect comprehension; a scheme which by its licentious and ruthless criticism becomes an universal solvent of the whole being or substance of religious faith. . . . I reject on account of its *unreasonableness*."—P. 87.

The above extracts will give some notion of the series of sermons on Belief. Those on Religious Development do not appear to have so much of completeness and unity; but they contain some passages of exceeding interest and importance, on the "alternatives to Christianity." The text of the eleventh sermon is that passage which rises before us, like "the shadow of a great rock in a weary land," whenever we are confronted by difficulties connected with Christian doctrine. The Son of Man had enunciated a dogma full of mystery. Six times over had He repeated the words which proved a stumbling-block (S. John vi. 53—58.) He could not meet the "murmuring" by an assurance, "I meant nothing profound, it is you who make a difficulty;" (compare S. Matt. xvi. 11.) He could only say, in effect, "I told you that I was going to tax your faith;" He must needs allow many of His own disciples to "go back" and forsake Him, because He does not recall His words. "Then said Jesus to the Twelve, Will *ye* also go away?" And what is the answer of their coryphæus? Not,—*"We see the simple and easy lesson which they mistook for something incomprehensible;"* no, but this—"We know Thee well enough to accept Thy words, although they *are* incomprehensible. *Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal Life!*" Well may these words introduce the consideration of that momentous fact, that if men turn away from the LORD JESUS, there is nothing for them except

"Atheism, presenting itself in the modern form of what is called pantheism, or of the negation and banishment of all theological con-

siderations ;" or "deism, presenting itself in the modern form of eclectic, philosophical, or absolute religion."—P. 180.

As to pantheism—

"It is practically but atheism in a new disguise. . . . Religion is at last a metaphor: by a figure of speech we personify the universe . . . but we have no longer the one *I am*. . . . Let us away with this imposture, which, while it wears a semi-philosophical, semi-religious mask, is as fantastic as the pagan mythology, and more destitute of vital godliness and force than the most idolatrous superstitions."—Pp. 181—184.

The other modern form of atheism is that of the positivists.

"Man, according to them, has nothing to do with theology, nothing to do with religion. His movements must be confined to that sphere of the actual, in which by careful observation, and by some inductive or deductive process he can obtain logical and certain results."—P. 185. "The doctrine of divine and spiritual influences belongs to an obsolete era. . . . The theological era has gone by; the metaphysical era has gone by."—P. 235.

To this system Mr. Boone objects—1, that man, unassisted, would indeed be incompetent to ascertain super-sensual truth; "but on this very account man is *not* left to himself." 2. To ignore the religious sense in man is to declare war against his nature. He is so organized as to be incapable of doing without a God. Questions about God "will haunt him and force themselves upon his notice. . . . We cannot put them away." The thought of God "has not died and cannot die out of the mind and heart of humanity. . . . Bid man ignore religion! As well bid him at once become insensible to the keenest yearnings and the deepest mysteries of his own being."—Pp. 189, 195.

And if this new shape of atheism were not "an impracticable chimæra," it would be "most pernicious with respect to the mere intelligence of man," but still more so with respect to his moral nature.

"*There is no God!* In that sound is the death-warrant and the knell of all human welfare. . . . Hear it not, O man, for the life of the brute were far preferable to thy life without religion. The appalling note falls upon the ear as the voice of desolation and death."—P. 194.

The thirteenth sermon is concerned with eclectic theism, or absolute religion, according to which, by virtue of "the universal law of moral progress or *development*,"

"Historical religions are to fade like a series of dissolving views, while the great philosophical consummation at last opens upon the vision of mankind. . . . The moral elements of belief must be separated from the historical; indeed, the *historical elements are to be converted into mythological*." P. 201. (The readers of *Essays and Reviews* will

understand what is meant by this process.) "Monuments of . . . religion are represented as containing, and designed to contain, some universal and absolute principle under the myths and fables with which they happen to be encrusted." "There is to be a *Christian theism*,—as if it were not self-evident that what is Christianity cannot be mere theism, and what is mere theism cannot be Christianity!"—P. 204.

But the Gospel refuses to be thus treated. Its "facts" and its "ideas" are indissolubly connected. Its events and its precepts "lean upon precisely the same evidence." They "must stand or fall together." Dean Trench, in his second series of Hulsean Lectures, has a magnificent passage on "the *loss unutterable*, if we allow any to strip off for us the historic realization of the truth in the person of *JESUS* of Nazareth, as though it were not of the essence of the matter." But Mr. Boone rather dwells on the absurdity, the suicidal extravagance, of the attempt to keep hold of certain sayings of *CHRIST*, taken in what is called a spiritual sense, and at the same time to throw over the historic truth of His miracles and His resurrection, and to call them true only in "idea." We most earnestly commend to the study of our readers a passage in this sermon which is far too long to be quoted, and which might almost seem a formal answer to Mr. H. B. Wilson's "idealism." Not only, Mr. Boone insists, is it impossible for us to know anything of *JESUS* as a Teacher, apart from the Gospel narrative; not only is it idle to claim our admiration for His words, if we are to ignore the evidence for His actions; but—and here comes the vital issue, on which a gifted writer in the *North British Review* has recently enlarged—it is impossible, on this idealistic theory, to preserve "the *moral* authority of the Gospel." One shrinks even from uttering such words as are necessary to set forth this consequence. If the miracles are unreal, then, taking *CHRIST*'s words as they stand, "His example (yet I half shudder to use such language, even in supposition and for the argument) is positively *immoral*. . . I cannot receive my religion from such lips," &c.—P. 211. For then would He be not the Truth Incarnate, but "a liar and deceiver." And such a system of deception as Christianity would then be, could never be employed by God as "the schoolmaster" to lead us to the Absolute Religion.

"Our conclusion, then, must be . . . that this scheme of forming a pure or philosophical theism by means of the Gospel; of treating that Gospel as at once veracious and fabulous; of accepting and condemning it in the same breath; of affecting to adopt Christianity, yet expunging from it the history and person and work of *CHRIST*, is either a prodigious folly or a prodigious insincerity."—P. 216.

We have hardly space to notice any other of the discourses in this volume. Yet, while we pass over several of a more strictly practical kind, which will amply repay perusal, we would notice

one on "the Lamb of God," which, although exceedingly inferior to Dean Trench's noble discourse on the same text, is worthy of our attention and our gratitude. Mr. Boone speaks of the idea of expiation as "an idea which the whole heart of humanity instinctively cherishes . . . . When properly understood, instead of shocking either our reason or our conscience, it commends itself to both."—P. 373. Those who speak against it are implicitly speaking against the very idea of intervention, mediation, intercession;—a point to be much considered. If we accept this mediatorial principle, Mr. Boone adds, (herein agreeing with the great body of orthodox writers, though apparently differing from Mr. Macdonnell in his Donnellan Lectures,)

"There seems to me, by parity of reasoning, nothing wanting save an adequate worth and greatness in the atoner, to make atonement for the sins of the whole world. But if the atoner be Divine as well as human, the worth and greatness *are* adequate; and therefore is the expiator Divine, that His satisfaction may be sufficient, while human, that He may be the representative of the humanity which has sinned."—P. 374.

He proceeds to guard against a misconception, "which makes a kind of variance or opposition between the FATHER and the SON;" and takes notice of that great text, 1 S. John iv. 10, which harmonizes so completely the two ideas of the FATHER's love and righteousness. The former of these ideas is set forth (we may confine ourselves to the writings of the beloved Apostle) in S. John iii. 16, and 1 S. John iv. 8; the latter in S. John iii. 36; i. 29; 1 S. John ii. 2; but both in that passage which asserts, as the crowning exhibition of God's *love* to us, that "He sent His SON, a *propitiation* for our sins." In the theology of S. John, a propitiation does *not* imply that the FATHER had not desired to save us, and that a sacrifice was needed to persuade Him to think of us in mercy. This is the grotesque and horrible caricature which writers of the Maurice school, adepts in *ignoratio elenchi*, have substituted for the sacred truth. The FATHER, as loving, desired our salvation from the first; but He is also the righteous Sovereign, the God of moral order. In these circumstances, such was His stupendous *φιλανθρωπία*, that He provided the means for a meeting of mercy and truth by giving up His own SON for us all. Rom. viii. 32.

It does not appear that Mr. Boone considered himself as an adherent of the movement of 1833. He speaks reverently of the "channels" of grace, and affirms Baptismal Regeneration (pp. 237, 242,) but in his sermon on transubstantiation he repeats the Zuinglian formula—to our minds, inexpressibly poor and shallow—which makes "This is My Body" a passage *ejusdem generis* with "I am the Door." In this sermon also, he appears to exaggerate the argument against the Roman doctrine derived from the

evidence of the senses, and urges that this doctrine, when received, must destroy all the grounds of rational credence, and make men doubt whether anything in the world is what it appears to be; forgetting that, *on the Roman hypothesis*, the unreality of the species in this one case is affirmed by Divine revelation. And, on any view of the Holy Eucharist which rises above the lowest level, the evidence of the senses must at least be held inadequate. Mr. Boone admits, that "whether there be the reality of a spiritual presence, energy, or being, in the Eucharistic elements . . . is a question which our senses are incompetent to decide;" and he speaks of "the truth of the Real Presence." The latter end of this sermon, in fact, forgets the beginning, and encourages us to hope that his general habit of thought was not averse to the deeper views of this great mystery.

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## HYMNALS.

*Hymns, Ancient and Modern, for use in the Services of the Church.*  
London: Novello.

It is curious to observe how great a change has taken place in people's feelings with respect to the Hymnody of the Church. Time was—and that not twenty years ago—when churchmen—"High" Churchmen—looked upon it as a piece of heterodoxy to sing anything but Brady and Tate, with an occasional episode of Sternhold and Hopkins; and felt their best feelings recalcitrate against the use even of "Hark! the herald angels" on Christmas Day. Now far be it from us to depreciate Nicholas Brady, D.D., and Nahum Tate, Esq. The former, if no better, was certainly no worse, than most D.D.'s of his time; desperately untheological, of course, but still respectable enough. And Nahum was an important man in his way. It suited him to bespatter William III. with adulation in very indifferent verse: and he did so, and was paid for it; not improbably his doggerel had its effect on the times, and our present liberties may owe something to his literary proflusions. But it was too bad of him to conspire with Brady and extract all the poetry and all the divinity out of the inspired lays of the *vates*, the true poet-prophet, of the elder covenant, and give the Christian Church nothing but a melancholy residuum. In the whole of the "New Version of the Psalms of David" there is scarcely one which can be called in any sense poetical, save from faint reminiscences of the words of the inspired writer: and actually not a single one which preserves for us, or even allows us to perceive, the Messianic meaning

of the original. All is reduced to an inharmonious enunciation, in stilted prose, of pious platitudes, merely Judaic, or less than Judaic. And if it was too bad of Nicholas and Nahum to write such stuff, and too bad of His Majesty's Printer to print it (by Royal command) in the Prayer Book, it was tenfold too bad of churchmen in the nineteenth century to adopt it, to give canonical obedience to the printer and the book-binder, and positively incorporate it into the services of the Catholic Church. How they could ever endure it, or how they can endure it now, is a mystery.

But we are getting wiser. Feelings are changing. People begin to see that if they are Christians, not only their prayers, but their praises, must be distinctly Christian : and that if a collection of metrical Psalms be wanted or employed at all, the Christian meaning must be strongly brought out. And this change of feeling has brought with it, as a natural result, a perfect storm of Hymnals. Well might poor Brady and Tate say, "Après nous, le Déluge !" For a deluge, or rather a chaos, is overwhelming the poor old "new" version. High, low, via media, broad, Calvinist, Arminian, sternly orthodox and archaic, and recklessly liberal, are alike putting forth, and using too, their "Manual of Hymns and Psalms." One can hardly go into a dozen parishes in any locality without finding in two or three at least, that "The Collection of Hymns used in S. — Church may be purchased at —."

But this chaos is not to be deplored. It is a natural result, as we have said, of a change of feeling in the Church. A transitional state is necessarily one of more or less confusion. In due time out of all this "rudis indigestaque moles" a real Church Hymnal will be framed. Step by step we are getting nearer to this point, as the wants of our congregations are better understood, and the principles which should regulate the formation of such a work are more definitely laid down. Our readers will excuse us if we say a few words on this subject.

It is plain that if people are to sing in Church, they must have something to sing ; and that something must be capable of being sung ; that is, must be either measured prose, or verse. The former we have in our Prayer Book version of the Psalms, which, without discussing its merits as a translation, may certainly be asserted to be better calculated for chanting than the Authorised Version in our Bible. We must therefore be furnished with something in verse, and verse so arranged, as regards accentuation, as to be readily adapted to popular tunes. This, then, is the first principle ; that of *suitableness for singing*. It is not sufficient to write a number of sacred poems, in various metres, regular and irregular, and then call the composition a Hymnal—every verse, every line we might almost say, requires to be carefully weighed and scrutinised, as to whether it really can be set to music. Many a beautiful line may be found, faultless as a piece of poetry, which



would, from some peculiarity of accentuation, or other cause, become ridiculous if sung. It is impossible to overrate the need of care in this respect. Not a single verse should be allowed to appear in a good Church Hymnal, which has not been really sung over to several appropriate tunes, lest there should be some lurking unfitness in it, which would appear, all too late, on its introduction into the Church Services.

Next, if what we put into our Hymnal is to be verse, it must not be only prose cut into lengths, and suited for singing. It must be *poetry*; poetry indeed, and not poetic by negation. Too many hymn-writers, and some hymn-translators, have been satisfied with the view of poetry so amusingly enunciated in the "*Bourgeois Gentilhomme*," where it is laid down that every composition is either prose or poetry, and what is not one must of inevitable necessity be the other. In this way, and in this way only, can Brady and Tate, and the hymn-writers of their school, be considered as poets. Unfortunately, the absence of poetry from metrical hymns is not confined to those of the school of Tate. Can we take up a single "*Collection*," without finding in it a large proportion of the dreary, the muddy, the irretrievably prosaic? It must always be borne in mind that the Hymnal will not be used in Church alone, but will have to serve as a help to devotion without,—as a Christian Year, in fact. And it must serve as such to all classes. It must be a book that rich and poor, educated and illiterate, alike can take into their hands without disgust. Defective versification, incorrectness of grammar or diction, poverty of thought, may be trivial defects in a work prepared solely for the use of the lower orders; but one which is to be in the hands of all, must be free from every fault.

And therefore, in the third place, each hymn must be simple and intelligible. There must be a "*lamp of beauty*" indeed, and care must be taken that the lamp be present, as well as the beauty. Higher and more cultivated minds may delight in unravelling the intricacies and penetrating the mazes of a "*Sunday puzzle*," provided that there be poetry, and sense too, contained in it. But the poor and ignorant cannot do this. To them the hymn book is their *Corpus Poetarum*, their Milton, Spenser, Cowper, and Tennyson all in one; and though, perhaps, sonorous words with misty meaning, may seem by very noise and smoke to captivate the attention of those who profess most admiration for what they cannot comprehend, that hymn will be most popular and most useful which to true poetical refinement joins a sweet simplicity of style and sense.

But, fourthly, above all, the hymnal must be emphatically *Christian*. It must be what hymnals were centuries ago, a storehouse of dogmatic theology. Every phrase and sentence must be carefully weighed, lest some careless or unhappy turn of words should

be the means of registering an erroneous doctrine or opinion in the minds of the people. The hymn book in fact must be a Church document, setting forth, and that without ambiguity or shortcoming, the teaching of the Catholic Church. There is great reason to fear that certain popular hymns have had the effect of clouding many a mind, because the doctrines expressed in them are incomplete or erroneous. Just as it is with painting, so it is with poetry. *Ζωγραφία μὲν φθεγγόμενη ἡ ποίησις, ποίησις δὲ σιγῶσα ἡ ζωγραφία.* Now, there is little doubt that the incorrect use of Leonardo da Vinci's celebrated picture of "La Cena," has tended to keep up in the popular mind a low view of the Blessed Eucharist. Leonardo never thought of pourtraying the celebration of that Holy Sacrament; he painted, for the refectory of S. Maria delle Grazie, a representation of the *Last Supper*, the last meal which the Incarnate Son willed, as man, to partake of on earth. And a very solemn and appropriate subject it is for a dining-hall. But its subject is unfortunately considered to be "The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper;" and it cannot therefore be wondered at, if those who are in the habit of so looking upon it, acquire or accept very low views of that which it is supposed to represent. Just so would it be with a hymn. A careless statement, a slipshod expression, a piece of irreverent familiarity, a secularity of tone or diction, an otherwise allowable paganism, might originate and perpetuate an error in the minds of those who used it, and perhaps seem to commit the Church to a laxity in doctrine. Hold up the lamp of beauty by all means, but trim and kindle first the lamp of truth.

Such then are the chief principles which must be observed in the compilation of a hymnal: music, poetry, clearness, orthodoxy. We must next consider what hymns we require it to contain.

Clearly it must be a repository from which something can be produced to suit every occasion. Each Christian season and festival, each contingency, whether fast or thanksgiving, harvest or famine, peace or war, ought to find in it an appropriate store of hymns. A store, we say, for there ought to be a choice. What suits one parish or congregation, may not suit another; and to be tied to one single hymn is often to be precluded from using any. Special subjects should not be forgotten,—confirmation, commencement or consecration of a new church, the institution of a new Priest, the bestowal of some special grace or mercy from God's hand, or the sending forth of some solemn warning from Him,—should each be provided for. And then, for what has been aptly termed the unemphatic portion of the Church's year, the weeks between Trinity and Advent, we ought to have a large number of miscellaneous hymns; and particularly some short and significant ones for the morning and evening of each week-day. It is a great mistake to make any hymns too long: and above all it would be a grievous error to encumber our daily services with a lengthy

hymnody. One or two verses, on the day's work, whether in the creation of nature or of grace, would be ample.

The question arises, whether we are to provide for the minor festivals, or, as they are commonly called, black-letter days, of our kalendar. The simple answer appears to be this, that as they are put there, they must have been intended for observance; and as no other provision is made for them in the Church's ritual, it would seem that an allusion to them in the hymnody would be a carrying out of the intentions of our Prayer Book. To dignify each single day with a special hymn would be perhaps, needless, and would render the hymnal unnecessarily cumbrous. Some few of the holy men and women, and of the sacred events commemorated, deserve a particular mention: the Transfiguration, and the Holy Name of JESUS, for instance, in the latter class, and S. Mary Magdalene, and our own SS. Alban and Augustin, in the former. Others might more conveniently be marked by a "Commune Martyrum," "Commune Episcoporum," and the like.

We have then these divisions of our hymnal. 1. Hymns for seasons and greater festivals. 2. Hymns for lesser festivals. 3. Hymns for special occasions. 4. Miscellaneous hymns. We must next consider what the sources are from which these hymns are to be drawn.

First and foremost, we must resort to the treasures already in possession of the Universal Church: the stores of sacred poetry contained in the offices and devotional manuals handed down to us from ancient times. Not that antiquity is a necessary proof of goodness. Doubtless poor hymns were written, even in very early times; there *may* have been Tates and Bradys, for aught we know, even in the fourth century, "*doctores sine doctrinâ, baccalaurei baculo magis quam lauru digni*," but compositions dating from a period of stern trial, which have been incorporated in the devotions of a National Church, and have been handed down from century to century, are likely to contain something more in them than the mere ephemeral effusions of a restless and superficial age. We must protest against the ignorant Radicalism which would banish everything old as "the offspring of the dark ages," and the equally ignorant, though not so offensive, archaism, which measures excellence by centuries, and would persuade us that a goose, if kept long enough, would surely turn to a swan.

To this source our hymn-writers of the present time are turning. But it appears to us that the whole treasure has not been unlocked; the fountains have not all been thrown open. We have been timidly borrowing here and there from the Roman service-books; or still more appropriately from those of the Sarum use, which are ours by right of inheritance, and, when they differ from the Roman, generally superior, and more fitted for employment among ourselves. But we must not rest contented with this. The solemn and ma-

jestic Greek hymns of the Eastern Church must be examined for our purpose; and the glimpse which Dr. Burgess has allowed us into Syriac sacred poetry makes us feel that something may be found there also, which may serve our turn. If we *can* gain access to these stores, it becomes our duty to visit and inspect them before we can consider ourselves qualified to take steps for framing an authorised Church Hymnal.

Then again, not only must we collect the ancient hymns of the Catholic Church, oriental and occidental, but we must not pass by another store, the hymns and chorales preserved among the Reformed Germans. Many, perhaps most, of these are really relics of an earlier age; a little paraphrased and modernized, no doubt, but not necessarily injured, and certainly not unchristianized. We might well throw aside the effusions of modern pietism and modern neology; but those old Lutheran hymns will repay a search. The *Lyra Germanica* may have lost some of its strings, but some yet remain to yield a tuneful sound in the great concert of the Church universal.

The Danish and Norwegian *Psalmebog*, used almost throughout the Lutheran north, is also worthy of inspection. Out of the 560 hymns of all kinds which it contains some might doubtless be transferred with benefit into an English book. A few, like the German hymns, are legacies from an earlier period of Church history. As a specimen, for those who are not acquainted with this singular (and in its country, highly popular) collection, we translate a few lines of a very sweet and favourite hymn, "JESU, Dine dybe Vunder."

JESU! on Thy bleeding frame  
Sad I ponder, full of woe;  
Stirs my soul with grief and shame  
That my LORD should suffer so.

All, alas! was borne for me—  
Shall I e'er forgetful be?  
Bearing mine iniquity,  
LORD! Thou wentest forth to die.

Such are the earlier sources to which we may go to prepare ourselves for the settlement of our Hymnology. Besides all these, we have the modern vernacular hymns used in other parts of the Christian world; and especially a vast mass which needs no translation, though perhaps a little change—those already composed in our own language. And here we shall find plenty of material. Not only is there much that is excellent which proceeds from the pens of Catholic Churchmen within the last century, and in our own time, but sectaries also furnish their quota towards the supplying of the Church's needs. We confess that we cannot sympathize with the stiffness of those who would reject a good composition merely because it was due to a Wesley or a Doddridge. Just as

one would throw aside an inferior or unorthodox production, even though it bore an Archbishop's name, so a suitable one might well be appropriated by the Church, even from the stores of those who do not value her. As she is the sole depository of truth, all the truth which sectaries possess comes from her; and if they receive a gift from her, even though they acknowledge it not, all the results of that gift are truly hers. A sectarian hymn is the offspring of sectarian principles; but a Catholic hymn, though written by a member of a sect, belongs not to his sect, but to the Church, from whom he drew, though unwittingly, the sacred truth he expresses.

Thus, then, we see that from West and East, from home and from abroad, from the past and the present, from within the Church and from without, we may and must gather material for our Church Hymn-book. The task is an arduous one, if the principles we have laid down be correct; and all the manuals hitherto published are merely steps towards the completion of the great work—or at best, instalments of the coming whole.

The book whose title we have put at the head of this article is a longer and less faltering step than any we have before seen. It starts on a right *principle*: and it is needful only to *extend* this principle, and apply it fully, to obtain the final result that is needed by the Church.

It would be invidious and tedious to compare it with any of the numerous private hymn-books now in use, or proposed for use. But there is a book of hymns which is more than a private collection; which is put forth with some sort of authority, and comes to us with an official recommendation: we mean the hymn-book of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. We have already in past years expressed our opinion pretty clearly about the deficiencies of this book; and we are not going to abuse it now. Whatever its defects, it is infinitely superior to Brady and Tate. No one, however, can compare it with the volume now before us without seeing clearly that the compilers of one appreciated the wants of the Church, and those of the other did not.

The S.P.C.K. book contains two hundred hymns: some of them well-known and popular, some new, and deserving popularity, some poor and prosaic. But the whole collection shows a terrible timidity. Several of the best hymns from questionable sources are omitted, though they might well have been inserted; we particularly miss "Sweet the moments, rich in blessing;" and there is a true Protestant dread of anything Roman. The possibility of hymns being needed for week-day services is quite ignored; and there is but a scanty supply for festival days. None for S. John the Baptist, none for the Purification, but, singularly enough, two (indifferent) hymns for the feast of S. Michael and All Angels! Still this collection, when published, was a great improvement on what had preceded it, and, though it is high time the Society put

forth something better and more complete, its faults are more of omission than of commission. Very different is the character of the volume before us. It commences with a set of hymns for daily use; for morning, the third, sixth, and ninth hours, evening, and each day of the week. Whether the hymns for the three hours are needed, may to some appear a question. We do not keep the Hours in our Church services, and therefore to introduce such hymns in a book intended simply for public use, would be an unreality. But as we have already remarked, the hymnal must be a "Christian Year" also; and in this view nothing can be more satisfactory than to find a manual of devotional poetry provided with a reference to the hours of the day, as a help to the meditations of those who desire to observe them.

We do not agree with the compilers as to the propriety of retaining the word "glory" at the beginning of Bp. Ken's Evening Hymn. Probably the Bishop *did* write "glory," and not "all praise," as some suppose: but even this is open to doubt. However, even if he did write it, it should be altered for him. "Glory" is not a very appropriate word; and as the hymn is now traditionally connected with Tallis's canon, we cannot help singing it as "Glóry," which has a somewhat ludicrous effect. The inversion of the accent produces a pleasant variety at the beginning of the verse, considered merely as a verse, but unfits it for being sung to any ordinary tune.

Special mention may be made of a simple and beautiful Sunday hymn, "Die parente omnium," from the Le Mans Breviary. It is admirably suited for the day, and we do not remember to have seen it in an English dress before.

We come next to the seasons and festivals: and first to the season of Advent. The first hymn given is a translation of "Conditor alme siderum," from the *Sarum Breviary*. We do not know whether or not to prefer this version to that in the *Hymnal Noted*. The one before us comes closer to the Latin original; and in the third verse, especially, avoids the insertion of the weak and (in that place) meaningless line, "The Spotless Victim all Divine." Yet on the whole we hardly think that the translation is altered for the better. Nor are the changes in Mr. Neale's version of Ven. Bede's hymn for the Holy Innocents (*Hymnum canentes martyrum*) at all an improvement, to our taste; while on the other hand we quite approve of the slight alterations made in the *Hymnal Noted* version of "Jesu dulcis memoria." The fourth verse of "Vexilla Regis" is not improved. It runs in the *Hymnal Noted* thus—

"O Tree of beauty, Tree of light,  
O Tree with royal purple dight,  
Elect on whose triumphal breast  
Those holy Limbs should find their rest."

But the version before us is—

“ O Tree of glory, Tree most fair,  
Ordained those holy Limbs to bear,  
How bright in purple robe it stood,  
The purple of a SAVIOUR's Blood !”

With the sole exception of the anomaly of speaking of the “ breast” of a tree, we think that the former of these translations is a far more faithful and forcible translation of

“ Arbor decora et fulgida,  
Ornata Regis purpurâ,  
Electa digno stipite  
Tam sancta membra tangere !”

On the other hand we are much struck with two hymns in this book, which we do not remember in any other collection. The first is a metrical Litany, for the Rogation days, but adapted, we presume, for any season. This Litany, we are sure, will be found useful not only in public services, but also (and perhaps still more so) in private, and in pastoral ministrations. The other is a prayer (in verse) for those at sea. We can imagine with what effect it might be used at some late service during stormy weather in a church near the sea coast.

We accept the manual, as we have said, not as a completion, or anything like it, of a hymnal which the Church should authoritatively adopt, but as a long step in the right direction. We believe it will be used with great satisfaction by all who employ it, for the excellence of nearly all the hymns it contains, and the judgment with which they are selected and arranged. In a second edition, however, we would recommend some hints to be introduced for *shortening* the hymns. Our congregations ordinarily will not tolerate more than five or six verses at a time. Surely the verses which could be omitted, or those which could be united to form a short hymn for actual use, might easily be distinguished by appropriate marks.

We wish our Convocation God speed in the task they have proposed to themselves of preparing a Church hymnal. We trust they will set about it in a Catholic spirit, and not permit a miserable sectarianism to make them look on four-fifths of their best material as useless and unavailable, because forsooth, it has been employed in earlier ages, or in other parts of the Church. They must bear in mind that it is theirs to provide the Church on earth with an earnest of those more tuneful concerts of the Church hereafter, of which Thomas à Kempis so beautifully writes,—

“ Clamant, Sanctus, Sanctus, Sanctus,  
Fugit dolor, cessat planctus  
In supernâ civitate.

Concors vox est omnium,  
Deum collaudantium ;  
Fervet amor mentium,  
Clare contuentium  
Beatam Trinitatem in una Deitate."

We regret not to see the Advent Antiphons, Hymns for Vigils, the 139th Psalm, and more particularly the "Oh quanta qualia sunt illa Sabbata," and the "Sponsa Christi." The two last would require alteration, but the tune of the former, and the words of the latter, are among the very best of the Church's treasures.

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### IRISH ASSENT AND CONSENT.

*The "Assent and Consent." What does it imply and involve? what is my position? what is my duty?* By an Irish Clergyman. London: Nisbet.

THE readers of clerical newspaper advertisement sheets will have observed that a benevolent clergyman in London is frequently bringing before the public cases of heartrending distress among his brethren. Whether or not it lies in one's power to mitigate the sufferings of these poor pastors with whom Mr. Jervis in his kind-heartedness has become acquainted, one is mostly filled with wonder in respect to two particulars of his clients' circumstances; first, as to how they could ever get into such a terrible mess, and secondly, how they are ever to get out of it.

The case of the Irish clergyman whose pamphlet we introduce to the notice of our readers is one of a somewhat similar nature. It is a case of deep mental affliction in which he, and many other Irish clergymen it appears, have become involved to such an extent, and plainly in a manner so unlooked for by them, as to put them into a position distressingly like that of the "stickit ministers" referred to. They are in the midst of a metaphysical problem, and the cry of distress which they raise is a cry from the depths of the Slough of Despond.

Let the poor gentlemen, according to the plan of our benevolent friend in the Strand, state their own case by the mouth of their elect mouthpiece the Irish clergyman.

"I am a beneficed Clergyman.

"I have declared, as required by law, my 'unfeigned Assent and Consent' to all and everything contained and prescribed in and by the Book intituled the 'Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church according to the use of the United Church of England and Ireland.'

"I have pledged myself to conform to the Liturgy.



"I have subscribed to a canon, the third, which runs thus,—'that form of Liturgy, or Divine Service, and no other, shall be used in any Church of this realm but that which is established by law, and comprised in the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments; and if any one shall preach, or by other open words declare, or speak anything in derogation or despising of said book, or of anything therein contained, let him be excommunicated, and not restored until he repent and publicly revoke his error.'

"I am bound by the Act of Uniformity,—officially supplied to every Reading Desk for the information of the officiating Clergyman. That Act prescribes and enjoins, under penalties, the declaration of 'Assent and Consent,' as given above.

"When admitted into full orders, I had to make these declarations, promises, and subscriptions; when licensed to any curacy, I had to do so again; when appointed to my benefice, before the Bishop could give me institution, I had again to make them in his presence. Nor did it end there—for within a prescribed number of Sundays after I had left his presence, it was necessary (by legal enactment) that in the midst of the assembled congregation, during Divine Service, I should make, in the terms appointed by the statute, a fresh solemn declaration of my 'unfeigned Assent and Consent to all and everything contained in the Book of Common Prayer;' give a solemn pledge that I would conform to the Liturgy, and moreover, read a witnessed certificate, under the Bishop's hand and seal certifying that, *before* I had been by him instituted, I had made these said declarations. Had I failed to make this declaration of 'unfeigned Assent and Consent,' I should have no legal hold on my benefice, nor any power, right, or title, to live in its glebe, take its emoluments, or enjoy any of the advantages that may be connected with the position of a Rector of the Established Church."—Pp. 3, 4.

To one who can make so straightforward a statement of the process of "Assent and Consent" as this, one feels sure there could be no difficulty in understanding it while it was going on. There are people who take a "leap in the dark," but the Irish clergyman was plainly not one of them. He knew where he was leaping to, and what he had to leap over before he could begin a pamphlet with the delightful confession, "I am a beneficed clergyman." But, alas! "After much study and thought, I find myself dissatisfied with some things contained in the 'Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the United Church of England and Ireland,' " (p. 10.) How in the world did he get into such a mess? He has become a beneficed clergyman—he has not stated whether his benefice is worth £500 or £1500 a year—on the strength of his "Assent and Consent" to the Book of Common Prayer, &c.; it cannot but be that a man of his common sense and mental power took good care to know beforehand what it was to which, at what he calls the "most solemnising" period of his life, he was giving his deliberate "Assent and Consent;" and yet here he is in the para-

graph quoted, and in another following in which he states his infidelity more in detail, openly confessing that he is dissatisfied with the most important parts of that to which he assented and consented.

The unhappy rector must have committed—to speak plain—perjury. Some years ago his crime was, in many cases, punished with death: and if his name should become known, even now, it is clear that he must be deprived of his benefice, and banished from the society of all honourable men; or else the Low Church clergy are to be allowed a latitude in respect to “Assent and Consent” which is not allowed to any other persons in decent society.

This is not the opinion of the Irish clergyman. He meets the question boldly; and after very clearly showing that he and those he represents have sworn falsely, and are now pocketing the pecuniary proceeds of their false swearing (“I have *sworn* to my belief” is the writer’s own expression) he asks in capital letters, “What is to be done?” A very general answer to such a question when asked by ordinary criminals would be, “repent, take your punishment like a man, and do the same no more.” The Irish clergyman has a shorter mode of reformation in prospect, for he proposes to amend, not himself, but the law which he has transgressed, and is, according to his own account of himself, still transgressing.

“WHAT IS TO BE DONE? I unhesitatingly answer,—We must demand earnestly and loudly, and strain every nerve to obtain, (1), *the repeal of the Act of Uniformity*; (2), *the alteration of the terms of Subscription*; and (3), *the revision of the Prayer Book*.”—P. 24.

“What have you to say, prisoner at the bar, why sentence should not be passed and executed upon you?” “I unhesitatingly answer, my Lord, that we must demand earnestly and loudly, and strain every nerve to obtain, (1) the repeal of the Acts against petty larceny; (2) the restoration to me of the stolen goods which policeman X has deprived me of; and, (3) the utter extinction of every mental or bodily fetter that may restrain my actions for the future.”

After all it is a melancholy thing to observe the extent to which those clergy who are discontented with the Prayer Book can go in banishing from their minds those broad rules of conscience by which they, of all men, ought to be guided. Years ago it was pointed out to them that the Prayer Book was dead against their heretical tenets, and they denied the fact. Since then the knowledge of our formularies has become much more general, and so shameful a denial of a plain fact is what few will choose, since its falsehood can be made apparent so readily. Instead, however, of conforming themselves to the law they have sworn to obey, as soon as that law is made clear to them, they go on disobeying it where they dare; and where they dare not, protest against it, and clamour for its repeal. Yet all the while they reap the advantages which the

law of the Prayer Book as it is, and that alone, secures to them. Happily this is rapidly dying out. In England we apprehend very few are now ordained who do not at least in their main features accept the doctrinal statements of the Prayer Book; and even in Ireland we cannot conceive anything more calculated to put honest Evangelicals to shame than this impudent and impotent Apology.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

*Parish Sermons on the Chief Articles of the Christian Faith.* By the Rev. J. R. WEST, M.A., Vicar of Wrawby with Glandford-Brigg. London: Masters.

THERE are two things which alone can justify the publication of sermons—either the conviction that the writer has something to say which up to this time has not been sufficiently considered, or else the feeling that he has such a special facility in composition as will lead persons to read his sermons who would not read the generality of such productions, or will enable him to furnish a serviceable model to his brethren in the ministry.

It is very rarely that these two qualifications meet in one person; rarely that we meet with a volume in any degree deserving of praise. During the whole of last year we remember only two volumes that we could commend, viz., Mr. Bingham's, of which the doctrine is uniformly good, and the style admirable; and Mr. Baines' volume, which, though possessing less literary merit, yet showed an accurate grasp of doctrine, and a lively manner.

The present volume has for its object, as the title-page tells, the setting forth the great doctrinal system of the Gospel; and we congratulate the author very heartily on the success that he has achieved, although the sermons are unusually short, and the style, in consequence, is sometimes rather bald. Among the most favourable specimens we would mention the sermon on "Our Lord's Priesthood," and that on "the Commemoration of the Great Sacrifice," which are both excellent. On the doctrine of Absolution our author's accuracy a little fails him; but with this exception we can give our full approval to the volume, and recommend it our readers, as containing a clearer and more systematized treatment of Christian doctrine, than any with which we are acquainted.

*On the Repeal of the XXIXth Canon of 1603. The Opinions of Sir Fitzroy Kelly, Sir Hugh Cairns, Mr. A. J. Stephens, and Mr. Richard Jebb, on behalf of the Lord Archbishop of Armagh.* London: Rivingtons.

THESE opinions, taken together with the authorities which they produce, are a fresh contribution to the clearing of the question of Sponsors, which the Bishop of Oxford has raised in Convocation. The eminent Counsel to whom the case was referred, are unanimous, our readers will

be aware, in considering the change of the Church's law in the matter of Sponsorship to be *extra vires* of the Convocation, without a concurrent act of the secular legislature.

There may be some who will chafe under this decision, as though it savoured somewhat of Erastianism. For ourselves, we accept it thankfully as a re-affirmation of the great principle of the modern English Church's identity with the Church of the Middle ages.

These Counsel decide against the power of Convocation to alter the law of Sponsorship. Why? Because it is part of that body of usages which had existed in the Church of England for several centuries before the Reformation, and on which, together with the deposit of faith that has been handed down, the present English Church rests as her unchangeable foundation. Legal findings of this kind are surely of more value than the rhetorical platitudes, with which we are so familiar, of the Church of England dating from the Reformation.

We need scarcely refer our readers to the Bishop of Oxford's Triennial Charge, which has just been published, (J. H. Parker.) We shall not, we trust, be supposed as wishing to detract from its very high merits, when we say that in our eyes its greatest commendation is of a negative rather than of a positive kind. It is the only episcopal Charge in which we have not wished something that was found in it to be unsaid. From the perusal of this very able document we have risen with feelings of unmitigated satisfaction. Especially we beg to thank his Lordship for his very decided condemnation of Evening Communions.

Messrs. Mozley have just issued various little Tales for the young which are deserving of notice :—

*The Grandmother's Story, or the Conscience awakened*, describes remarkably well that intense longing for the relief of confession, which is the spontaneous impulse of the guilty soul; but it fails in pointing out that merciful provision of the great High Priest, who knew what was in man, by which the natural feeling is converted into an act of religious penitence, which draws down the grace of absolution.

*Sarah Whitmore, or Two Ways of Working*, possesses considerable merit in its delineation of the difference between respectability and religion, a distinction which unhappily nine tenths of our upper class poor have failed to discern.

*Idle Harry*, reprinted from the Magazine for the Young, is apparently from a well-known pen, and will have the usual success of that writer, in amusing the young reader; but the lesson it is intended to convey will hardly accomplish its end from the absence of sufficient motive power to produce the conversion of the bad idle boy, into a pattern of diligence and virtue.

*The Pigeon Pie* by the same hand is a clever little story, illustrating the times of the Rebellion. It is well told and exciting, and has a very definite moral, in its warning against curiosity—a failing much more serious than we are disposed to believe, and which trenches so closely on the borders of sin, that it seldom fails to lead to it.

*The Young Breton Volunteer*, a stirring tale of war and adventure, is the work of a lady, and as such is marvellously well told. It gives the history of the voluntary service of the boys of the College of Vannes, in the rising which took place in Brittany on behalf of Louis XVIII. in

1815. The tale is a true one: it is well rendered, and the bravery of the boys is undoubted. But we must confess it is the reverse of agreeable to us to read of deeds of blood perpetrated by young children.

*Herbert's Holidays*, by the author of "Dorothy," "De Cressi," &c. recalls the easy style of writing and good moral tone which characterised those works. The author seems well acquainted with the habits of boys in the upper class, and it is quite unobjectionable in its tone.

*Little Nelly, or God will provide*, (Masters), is a charming little tale, simple, touching, and sound in principle. Nothing can be better as a gift book for parish schools.

## NOTICES TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Our contemporary, the *Union*, in noticing our last number<sup>1</sup> says that our review of "Mr. Vaux's pamphlet errs in attempting to show that the Second Book of Edward VI. was not deliberately heretical on the Eucharistic Doctrine;" and argues, "surely the use of the word 'substantial' in the Black Rubric settles the question." We presume our critic refers to the words "*reall* and *essenciall*," which are the terms used: but he must excuse our pointing out that these words, no less than the word *substantial*, were terms used at that period by those who maintained the opinions of a *gross*, *carnal* presence: the words were used then in a *right* and a *wrong* sense: Ridley, e.g., in his disputation at Oxford, 1555, complains that the doctrine of his opponents "main-taineth a *real*, *corporal*, and *carnal* presence of CHRIST's flesh . . . by the whole *essence* and *substance* of the Body and flesh of CHRIST," (p. 197.) The purpose of the Declaration of 1552 was to exclude all notion of a carnal presence; therefore it employed such contro-versial terms of the period as would cover the whole ground: hence the employment of "reall and essenciall;" and Ridley, as is morally certain from Cranmer's unpublished letter which we quoted, was one of the framers of that Declaration. But as any such opinion had passed away at the last review, in 1662, it was natural to expunge words which then would seem to contradict the Doctrine of the Real Presence: hence the substitution of "any Corporal Presence of CHRIST's natural Flesh and Blood."

We may here notice also another misrepresentation of ourselves, on the part of the *Scottish Miscellany*. In noticing Mr. Blunt's articles on the English Reformation, the Editor or Reviewer says that it is an attempt to "whitewash the principal English Reformers." It is difficult to conceive a description more entirely false. The burthen of the articles is to show that while the individual agents in that movement, both lay and clerical, were not to be approved, the good hand of Almighty God might all the more be traced, as guiding the work in a right and Catholic direction. If our new contemporary is not prepared to study accuracy a little more, we fear that he will not confer much benefit on the already too distracted community of Scotland.

<sup>1</sup> This should have appeared last month.

## THE REPEAL OF CANON XXIX.

THE interest which has been awakened by the Convocation of Canterbury having petitioned the Crown that "the 29th Canon of 1603 should be altered, or amended, or repealed, and a new Canon substituted," has induced us to take a general view of the whole question, and we make use of a simile to open the subject.

It is commonly known that one of the most beautiful and admired of our ecclesiastical edifices, exhibits in its construction some very peculiar features; that the roof exerts a lateral instead of a vertical pressure upon the walls, which pressure at the termination of the sides, is thrown upon four small turrets which occupy the four corners of the building; that the construction of the groined roof itself is made to depend upon central bosses, each of which weighs several tons, and the abstraction of any one of which would cause its total destruction. Remove a stone from the turret, or a boss from the roof, and the whole building would inevitably collapse. Now we think that an analogy may be drawn, which is certainly not far-fetched, and which in many respects implies a complete parallelization, between the construction of this lovely chapel and of our own National Church at the present day, which in its legal status at least, exists entire and undisturbed. There are many restless minds abroad and stirring, who would like to experiment in alterations upon the fabric of the Church of England, just as Sir Christopher Wren wished to do upon the bosses and turrets of King's College Chapel, at Cambridge. But the hand of the great architect was wisely stayed from any intermeddling with what had been so well wrought out some centuries before his day, and we may pray that the hands of these other and more important experimentalists may be stayed too. And we think that these remarks apply in some degree to those who seek for a repeal of the 29th Canon, upon which we are now going to offer a few suggestions.

It behoves us to remember at the outset, that a strong desire for *change* in some form or other is burning in the breasts of innumerable members of our communion, of views the most opposite, of tendencies the most destructive the one of the other. Some are loudly clamouring for the expulsion from our Prayer Book of that Apostolic and Catholic doctrine, the possession of which constitutes a note of the true Church, and the absence of which would level the Church to the rank of a modern sect formed by human device. Others there are, the production of a later school, who would carry the work of demolition beyond mere puritanization, they would abolish all the distinctive teaching of Holy Scripture, and substitute for "the faith once delivered to the saints," a pantheistic Sabellianism, which cloaks under a form of seeming de-

votion infidelity in one of its worst phases. And then, there are a large, and learned, and holy body of men, who cling to the ancient faith which was taught by the Apostles and witnessed to by the saintly martyrs of primitive times,—men who regret that so many of the outward tokens of Catholic worship should have departed, while the spirit of that worship is embodied in our Service book, and which spirit speaks out everywhere to those who have the souls to discern and the hearts to obey such teaching. From many points of view is the Book of Common Prayer now examined, and each several aspect of it seems to demand some modification and amendment. What is to be done? Is any alteration to be allowed? If any—*what* and *by whom* to be made? An argument by no means inapplicable can be drawn from the general feeling touching our authorized version of Holy Scripture. We can now procure a better Hebrew text for the Old Testament, and certainly improved readings in the Greek of the New, than was possessed by King James's translators. Scholarship has progressed mightily within these last two hundred years, and notwithstanding all these advantages, real and considerable as they are, all those who are most qualified to form an opinion, have determined that it were far better, for the present at least, to leave unaltered that which our forefathers have executed so nobly and so well. The same thing is being said with respect to our Prayer Book; once admit the principle of alteration, and who can tell where the alterations shall cease, and into whose hands the power of making them will eventually fall? Now these Canons must be regarded as a kind of outposts of the citadel, and this 29th Canon in particular does not stand alone. If it be finally repealed by both Houses of Convocation, which repeal meet with the sanction of Parliament and the Crown, certain *rubrics* in the Prayer Book must also be altered to meet its new requirements or rather permissions, for in the third rubric attached to the Office for the "Ministration of Public Baptism of Infants," a distinction is clearly implied between the parents and sponsors. That it intended to make this distinction and to prohibit parent sponsorship, is shown at a further stage in our inquiry. Now if the rubrics in the Baptismal Service be altered, why should not the rubrics of the other offices be modified too? Once introduce the principle of change, and the integrity of our Prayer Book would be in the right road to suffer complete revision. We say no more on this head, lest we should be anticipating what we have to remark on the expediency of this measure.

There are three reasons brought forward in the discussion on the alteration of this 29th Canon, reasons theological and legal, and what we may call motives of expediency, all of which must be noticed in their turn. In the first place we ask, was it a custom of the primitive Church, which thence descended to mediæval times,

and which has been retained by ourselves, that *parents should not stand as sponsors for their children?*

It is very remarkable how meagre the patristic testimony is as to the custom of *infant* Baptism itself. The Apostolic Fathers do not enlighten as to this practice in the least: one testimony is to be found in the Second Apology of S. Justin,<sup>1</sup> one indisputable evidence in S. Irenæus,<sup>2</sup> two or three in Tertullian, one in the Pædagoge of S. Clement of Alexandria (iii. c. xi.), three in Origen (Hom. in Numb. i., in Luc. xiv., in Epist. ad Rom. v. 9), and several testimonies are found in the Epistles of S. Cyprian, and especially in his letter to Bishop Fidus.<sup>3</sup> Canon Harold Browne confesses truly what must be patent to every student of antiquity, "that among the later Fathers, Baptism was not so universally administered in infancy as amongst ourselves, there does indeed seem reason to conjecture."<sup>4</sup> The Apostolical Constitutions (vi. c. 15,) show that infant Baptism certainly prevailed in the Church in the fourth century, in which period S. Gregory Nazianzen (Orat. xl. Tom. i. 658, A.) absolutely recommends a delay of three years ere the child be brought to the regeneration of the font. The Catechetical Lectures of S. Cyril of Jerusalem, as well as the prevalent views of post-baptismal sin, enable us very clearly to trace the doctrine of the Church of the fourth century. On this subject, as on so many others, the value of the monumental inscriptions from the Roman catacombs is at length being appreciated, as furnishing incidental evidence of the last importance. We subjoin an illustration of two taken from this source. One inscription runs thus:—*FL . IOVINA . QUAE . VIX . ANNIS . TRIBVS . D . XXX . NEOPITA . IN . PACE . XI . K .* "Flavia Jovina, who lived 3 years and 30 days, a *neophyte*, in peace, [she died] the eleventh Kalends." The following inscription records the death of a younger neophyte:—*TEG . CANDIDVS . NEOF . Q . VXT . M . XXI . DP . NON . SEP .* "The tile of Candidus the neophyte, who lived 21 months, buried on the nones of September." Lastly, we give an account of the Baptism of Romanus, which occurred A.D. 371:—*ROMANO . NEOFITO . BENEMERENTI . QVI . VIXIT . ANNOS . VIII . D . XV . REQVIESCIT . IN . PACE . DN . FL . GRATIANO . AVG . VI . ET . PETRONIO . PROBO . CS .*

If however the testimonies to the practice of infant Baptism in the early Church are meagre and few when compared with the abounding number of statements which connect the grace of regeneration with that sacrament, the evidence as to the Church's law of sponsorship is still more difficult to attain, so few passages are to be met with, in which any mention of sponsors is made at all. Tertullian is our earliest authority upon this subject. In the treatise "*De Coronâ Militis*," the third chapter is a very remarkable one; it discusses the value of unwritten tradition, and begins with Bap-

<sup>1</sup> § 15.<sup>2</sup> II. c. 39.<sup>3</sup> Ep. 64.<sup>4</sup> Art. p. 674, 2nd Edit.



tism, then follows the Eucharist, then the observance of the natalitia, ending with a beautiful description of the use of the sign of the Cross at his time. After mentioning "the renunciation of the devil and his pomp and his angels," he continues: "Then are we thrice dipped, pledging ourselves to something more than the LORD hath prescribed in the Gospel; *then some undertaking the charge of us*, we first taste a mixture of honey and milk. (Dehinc ter mergitaur, amplius aliquid respondententes, quam Dominus in Evangelio determinavit. Inde suscepti, lactis et mellis concordiam prægustamus.") As we have followed Mr. Dodgson's translation in the passage, we will transcribe his note: "*suscepti*, received by the *susceptores*, God-parents: the word *suscipere* being used, first of the adoption on the natural birth, then by analogy on the spiritual." Certainly no argument on behalf of parent sponsorship could be framed upon the simple expression "Inde suscepti." A direct testimony on this point is given in the eighteenth chapter of the "De Baptismo," where Tertullian is insisting upon the advantage of delaying the Baptism of infants except in cases of great urgency. "For why," says he, "is it necessary, if the thing be not so necessary, that the *sponsors* also be brought into danger?" "Quid enim necesse est, si non tam necesse, *sponsores* etiam periculo ingeri?" This is the earliest use of the word "sponsor" as applied to a Christian God-parent with which we are acquainted. Pamelius makes a rather long annotation on this word "sponsors," but he furnishes us with no new reference on the subject. This latter passage even affords no positive proof against parental sponsorship, but the whole bearing of the argument would lead any candid reader to admit, that it was most unlikely from the general tenour of his remarks, that Tertullian ever contemplated such a double relationship. In the tract of S. Clemens Alexandrinus entitled "Quis dives salvetur,"<sup>1</sup> is a story given of S. John the Evangelist meeting with a highly gifted youth in a certain city between Patmos and Ephesus, and his commending him to the Bishop before the Church, CHRIST being also a witness; of his going away for some time and the youth falling into evil courses; of S. John returning again and saying to the Bishop, "Come, O Bishop, return me the deposit which I and CHRIST committed unto thee before the Church over which thou dost preside." The Bishop is confused, speaks of the young man as being morally dead, but S. John follows him to the robber's haunt, sees him and cries out, "Why dost thou fly, son, thy defenceless aged father?" τί με φεύγεις τέκνον τὸν σουτοῦ πατέρα; "Have mercy on me, son, fear not. ἐλέησόν με τέκνον, μὴ φοβοῦ." There seems from such expressions as these to be strong presumptive evidence that S. John and not his parent stood as *Godfather* to this young man, who became his spiritual son by baptismal sponsorship.

<sup>1</sup> C. 33. 9, Euseb. Hist. iii. c. 23.

Another passage has been adduced as bearing upon this subject, the Acts of Pope Stephen I. (257—260); one writer<sup>1</sup> having furnished us with the text from the Roman Martyrology, while another critic<sup>2</sup> has translated it. We use the translation, which runs as follows, "Nemesius, a tribune, having an only daughter, blind from her birth, came and threw himself at the feet of Stephen, saying, 'I beseech you, my Lord Pope, (Domine mi Papa) baptize me and my daughter both, that she may be illuminated, and that you may deliver our minds from eternal darkness.'" Nemesius then makes a confession, the Pope leads him to the church, "where when he had catechized him and his daughter according to the custom of Christians, and had appointed a fast *till evening*, and now *evening* approached, he blessed the font, (benedixit fontem) and placing Nemesius in the water said, 'In the name of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the HOLY GHOST, I baptize thee;' and turning to the daughter, the Pope said, 'Dost thou believe in GOD the FATHER Almighty?' she answered, 'I do.' 'And in JESUS CHRIST our LORD?' She answered, 'I do.' 'And in the remission of all sins? and the resurrection of the flesh?' She said, 'I do, Lord.' And while he raised her from the water, (dumque levaretur de aqua) she began to call out, 'Behold, I see the man who hath touched my eyes, and a splendid light around him!' Then the baptized daughter, whom he raised from the font, (quam ipse elevavit de fonte) he named Lucilla. Then the crowd threw themselves before Stephen, imploring Baptism, and *sixty-two* were baptized that same day." Several objections have been urged against the reception of this passage as evidence, viz., that both father and daughter were baptized together on the same day; that each answered for themselves; that the daughter was *no infant* at all, but old enough to be catechized, and that she did in fact *answer for herself*; that the sixty-two others who were baptized the same day, as it was evening when Nemesius himself was baptized, (cum diei hora appropinquasset vespertina) must have been uncatechized, and probably *without sponsors* at so short a notice. Lastly, that *papal benedictions of fonts* were not known at that early age. The story is full of extravagances and so it must be dismissed; yet we may notice, that if sponsorship be implied here at all, the Pope himself (as is sometimes the case in the Roman Church) stood in that relation, and that the "*ipse*" who "*elevavit de fonte*" was none other than the "*Beatus Stephanus*."

An Egyptian version of the Apostolical Constitutions, is brought forward in support of parental sponsorship; but unfortunately, the passage does not exist in the original Greek, and it seems beside the ordinary laws of general criticism, to found an argument upon a mere translation when we are in possession of the original text. The Canon thus reads in Baron Bunsen's "*Hippolytus and his Age*."<sup>3</sup> "Let them undress themselves; the young shall be first baptized.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Neale's Second Letter, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Irons' Reply.

<sup>3</sup> II. 322.

And let all who are able to answer for themselves, answer, but those who are not able to answer, let their *parents* answer for them or some other numbered among their relations." The present practice in the Ethiopian Church, of parent sponsorship, clearly indicates that the above mention was an early interpolation, founded upon a local but still earlier custom.

The most direct and ancient evidence *against* the sponsorship of parents, occurs in the end (sec. xi.) of the seventh chapter of the *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* of the Pseudo-Dionysius Areopagita, a mystical writer of the fourth century. In this place the Pseudo-Dionysius is arguing that it is not ridiculous that infants should be brought to the font, although they cannot understand what is done. "It seemed good," so reads the passage, "that infants should be admitted according to this sacred rite, that the natural parents of the offered child (προσπαγομένου παιδός) deliver the boy to one of the faithful, who would carefully instruct the boy in Divine things; under whose care he may afterwards be as under a spiritual father, and a *sponsor* of holy Salvation." The word ἀνάδοχος, which is also found in the second chapter of this treatise, is here used for Godfather, or Susceptor; it signifies the same as sponsor, and it answers to the "patrinus" and "matrina," the "compater" and "commater;" the "pater spiritualis," and "mater spiritualis" of the later ecclesiastical writers. The office of the sponsor is then more fully unfolded.

And now, a word or two must be said upon the issue which is being joined, as to the interpretation of S. Augustine's letter to Boniface,<sup>1</sup> in which the latter asks of the great Doctor, whether at Baptism, any faith of the parents may be of advantage to the children, or if any impiety of theirs can injure the children after their Baptism. In reply to which, S. Austin distinguishes between the spiritual offering of children, and the carrying of them to the font in mere bodily arms; whereas it is "mater ecclesia" who makes the true offering to God. And then another question is discussed, viz., whether the god-parents can answer for the as yet uncertain faith of the children; and the answer returned is, "ipsius fidei sacramentum fidelem facit;" and that just as the belief is expressed, so is the infant called faithful. "Non rem ipsa mente annuendo, sed ipsius rei sacramentum percipiendo." The whole pith of the argument lies in the sixth section of this letter; and this is the line of argument which is taken: I do not wish that you should be misled, so as to think that the obligation of guilt, as contracted from Adam, is not able to be severed unless children are offered by *their parents*, (a parentibus offerantur) as recipients for the grace of CHRIST; for you seem to imply, that as the *parents* were the cause of their punishment, so ought they also to be the cause of their justification, although you see many who are *not* brought by their parents, as slaves are brought by their masters,

<sup>1</sup> Epist. xxiii. Ed. Louv.

and orphans by the compassionate, and those deserted by the holy virgins; and lastly, the parable of the man who fell among thieves, is introduced, that the nature of the true "*proximus*" may be understood. Now all the great liturgical writers are opposed to the inference which Bingham would draw from this passage; they hold that it implies that parent sponsorship was allowed by the African Code, which was certainly not then the code of the Universal Church, and as a modern theologian<sup>1</sup> has eloquently observed, even the *shadow* of parent-sponsorship, in the time of Bishop Boniface, entirely and silently vanishes after this letter of S. Augustine, for there is no other place in his works that lends any countenance whatsoever to this point of ritual.

Among the Nestorians parental sponsorship has been recognized as existing, as it did also amongst the Nestorian Christians at Malabar, but such evidence as this has, we think, but an indirect bearing upon the question at issue. The administration of Baptism amongst the Jews, supplies a powerful argument against parental sponsorship, arguing from analogy. Even when the father was alive and brought the child, there were three who professed for it, and who "became to him paternal," and we cannot see, that any reason which can be given, why the three sponsors were required, such as "to throw an additional difficulty in the way of making a proselyte," invalidates the inference that we may draw as to the *exclusion of the father* from this office. It is certain also, that the *mother* did not bring the child upon the death of the father.

Our readers will now be able to judge for themselves, how poor and scanty the evidence is, which the first four centuries furnish us, as to the law of sponsorship during those ages; but it seems on the whole to be tolerably certain, that parental-sponsorship was unknown as a custom of the Universal Church; that some individual Churches had adopted it, but that the practice was nipped in the bud, and at last was then, as now, authoritatively forbidden.

The next witnesses to be examined upon this question, are the *Councils*. But a word must first be said as to the grounds upon which they legislate. The doctrine of *Spiritual affinities*, was one which obtained an early predominance in the Church, and from it flowed several enactments as to the laws of sponsorship;<sup>2</sup> even in the sixth century, a sponsor was forbidden to marry the god-child, although there was no earthly tie between the two, still, "*Deo mediante, animæ eorum copulatæ sunt.*" The first important canon upon this subject, is the fifty-third of the Quinisext Council, otherwise called the Council in Trullo, which was holden in A.D. 692. "Since the *spiritual affinity* of bodies (*ἡ κατὰ τὸ πνεῦμα οἰκείωσις*), is greater than their bodily union, and we have heard that some, in some places, having received children, (a sponsorial term, *ἀναδεχόμενος*) from the holy and saving Baptism, afterwards contract matri-

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Irons' Serm. Append. p. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Justin. Cod. v. iv. de nuptiis.

mony with their widowed mothers ; we decree that from this present Canon, nothing of the kind be done." The punishment to be inflicted, and a more accurate definition of the law follows ; but all we need remember is, that the *οἰκισότης* of the spirit, was held to be above the *συνάφεια* of the body. Towards the end of the seventh century, our own S. Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, laid down in his "Pœnitentiale," the guide of all Anglican parish priests,<sup>1</sup> "Si quis commatrem spiritalem in conjugio duxerit anathema sit." In the eighteenth section of the same chapter, a similar prohibition occurs. Subsequently, confirmation sponsorship became as great an impediment to marriage, as the relations flowing from the font had become. Thus the Council of Compeigne decreed, A.D. 757, "Si quis filiastrum aut filiastram suam ante episcopum ad confirmationem tenuerit separetur ab uxore sua, et alteram non accipiat, similiter femina alterum non accipiat." The Council of Mayence, A.D. 813, is the first which forbids parents to stand as sponsors to their children ; the prohibition forms the subject of the fifty-fifth Canon, the two preceding ones relating to the searching out of incestuous persons, and to the prohibition of marriages within the fourth degree. "Nullus igitur proprium filium vel filiam de fonte baptismatis suscipiat ; nec filiolum, nec commatrem ducat uxorem." Doubtless this Moguntian, as well as the Quinisext council, did but express the consentient voice of the Church upon the subject ; it was a tacit law long before it thus passed into canonical shape, and we must not forget that the objections of the Western Church to this latter council, did not arise from any doctrinal difference which existed between the Churches, but from the independent position which this council chose to occupy in regard to the Western Church. In this same year, 813, the second Council of Cabilonum, and the fourth Council of Arles, both decreed upon this point, the latter making a marked distinction between the "parentes" and the "patrini." We find in this century, Walafrid Strabo saying, "non autem pater debet vel mater de fonte suam suscipere sobolem ;" and King Etheldred, in the next century decreeing at the Witan, "and let it never be, that a Christian man marry" . . . "with his god-mother ;" and the Ecclesiastical laws of Cnut, A.D. 1017, using almost these very words. In the "Laws of King Henry I.,<sup>2</sup> "Qui alterius filiolum vel patrinum occiderit erga eum et parentes mortui communiter reus sit," &c. Gillebert, Bishop of Limerick, A.D. 1130, forbids "commatrem ducere uxorem." We come now to S. Osmund's Sarum use, A.D. 1078—1099, whose rubric states "similiter pater vel mater non debet proprium filium de sacro fonte levare." Many of our provincial Councils, such as those of Durham, A.D. 1220, Oxford, A.D. 1222, treated of the spiritual affinity which resulted from confirmation ; yet the Synod of Exeter, A.D. 1287, gives minute directions about baptism ;

<sup>1</sup> Cap. xx. s. 2, de incestuosis.<sup>2</sup> C. 79, s. i.

it enacted, "In levatione pueri de fonte sacro, per quam compater-nitas spiritualis contrahitur, præcipimus, ut in levatione maris duo mares et uno femina; in feminæ vero levatione, unus mas et duæ feminæ adhibeantur. Plures tamen non possunt esse compatres sed tanquam testes." In the "Pupilla Oculi," by the Chancellor of Cambridge, A.D. 1385, John de Bourgo, a high authority upon ecclesiastical law, it is stated, "Pater vel mater non debent proprium filium de sacro fonte levare." Mr. Stephens says,<sup>1</sup> "it is to be noted that in all these canons respecting sponsors at Confirmation, it is taken for granted that the exclusion of parents from sponsorship at Baptism, was already recognized as the rule and custom of the Church." The words "sicut in Baptismo," are the foundation on which the rule as to Confirmation is made to rest. Now all this bears upon the interpretation of our present rubric, which rubric itself is based upon and is almost identical with the rubrics of 1549, 1552, 1559, and 1604, which rubric was made before the canons of the same date. It is said,<sup>2</sup> "The exclusion of parents was the law of the Church up to 1533, prescribed by several Councils, Foreign and English. By the Act of 1533, the Canons which had been hitherto received in England, became part of the Statute Law, no less controlling the laity than the clergy. The framers and the several revisers of the Rubric, clearly assumed that the prohibition was the recognized law of the land, and those who most fretted under the restraint, never impugned the correctness of the assumption." And again,<sup>3</sup> "Contemporary testimony is too strong to admit of doubt, that the Rubric, though silent on the matter, and possibly because of that silence, had not interfered with what was the law of the Church at the time at which it was framed." So that in fact, our Rubric is a representative of the ancient Canon Law of the Church; and that it was so regarded by several of the Reformers is plain, from the writings of Becon, A.D. 1560, Archbishop Parker, A.D. 1562, the Articles published as "advertisements" in 1564; Wither's letter to Bullinger and Gaultier, of 1567; Cartwright's Cambridge propositions of 1570; the Admonition of 1572; Bancroft's notices of the "dangerous positions" of the Puritans in 1593; the Non-conformists' objections to the Rubrics in Elizabeth's reign; the clauses for a change in the Baptismal service, both in the Millenary Petition and the Hampton Court Conference; the Reports of the Commissioners for the Alteration of the Prayer Book in 1689. It seems that where the Rubric does not specifically alter the existing law, it was intended to maintain it, and as the Rubric and not the Canons of 1604, forms part of the statute law of this realm, all the reformed writers whom we have just mentioned, and especially the last Commission, which included in its number such men as Beveridge, Burnet, Patrick, Stillingfleet, Tillotson, Tenison and Kidder, passed by the Canons, and directed their remarks to the Rubrics

<sup>1</sup> Opinion, p. 23.<sup>2</sup> Dean Elliot's Three Letters, p. 15.<sup>3</sup> Ib. p. 19.

alone. Our Rubric being in substance the same as the first Post-Reformation Rubric, and that, in this particular upholding the Church law of its time, the great Divines of the English Church are at unity with the doctors and councils of the Mediæval Church, and these holding to what they had been taught to consider the custom established by tradition from the beginning, all agree in prohibiting parents from standing as sponsors to their own children.

With regard to the legal bearings of the repeal of this 29th Canon, there is no necessity for us to enlarge. These propositions have never been controverted; firstly, that statute law has alone an obligatory force; secondly, that the Rubrics do form part of our statute law, and consequently that they have an obligatory power; and thirdly, that the Canons do *not* form part of our statute law, and therefore as far as legal obligations are concerned, they are utterly null and void. The legal authority of the Canons being established by Lord Hardwicke's celebrated judgment in the case of *Middleton v. Crofts*, we insert it, in case our readers may not have seen it in contemporary publications. "Upon the best consideration we are able to give it, we are all of opinion that the Canons of 1603, not having been confirmed by Parliament, do not *proprio vigore* bind the laity; I say *proprio vigore*, by their own force and authority, for there are many provisions contained in these Canons, which are declaratory of the ancient usage and law of the Church of England, received and allowed here, which in *that respect* and *by virtue of such ancient allowance*, will bind the laity; but that is an *obligation antecedent to* and *not arising from* this body of Canons." And further, "no new laws can be made to bind the whole people of this land, but by the king, with the advice and consent of both Houses of Parliament, and by their united authority. Neither the king alone, nor the king with the concurrence of any particular number or order of men, have this high power." We observe, too, it is because the *Act of Uniformity* includes the Book of Common Prayer,<sup>1</sup> that the Rubrics contained therein became a part of our statute law. This judgment of Lord Hardwicke's, was confirmed by the Court of Queen's Bench, in the case of *Marshall v. Bishop of Exeter*, heard at the commencement of the year 1860. An objection having been raised upon the authority of the Canons, the Court ruled "How far the Canons are to govern such a case as this by reason of their binding the clergy, is a question which is unnecessary to decide. But we think it right to say, that it seems to us very difficult to maintain that they can in any case be binding on patrons of livings seeking to enforce their common law rights." The application of the 27th Canon has been cited as showing how in the case of the notorious Richard Baxter, "schismatic" and "depraver of the Book of Common Prayer" as he was, still without a legal excommunication he could not canonically be forbidden the

<sup>1</sup> 13 and 14 Car. II. c. 21.

communion as administered by the Church of England. Let us suppose that the Canons cannot be carried into operation now; that they are not, and never were part of the statute law, still they have a certain binding force upon the clergy, and in a sense obligate the laity; they are witnesses to the Church's teaching in times past, and this Canon in particular, as we have before mentioned, very strikingly unites us with the ancient faith. Better times God may have in His infinite mercy in store for us, when that which seems unpractical now, may with ease and safety be carried out to the increase of true religion amongst us, and the restoration of a godly discipline long since lost. How too will this repeal affect the general existing force of the Canons? This is a consideration of very great moment, and the statement of three of the most eminent lawyers of the day, ought to have its due weight with us. "We are of opinion," says Sir F. Kelly, Sir H. M. Cairns, and Mr. R. Jebb, "that any alteration or repeal of the 29th Canon, such as is proposed by the Convocation of Canterbury, would not, even if sanctioned by Her Majesty, have the effect of relieving the members of the Church, lay or clerical, in the Province of Canterbury, from the obligation which we think now exists, that a child shall be presented for Baptism by sponsors being persons other than its parents." And again, "Being of opinion that any repeal of the twenty-ninth Canon by Convocation, would be inoperative, it does not appear to us that, in the event of such repeal by the Convocations of Canterbury and York, it would be necessary that any step should be taken with a view to preserve uniformity of discipline throughout the United Church." This last clause touches upon the relation in which the Church of Ireland stands to the Church of England.

Surely no real Churchman would wish the repeal of this Canon, were its execution encumbered with far more difficulties than it is, on the ground of mere *expediency*. Yet we deny that even this expediency exists. We have seen large and populous parishes long given over to irreligion and neglect, brought back again to a comparatively healthy tone by strict enforcement of this Canon, for so have large bodies of persons been brought to see and feel the privilege and the responsibility which the office of sponsor entails upon those who stand as spiritual parents for others' children: for to the unmarried especially this office is a grateful field for the exercise of faculties which otherwise would have remained undeveloped. "By means of the sponsorial relation," says Dr. Wordsworth,<sup>1</sup> "your affections are exercised, your heart is enlarged, your devotion is quickened and spiritualized in behalf of the noblest and holiest object, the eternal happiness of the young. The affections of others towards you, those of your spiritual children, and those of their parents are cherished and consecrated by the ten-

<sup>1</sup> Letter, p. 11.



derest and holiest endearments. And by the multiplication of such interweaving of Christian sympathies as these, which heaven be thanked spread their spiritual network through every parish in England, the Church of England is what it is—a sound and living part of the mystical body of CHRIST.”

All that remains for us to do, is to thank those whose published writings have aided so considerably in the present inquiry. The letters of the Dean of Bristol, of Dr. Irons, of Dr. Wordsworth, of Mr. Neale, as well as the opinion of Mr. Stephens, are full of valuable information upon the subject in hand. In this notice we have endeavoured to “enter into their labours.” Our mature conviction being, after taking all the evidence, and submitting it to our most serious consideration, that for the preservation of the doctrine of Holy Baptism, as holden by the Church of England, the 29th Canon ought to remain as it hath done in times past—unrepealed.

### THE CHURCH IN THE COLONIES; ITS WAYS AND MEANS.

1. *Report of the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.* 1860.
2. *The Colonial Church Chronicle and Missionary Journal.* 1860. London: Rivingtons.

It must, we fear, be admitted, looking to the information derived from both public and private sources, that a decline has very generally taken place in the condition of our Church in the Colonies since and notwithstanding the extension of the Colonial Episcopate. Evidences of decay no doubt may be apparent on the surface, while a real health and vitality may be all the more vigorous underneath. The amount of crime brought to light by the vigilance and activity of an improved police, may suggest the false idea of increased social corruption. So the difficulties and defects of the ecclesiastical status in a new country may only be more thoroughly detected when put to actual proof under the responsible supervision and authoritative regimen of a resident Bishop. Allowances too must be made for the accidental and necessary fluctuations of material prosperity in the circumstances of Colonial Churches. The freshness and romance of early settlement in a colony which colour all its social relations, and keep men good-natured and mutually self-accommodating, soon fade away under trial and stern experience, and pass into the competitive rivalries and partizanship of the second era. Commercial depressions and the variable prices of the necessaries of life, occa-

sional changes too in the political constitution or the administration of the civil government, must all tell with very sensible effect on the local means and methods of clerical sustentation. To the latter cause no doubt much of the failure in the ecclesiastical resources, more especially of Tasmania and New South Wales, is mainly attributable, where the old chaplaincy and civil list system has been wholly or partially suspended, and the Church reduced to dependence on home assistance and the voluntary contributions of its local members. The same adverse influence too has operated, though in smaller measure, in the other Colonies of Australia and New Zealand. Free institutions and representative government, whatever their political advantage, have been a very material drawback on the temporalities both of the Church of England and other religious bodies there located.

Still, making every allowance on these and other grounds for unavoidable fluctuation, we cannot but come to the conclusion that the Colonial Episcopate, so far as a corresponding Church extension and efficiency are consequential to it, has not answered reasonable expectations. It was the Bishop of New Zealand, if we mistake not, who at the large S. P. G. meeting held at the Mansion House, in July 1855, with the pardonable epigrammatic exaggeration of an earnest man bent on a theory, declared that if asked what to do with £500,000 a year, supposing it could be raised by the Society, he should say, spend it in establishing bishoprics with £500 a year each ; for that every Bishop was able to create about him a local ministry adequate to do the whole work of the country. The remark was intended to apply primarily to the training of a *native* ministry, but could scarcely have been limited to that ; for in the first place the funds of the Society are more properly available for the Church of the British population than for direct missions to the heathen, and besides no one knows better than his Lordship the necessity of many years' delay before admitting newly-converted aborigines, even to the lowest order of the ministry. In the list of local clergy published in his own Church Almanack for 1860, the nineteenth year of his consecration, there appear the names of two native deacons only. Since that date (we quote from a newspaper report) :

“ On Sunday morning, 4th March, the Right Rev. Bishop of New Zealand consecrated three natives as deacons in the Church, namely, Pirimona (Philemon) Korari, who had worked under Bishop Selwyn and Archdeacon Kissling for *sixteen years*, at S. John's College and the native institution ; Heta (Seth) Tarawhiti, Mr. Ashwell's head teacher, who had laboured for *twelve years* ; and Hohua (Joshua), who had been under Archdeacon Maunsell for about the *same length of time*.”

But extending the terms of the assertion so as to include Colonial Clergy with definite pastoral cures ministering to the European population, we must say that the condition of no single

diocese in any one of the Colonies appears to justify the sentiment. An increase in the number of the local Clergy, and of pastoral districts and ministrations, has not in fact been commensurate with the extension of the Colonial Episcopate.

We quote the following from the *Church Chronicle* for the diocese of Adelaide, published in the December (1860) number of the *Colonial Church Chronicle* :

"In the address delivered by the Bishop of Tasmania to his synod, we find the repetition, almost *totidem verbis*, of our own diocesan's complaint respecting the obstacles in the way of getting clergymen from England and the provision of a proper maintenance for them in the colony. He speaks of clergymen in straitened circumstances, of arrears of stipend, of districts unsupplied with the ministry of the Word and sacraments, of a deficiency of funds to provide for the growing wants of the Church. These, we believe, are more or less the depressing features of every Australian diocese, however well endowed. None have been able to keep pace with the wants of the people. . . . With respect to the maintenance of the ordinances of religion, the picture which the Bishop draws is not cheering. 'If I write to England what must I say? As an honest man I must say, Every chaplaincy has a stipend attached to it of £310 a year, but I must tell an inquirer, Your £310 will not go further than £160 to £180 in England: you must bear the expense of coming out yourself, as there is no fund from which to defray it, and the £310 is held on so peculiar a tenure, that I cannot guarantee its existence for a single year; and as far as I can see and hear, it is very probable that the voluntary principle will be extended further than now; you will have hard work, many watchful eyes and censorious minds to encounter, and I cannot guarantee mechanic's wages; and besides, you may have to depend on your own popularity, or the caprice of the people. If you are stationed in a district, you may offend by your faithfulness some leading persons there, and depend upon it they will make you pay for your independence. Now there are those in the room who know that I have not overstated one single thing—(hear, hear)—but I have rather understated the case, and that there have been such offence taken, and such withdrawal of support by parties of influence and position. I had an application in reference to one good and faithful man in the colonies, but so long as the present state of things prevails, I will not and cannot offer him any inducement to come here! Have we not a distinct prospect for the future of churches closed, schoolhouses shut, the Word of God unpreached, the sacraments unadministered, people living in sin because of no one to marry them, children unbaptized, the dead not buried, and Christian men, with their baptismal vows upon them, untaught and uncomfortable? Is this a vision? is it a chimera? There are many of you who know it is not.'"

We ask our readers to try carefully to master the details of this picture, because it is only a more than usually vivid version of precisely similar accounts, both private and published, which reach us from other Colonial Dioceses in Australia and New Zealand, and even from Cape Town. The excellent Bishop of that see and

Metropolitan of the African Church, writes in a pastoral letter published in the *Colonial Church Chronicle* of June last :

*"Unless a change takes place we must be content to see the work of God amongst us gradually decline. I know that the friends of some of our ablest and most efficient men are seeking to provide for them at home, and to withdraw them from fields where they think (wrongly as I believe) their services are not appreciated. Should they leave us, it would, under existing circumstances, be difficult to supply their places. I can hardly invite men to come out with promise of incomes upon which they could barely live, and I shall be compelled, if things continue as they are, to look, as vacancies occur, for men of inferior qualifications, or, it may be, to abandon posts altogether."*

We do not care to illustrate these general statements with details within our own knowledge of posts actually abandoned, and the withdrawal of men of superior qualifications from some of the colonial dioceses; for particular instances admit of private interpretation, and may be explained away perhaps as exceptional or attributable to accidental causes. The question we wish to stir up is, whether the apparent and acknowledged failure in the results of the present system of the Colonial Church generally, may not be traceable to some radical wrong principle or inherent practical defect? We are of opinion that it may be; and we invite the earnest attention of sincere and thoughtful supporters of the missionary cause to an unprejudiced investigation of the question.

This very term 'Missionary' suggests an important branch of the inquiry. Has the Church in the Colonies sufficiently preserved a distinctly *Missionary* character? We mean not only towards the native heathen population, but rather towards the European immigrants and settlers. We are persuaded that a solution to the problem we have proposed above will be found principally to hinge upon this point. It appears to us that the missionary idea in the Colonial Church, which we consider ought to be paramount, if not exclusive, has more and more since the extension of the Colonial Episcopate been merging into that of the parochial system of the Established Church at home. It is natural that it should do so through the force of old associations and on the principle of what German chemists have called *palingenesia*, the tendency of matter held in solution to assume past specific forms; but we are not the less confident on that account that this has been a serious practical mistake and drawback. The population of our young colonies is mostly a heterogeneous gathering from all parts of the United Kingdom,—English (nominal) Churchpeople and nonconformists, Welsh Methodists, Scotch Presbyterians, Irish Roman Catholics; a middle class of broken down tailors, cobblers, and petty tradesmen from London and market towns, mechanics from the manufacturing districts, agricultural labourers from the villages; ship doctors and pettifogging lawyers represent the learned professions;

young men besotted in bad habits, middle-aged gentlemen who have made imprudent marriages, elders often with some *tâche* upon their characters in past years sufficient to account for their self-expatriation, form the ranks of the gentry ; to which list must be added the less aristocratic element of discharged soldiers, runaway seamen, whalers, ticket-of-leave men, and escaped convicts. It is not meant that in every class there are not individuals of unquestionable respectability ; and in a different proportion in the several colonies ; at Canterbury, New Zealand, for instance, the early settlers were mostly professed members of the Church of England, the choice very often in their several ranks, and better educated than the average of colonists. But this is a solitary exception ; and the exception scarcely applies to the present class of emigrants even to that settlement ; especially in the towns ; for there, as everywhere else, the sea-port towns are the resort of the dregs of the colonial population, the better educated and more gentle born generally settling on sheep-stations in the "bush." Even in the towns, it must not be inferred from the above description that the unpromising character of the original social elements results in an extraordinary popular immorality. Quite the reverse. Success and independence are great mutual condoners of past misdeeds, and vouchers of present respectability. New emigrants of all ranks begin very often by working on the roads with good government pay, or at other public employment ; they soon pass on to purchase small freeholds, and become, say boatmen or carriers (a very common occupation) on their own account ; they next sprout into tradesmen,—storekeepers they call themselves ; and so on often into the full blown dignity of merchants,—and of course senators, justices of the peace, and placemen. The ranks below, thus vacated, are supplied from time to time by shiploads of new immigrants, often three or four hundred in one arrival. The military detachment, with commissariat and ordnance officers (the cream of colonial society) complete the population. And this is "the whole lump" of breadstuff which is to be thoroughly worked and raised by the "little leaven" of the Church's dough-trough. We surely cannot be wrong in supposing that the very finest field is thus opened up for the irregular and aggressive operations of a Missionary Church.

And so long as the Church preserved this character as its pre-eminent idea, under the single-handed ministrations very often of some Government or Society-paid Colonial Chaplain, its work, though wholly inadequate, seems to have been attended with singular success and progress. Churches and schools were built, and money subscribed for ecclesiastical purposes with a sufficient if not openhanded liberality.<sup>1</sup> Scotch Presbyterians, and those who had

<sup>1</sup> A remarkable instance is afforded by the history of the Church in Wellington,

been brought up in Dissent before leaving this country, in considerable numbers conformed to the Church of England, and so described themselves in printed government returns. The effective moral influence and practical authority of the Clergy were due in a great measure to their independent maintenance and their relation towards those to whom they ministered, as seeking not *theirs* but *them*, and as '*sent*' by the Church to dispense her blessings and consolations to all who, amidst their trials and desolation in a strange land, were attracted by her sympathy and fain to accept her friendly offers of spiritual assistance.

Never, as it seems to us, was a fairer field lost, if indeed (which God forbid,) it *be* yet too late to take full advantage of so fine an opening. Meantime, the system which has gradually superseded these early desultory efforts, and is being stereotyped by what is called synodical action in the colonies, is founded on exactly the opposite idea. It seems to limit its vision to the one-sided proposition that the labourer is worthy of his hire, and that unless a man chooses to pay for spiritual ministrations he is not worthy to receive them. It appears to shut out of sight altogether the at least equally true and more pertinent side of the alternative; the less people are awake to their plain Christian responsibilities, the less they are willing and ready to contribute of their worldly substance in exchange for their religious privileges, the more peremptory is the obligation on the Church to *compel* them to come in, and to invite to drink of the wine and milk of the blessed Gospel *without money and without price*. It is worthy of remark that the Apostle who most of all has insisted on the duty of "him that is taught in the word to minister unto him that teacheth in all good things," has, even in his dealings with the well-to-do and self-indulgent Christian converts of Corinth, again and again declared his sense of the inexpediency of being burdensome to those whom he would take by guile, by himself, and after him Titus whom he sent, refusing to be chargeable to them, working rather with his hands or robbing other Churches, taking wages of them, to do the Corinthians service, "lest," he says, "we should *hinder the Gospel of Christ*." He adds, indeed, as a maxim in justification of his conduct, "I seek not your's, but you, *for the children ought not to lay up for the*

New Zealand. The first clergyman was a Colonial chaplain. Under him no less than six churches were built in the town and neighbourhood, and served by himself alone. Four Church schools were also built. These were afterwards divided into four parochial districts with as many resident clergymen. But since the Diocesan Synod introduced the purely voluntary system and local management of Church affairs, three of the parishes have been left without any resident pastor and regular ministrations; the one remaining clergyman being restricted to his own parish. Of the six churches one has been burnt, and one blown down by the wind, and not rebuilt. One of the schools has also been burnt down, and not rebuilt. We believe two of the other schools, formerly well attended, have also been lately closed, though the neighbouring population is considerably greater than when first they were opened.

parents, but the parents for the children ;”<sup>1</sup> a maxim singularly apposite in determining the duty of a parent Church in this respect towards her children scattered abroad.

His Successors in the Colonial Church (many of them) appear practically to accept only one side of his double doctrine. We could specify instances within our own knowledge of positive discouragement to the proffered assistance of zealous friends in England, on the express ground that Churchmen, mostly well-to-do in the colonies, *ought* to be above receiving pecuniary aid from their less wealthy brethren at home. In the Pastoral Letter of the Bishop of Cape Town, which we have already quoted, he uses almost the very words which we have just written down without recollecting at the moment the language he had employed to set forth the common view of the Colonial Episcopate :—

“It is mean, and it is degrading to us, to be dependent as suitors for the alms of our brethren at home, many of them much poorer than ourselves, for one single hour longer, or for one shilling more, than is absolutely necessary. My own conviction is, that we have it already in our power as a Church, if we would only rise up to the full measure of duties and responsibilities, to maintain all our ministers without begging for charity of the Church at home. . . . I can do no more than I am doing. *I have not indeed asked of our brethren in England ; I did not think it right to ask that they should do more than they are already doing towards the support of clergy ministering to the English population ; and if I had asked, I should have failed, because there is a widespread feeling at home that the colonists are not doing what they ought to do for themselves ; and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel is rather looking to withdraw grants, which have now been continued for some years, than to add to them.* What has been placed at my disposal has been *mainly for mission-work ; and to this the means intrusted to me are already deeply pledged.* I cannot press the point too earnestly and too strongly upon you, that towards our existing parochial work less, and not more, will be given in years to come. If anything is to be done to place the incomes of the clergy upon a fair footing, if they are to be enabled to live without involving themselves in debt, or engaging in worldly occupations, it must be through our own exertions.”<sup>2</sup>

Now there are two or three marked points in this suggestive passage to which we desire to draw particular attention. First, the mention without protest, nay, with something like an implicit connivance at what is said to be “a widespread” (but, as we conceive, most erroneous and censurable) “feeling at home,” that because colonists have not been brought to a sense of an essential part of their Christian duty, Churchmen elsewhere are in consequence relieved from their relative obligation towards them, and may blamelessly acquiesce in their spiritual destitution. Next, the distinction drawn between money given for “mission work,” and that “towards the support of clergy ministering to the English

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. ix. 7—15 ; 2 Cor. xi. 8, 9 ; xii. 13—18.

<sup>2</sup> Vide “Colonial Church Chronicle,” June, 1860.

population ;" implicitly illustrating the point on which we have already animadverted, that the *missionary idea* of "clergy ministering to the English population" is commonly merged in that of the *parochial system*. And this brings us to another remark, on which we commenced this article with the intention of laying perhaps the most emphatic stress. We mean, the apparently growing tendency of the executive of the S. P. G. to prefer *direct missions to the heathen* to what nevertheless, according to the spirit of the Society's constitution, is their *first duty*, viz., *towards Her Majesty's British subjects settled in plantations and factories beyond the seas*.<sup>1</sup> We scarcely know how far the *right* may be questioned to appropriate money contributed for purposes limited in the charter, to such objects, for instance, as the proposed establishment of a mission at Peking, or the organization of new missions to the heathen in Hindostan. Certainly the funds of the Society are not so ample as to allow the diversion of a fragment of its income from the most legitimate and proper object of its trust. We wish to point out the wrong and inexpediency of making that object, as there seems to be a tendency, a *secondary*, instead of as heretofore, a *primary* consideration. The tendency, if it exist in fact, we attribute in part to an unconscious adoption of the mistaken principle encouraged too often, as we have hinted, by the Colonial Bishops ; and in part to the less worthy motive of rivalry with other societies exclusively engaged in missions to the heathen, and a condescension to the same *ad captandum* artifices of dressing up reports and platform speeches with the more pungent anecdotes of heathen conversions. Certainly we are justified in this remark by the ordinary topics of deputations at missionary meetings, and the occasional publications of the Society, which are almost entirely devoted to the latter subject, to the omission of the crying spiritual needs and claims of our expatriated fellow-countrymen in the colonies. *Why*, if the urgency of the need increases, (and of course every fresh shipload of emigrants, to say nothing of the continued rapid increase by natural birth of the old settled population, swells the accumulation of uncared for souls) *why*, we ask, should the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel* be "rather looking to withdraw grants, than to add to them?" We really can perceive no good reason in the plea that continuance of grants for many years is a ground for their withdrawal, so long as the original intention of the grant remains imperfectly accomplished. A deed of Christian charity last year is no bar to the claim upon our sympathies in the present. It may be a question perhaps with some minds whether the poor ignorant and savage races, or our own baptized fellow-countrymen lapsing into semi-heathenism, have the prior claim

<sup>1</sup> Thus in last year's Report, p. 177, after deploring the need of clergymen and schools in the Wellington diocese, it is added, "the Society has recently made a grant of £100 towards the support of teachers among the *natives*;" why not among the white people? the natives being the peculiar charge of the Church Missionary Society.



upon our sympathies; it can be no question at all that a society gathering funds primarily to assist the spiritual necessities of the latter class, ought not to allow a partiality for any secondary object to put out of sight its prime intention.

Another indication of the same tendency appears in a change of plan we believe now uniformly practised by the executive of the Society in its mode of administering grants to the colonial Church. Whereas formerly large sums were placed unreservedly in the hands of the Bishops, and the appropriation thereof left to their discretion as local exigencies required, certain specific grants are now only voted in severalty towards the maintenance, wholly or in part, of particular clergymen, whose names are duly registered in the annual report. Whether this change of economy has been adopted with the idea of making the same amount of money *apparently* go further by swelling the list of stipendiaries in the Society's employment, or from whatever cause, it certainly has had the effect of enormously abridging the resources of colonial Bishops<sup>1</sup> in extending the *missionary* action of the Church among the British colonists, and tied down the usefulness of the Society to the very limited operations of the *parochial system*. The same may be said of another plan lately broached, and we believe adopted, by the society, for *grants in aid of parochial endowments*. All these changes tend, as it appears, to foster the parochial as distinct from the missionary character of the Colonial Church, and so to exclude those millions of perishing souls in our several colonies which the parochial system, as carried out there, fails to reach.

For the Parochial system where there are no endowments is simply the Voluntary system of the Independents and Congregationalists, and inevitably involves as its correlative the selfish, narrow, exclusive system of pew-rents, the election of *their* "minister" by the *congregation*, the prescribed routine of *congregational* duties to satisfy the bargain between the parties, the supremacy of the laity, (that is again the *congregation*,) the *automatony* of the poor parish priest as "*their* clergyman,"—paid for, bargained for, and if not agreeably compliant sent (by the irresistible process of "starving out") about his business by them.

"If you are stationed in a country district," says the Bishop of Tasmania, as already quoted, "*you may offend by your faithfulness some leading persons there, and depend upon it they will make you pay for your independence. There are those in the room who know that I have not overstated a single thing, but I have rather understated the case, and that there have been such offence taken, and such withdrawal of support by parties of influence and position.*"<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So much so, that the Bishop of Newcastle has felt justified in "not appropriating the grants of the Society in strict conformity with the letter of its rules."—Report, p. 166.

<sup>2</sup> The following is an extract shown to us from a private letter just received from one of the most distant colonies to a clergyman in England who had *thoughts* of applying for a parochial cure there vacant: "No doubt the — folks would have welcomed you in their 'spiritual destitution,' but I question whether you and they

Such, however, is the system being stereotyped, as it seems to us, by synodical action in the colonies. Synods themselves, indeed, as there organized, are a part of the same system, being *in theory* representative of parochial constituencies and interests; in theory, we say with emphasis, for instances are quoted to us from more than one colony of lay representatives elected without a single vote. But if Synods fail, as they are signally failing, what is to become of the Colonial Church? "*Our synod seems likely to become a dead letter,*" says a private letter from Tasmania, "*its financial machinery especially has almost broken down.*"<sup>1</sup> This financial machinery, even if it prospers, exhausts itself in the parochial system; and if the S. P. G. is looking rather to withdraw than to increase its grants to the Colonial Church, and if Bishops turn a cold shoulder on proffered help from zealous friends at home, what must become, we ask again with anxious and sorrowful perplexity, of that vast multitude of souls to which the parochial system for all spiritual purposes is a nullity?

Our space will scarcely allow us to glance at other incidental evils consequent on the system we have condemned. Such are the jealousy and discord thus introduced among the clergy, of which the cases of Mr. King at Sydney, and Mr. Long at Cape Town are instructive instances; the certain deterioration in the standard of Colonial clergy, as pointed out by the Bishop of Capetown; the injurious questions raised, and possibly to be carried, in the synods,—as at Adelaide and Canterbury, relative to co-operation with dissenters; and last not least,—a point which ought to be deeply pondered,—the indirect injury inflicted in more ways than one on the contiguous missions to the heathen. In New Zealand, where ministrations to the aborigines and to the colonists are brought into nearest contiguity, and where there is a large number of clergy connected with the Church Missionary Society, this consequence, as might be expected, is most apparent. Many of the Church Missionaries are gradually absorbed, altogether<sup>2</sup> or in part, into the work of the Parochial System. The work among the heathen must suffer immense hindrance in this way, while the effect on the European population is most inadequate and unsatisfactory. Besides, the lack of religion among the British settlers through the would have got on together. So far as several leading people are concerned, it is a strong *Protestant* district, and your notions and theirs would not have squared together. And the result, even if you had been actually 'presented' to the cure, might have been most uncomfortable." Such might have been the result of the self-sacrifice, and enormous expense of a voyage across the Atlantic and Pacific, to a poor married clergyman.

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in the "John Bull" of Feb. 2, 1861, in a leading article on "Colonial Synods."

<sup>2</sup> Thus at Wellington, one of the two parishes is served by a Church Missionary, who has abandoned his work among the Maoris. The other, which (with a population of 1500, not 500 as the Report of S.P.G. states,) has been for some time vacant, is about to be filled, we understand, by another, who has received and accepted a "call." It is probable that in some of the dioceses all the Clergy before long will be those originally of the Church Missionary Society, and all therefore of one school of theology.

need of more efficient though irregular Missionary influence leavening their masses, is allowed to be one of the chief obstacles to the promotion of Christianity among the native race. Thus the S.P.G. would in fact be much more effectually conducing to the advancement of missions to the heathen by throwing all its available strength into the machinery prescribed to it by charter "for the religious instruction of Her Majesty's subjects beyond the seas, and for the maintenance of Clergymen in the Plantations, Colonies, and Factories of Great Britain."

The year 700 is that usually assigned for the division of England into parishes; that is about a hundred years after its second evangelization! Meantime the Bishops with their collegiate chapters and councils of Presbyters were found adequate to all purposes of Church Government and all urban and rural ministrations. The Episcopate is the one Missionary germ in the Colonial Church which, despite the blighting excrescences which overlies it, we trust to see put forth its vitality in a less stunted and more vigorous developement than has yet marked its early growth. These remarks, have been prepared with an earnest sense of the importance of the subject; and if in any particular they can be shown to be overdrawn or overcoloured, they will at least have answered a good purpose by suggesting a discussion of the questions raised, and some of the practical consequences involved in them. In the words of the Bishop of Melbourne, whose stirring account of his diocese (Report, p. 169,) alone more than justifies our statements, and must countervail any charge of exaggeration in them:—"I state to you the facts, as they appear to me, without attempting to gloss them over; for I believe that our duty is to open our eyes to the real state of our colonial population; and not flatter ourselves that the Church is, as the Quarterly reviewer represents, doing its proper work among us. It is leaving the mass of the population untouched; and the consequence is, that those who are not reached by other ministrations than those of the Church are left to perish in infidelity and ungodliness." There are not lacking signs indeed that the true Missionary idea is beginning to reassert itself in certain of the Colonies;<sup>1</sup> and there cannot be a doubt that when the occasion shall arise, an ample response will be made to it in this country, where we have so recently seen, in answer to the well put appeal of a solitary parish priest, young, we believe, and previously unknown, upwards of £14,000 come rapidly pouring in for his sole and irresponsible disposal in the spiritual and physical relief of a single district.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> E.g., the appeal just made by the Dean of Cape Town for religious women willing to work under the Clergy among the Colonists in that city. And in the S.P.G. Report (1860,) the Bishop of Nelson writes,—"*The Society's grant was spent in Missions to the gold-fields, and other places out of the pale of all other ministrations.*"—P. 177.

<sup>2</sup> The sum received in 900 letters by the Rev. Hermann Douglas for his district near the Victoria Docks, London, in answer to his appeal in the *Times*.

## DR. MOBERLY'S SERMONS ON THE BEATITUDES.

*Sermons on the Beatitudes, with others, mostly preached before the University of Oxford, to which is added a preface relating to the recent volume of Essays and Reviews.* By GEORGE MOBERLY, D.C.L., Head Master of Winchester College. London and Oxford : Parker.

DR. MOBERLY'S Sermons need not commendation. His voice has ever been heard in Oxford with a filial love by many who owe him much for the training of many years, and with a deep recognition of his spiritual character as a father in CHRIST by those whose first relation to him was that of hearer in the Great University Church. We shall content ourselves with giving a few extracts from the Sermons, and then proceed to speak of the preface which bears upon the great theological question which agitates men's minds at the present day. Truly the present day is one of sorrow, and of rebuke, and of blasphemy, by reason of the scoffs which are raised against our holiest things. Let us then take an extract from the Sermon on the Beatitude of the mourner. And first on the way in which sorrow is to be used, the sacramental indelibility, if one may so speak, of a season of sorrow.

"Truly it is a sad and deep mistake to look upon sorrow, outward sorrow, in this fallen world of ours, as a judgment, or penalty, or dispensation of the wrath of GOD. Oh no! it is indeed a blessed talent, an opportunity, a call of GOD to us which is designed to loosen and detach us from things that are temporary and unreal, and open our eyes to see, and our hearts to love, things that are eternal and true. He who watches us always, watches us, if I may say so, doubly then. He watches us gravely, sweetly, paternally, to see how we will take it. He chasteneth whom He loveth. He cutteth the branches that they may bring forth more fruit. He giveth the sorrow which wringeth His people's hearts as a talent which they may turn to abundant increase, that He may therein be glorified. But remember that it is a talent only, an opportunity only, not in itself anything more at all than an opportunity. GOD doth not love any man the more for being in sorrow. It is, no doubt, in love that He sendeth sorrow; and with very great and fatherly love He regardeth those who turn to Him in it, and use the sorrow which He sent for the purpose for which He sent it. But let us not confound—and I fear it is not an uncommon confusion—the softness of heart and the temporary alienation from worldly things which are the direct and natural effects of sorrow, with the turning to GOD, the repentance and amendment, the growth in grace and goodness which are the divine and spiritual effects of sorrow. Surely it is with sorrow as it is with all other talents; well used, most blessed; wasted, ill-used, it surely operates for evil. What if a person be visited with heavy sickness, or

long and afflicting pain, and be *not* turned to God by these things? What if any person be heavily bereaved, and have not learned, permanently learned, to be more detached from the earth, and more devoted to God by it? Is there anything sadder, brethren, than to see sickness or sorrow fail thus to do its work? or to feel that it fails to do its work upon ourselves? Is there a more melancholy sight than to see a nation humble itself before God in prayer and fasting on account of some national calamity or danger on one day, and on the next plunge back again, as if nothing had happened, into all its former recklessness and sin? or to see man or woman receive, so far as we can judge, the talent of sorrow from God in vain, and issue forth from heavy grief or sickness, touched, perhaps, for a time, and then, with the touch gone, the wounds of heaven healed, and the heart as earthly, and as closely bound to earth, as ever? A heavy sorrow ought to leave its mark for life; not the miserable, thankless, outward mark of never knowing how to smile again, but the cheerful, gracious, inward mark of deepened devotion, and a heart more habitually set upon the thoughts of God in heaven."—Pp. 27, 28.

Next, upon the necessity of sorrow in order to have a real participation of the blessing of the Cross. This is a truth which in our day certainly requires to be specially enforced. The Cross, although revered in word and in thought, is very little recognised as a law of life. Even in the midst of theological controversies it would surely have been a stay to many a heart which has failed in its firmness to have realised that these things must be so, otherwise the offence of the Cross would have ceased. We are not to look for the Cross to work magical victories in the overthrow of outward opposition, but spiritual victories in enabling us to bear the hardness of the struggle, and at times the sorrow of defeat and loss, of ridicule and violence, the temporary triumphs of scoffing intellect and persecuting power.

"But is it, then, the truth that life, Christian life, is to be so sad? Is it the very truth of Christian religion that none can reach the blessedness of Divine comfort except he seek it through this deep and varied experience of sorrow? If this be the actual truth of the Word of God, how does it square with the actual life of Christian people? Do Christians in general seem to feel this, or live like this? Do the older people? do the young? Are there not multitudes of every age, are there not many among yourselves, brethren, who are spending their days, not in sorrow, God knoweth! of any sort, but in the merest search for amusement; a search for amusement which throws—I do not say sorrow aside, but sometimes duty, ordinary judgment, and good sense to the winds? Are there not those who, having not long emerged from the pupillage and discipline of boyhood, are tempted—and yield to the temptation—to fool away their youth in wild, wanton recklessness of pleasure,—*fastness*, as they call it,—tampering, it may be, with various kinds of very dangerous and defiling sin, so that momentary enjoyment may be derived from it? Yet what is the truth, the simple, unexaggerated truth, of Holy Scripture? Surely it is this: God doth commend His cup, the

cup of which His SON and the holy Apostles drank, to the lips of every single Christian, be he who he may. He bids every one who would be His disciple deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow in His company. The cost of the tower, the strength of the defending army, must be calculated beforehand. Better not begin to build the tower, better not provoke the war, than fail disgracefully in either. Salt without savour, what is it good for? To put hand to the plough and look back, to make excuses of pleasure or business in comparison of the LORD's call, to be unready to part with eye or hand, father or mother, lands or goods, to decline to sell all, if so be, and follow CHRIST, is to be unworthy of Him. Surely the language of Holy Scripture is everywhere simple, uniform, uncompromising, thorough: and surely no word will be found in any part of it to encourage any person to think that the Christian profession requires less than that he yield himself absolutely up in body and soul to the obedience and imitation of CHRIST, the Man of sorrows, and seek His blessing, as CHRIST bids him, in Christian mourning. And let no one think that all these words of Holy Scripture are to be disposed of by an *if*: as though *if* sorrow comes, *if* persecution or mourning comes, *then*, and only then, all these strong and deep words gain their application to ourselves. Alas! what means the daily taking up of the cross? what means the impossibility of being CHRIST's disciples without entire denial of self? What of the sharing of the sufferings of CHRIST that we may also be partakers of His glory?"—Pp. 32, 33.

One more extract from this Sermon. The following will show the practical manner in which the sorrow of penitence is enforced as an abiding principle containing within itself the germ of that special blessing of Divine Comfort which is promised to it.

"Yes: blessed are they that mourn thus over their sins, whether it be in youth, in manhood, or old age; blessed on the most assured word of CHRIST, for they shall certainly be comforted. Never did such mourning, never *can* such mourning, fail of CHRIST's comfort. And what shall be the comfort, and who the Comforter? Can any doubt? Who but the Divine Comforter, the most Holy Spirit of GOD, knoweth how to comfort? That sacred comfort will conquer every sort of sorrow and bitterness. Pain of body, decay, and the prospect of death,—the utmost bereavements, disappointments, or distresses,—whatever there be of such suffering, the upholding SPIRIT can fill the soul of man with so deep and divine comfort, that all these things, instead of diminishing his true joy, are felt to be, what they are indeed, helps and aids to reach the happiness of heaven. Sorrow for sin, tears of penitence, deep humbling of the soul in confession and prayer,—in all this, be it as bitter as it may, the HOLY SPIRIT will so support the soul of him who sorrows after a godly sort, as to turn it all into strong faith and holy exultation of pardon and acceptance. But He visits no heart, so far as we know, with comfort but such as have first, at His touch, sorrowed. If our hearts refuse to sorrow, if they will have none of the bitter, then, so far as we know, they must never taste the sweet, but have unmingled bitterness for ever. And as we sorrow more truly and more deeply, the

comfort will grow too. They are both the HOLY SPIRIT's work in us; both grow from the same divine stock. For fallen and feeble man godly sorrow and comfort, comfort and godly sorrow, cannot be separated, they are, under the HOLY SPIRIT, the Christian's portion upon earth. Oh, brethren! I would to GOD that His grace, which even in these feeble words of exhortation moves you, each separate one among you, to think of your own sins and sorrows, and lay them in honest penitence before GOD, might lead each one of you to that deep and sanctified mourning which brings the inexpressible peace! I speak of the orderly, deep, sober sorrow of Christian men intelligently recognizing, by the secret working of the HOLY SPIRIT in their hearts, the exceeding sinfulness of their sins; and of the deep and sober peace which is unfailingly given in the Church of CHRIST, under His faithful promise, to His sorrowing children. I do not speak of frantic or extraordinary excitements of body or mind, of imaginary visions, direct miraculous assurances, or the like; still less would I be understood as attempting to set limits to the extraordinary workings of the HOLY SPIRIT, or as doubting the power and goodness of GOD to bring real and perhaps lasting good out of things in themselves imperfect or mistaken. No: it is not of things extraordinary that I am speaking, but of that sober penitence which the Word of GOD enjoins in every part of Holy Writ, which the Church of GOD preaches, and has preached in all ages since it was founded, which the HOLY GHOST suggests and desires to further and perfect in all Christian people, which you and I, brethren, may surely gain, by His aid, if we will fall on our knees before Him, and examining our hearts and lives, will honestly confess our sins, and sorrowfully ask His forgiveness for CHRIST's sake,—if we will do so on this very day, and from this day forth. To that CHRIST promises most sure and unfailing comfort: in this life first, while the sorrow and the penitence are still with us, a comfort mingled indeed, but growing, increasing, conquering; and in the next, a comfort unmingled, victorious, and divine, the peace of GOD, which passeth all understanding, the sweetness of which is beyond all thought."—Pp. 38—41.

And now we will turn back to the preface. As we write, the controversy of the sceptics is rising into prominence. It was natural that several months would elapse before the importance of the present controversy could be recognised. The great bulk of religious persons would be slow to imagine that scepticism on the most fundamental points could be avowedly fostered by a band of clergy. The book itself—the Essays and Reviews—possesses little to make it attractive, except what it derives from the accidental position of the writers. It does indeed point to old and well-known difficulties, but it neither exhibits their argument, except by way of insinuation, nor does it trace their history, nor tell their antiquity, nor allude to any answers which have been made, nor weigh their value, nor discriminate between their weak points and their strong ones, nor suggest what consequences may or should follow from succumbing to them, nor does it show—oh, no; this it carefully conceals—whether the faith which is assailed has not points of

strength which these difficulties cannot touch, and the sceptical side points of difficulty far more deadly to itself than those which it indicates can be to the cause of revelation. The gist of the book is simply this:—"See what difficulties there are in the way of faith. If any can go on believing in spite of such difficulties, they may be good men, but they must be fools." This being the real summary of the book, it is plain that it admits not of any real refutation. The answer to it consists not in disproving acknowledged difficulties, but in showing substantial strength remaining unaffected by those difficulties. True indeed it is that many of these difficulties are only imaginary: many are only the results of a false criticism, an erroneous interpretation, an entire misunderstanding of the passage, in some cases we fear we must add, a wilful, or at least a culpable, ignorance of the simplest methods of harmonising apparent discrepancies, and a love of inventing discrepancies when they do not exist. What is the use of answering those who will not take an answer? In the writings of Hengstenberg and Ebrard the greater portion of the difficulties had been solved before the writers put pen to paper. Yet we find persons calling for an answer to the new book. A letter appeared a few days back in our great daily organ, demanding an answer for it parallel to the Analogy of Bishop Butler. Such works are not written in a moment. More than that, such works cannot be written on the spur of the moment. Works of that class, the abiding demonstrations of the triumph of truth, are like the great wave which rises to dash upon the shore with its majestic surge, after it has gathered up into itself all the minor upheavings by which the ocean power has grown. The great work of any controversy is not merely the handling of truth according to the capacity of some one great mind, but it bears within itself the history of the conflict of many minds which has long been preparing the way for it. A triumphal controversial work must be a resultative one, not merely an intellectual one. It thus becomes the utterance of many hearts, and in the strength of accumulated convictions brought together by the formative grasp of one powerful intellect it remains as a heritage for those that come after. All therefore that can be looked for at the present is the expression of floating thoughts respecting the new phase of the old enemy. This is what people have to bear in mind. The enemy is but the old one, however new the phase may be under which the present attack is made. The difficulties of science may assume some new form, but they were known as fully to those before us as they can be to ourselves. And how is it then that they rise up again? Is it because the cause of revelation is a decaying one, so that the old answers cease to carry conviction? No. It is because the men of science, who are content to hold the brief on behalf of scepticism, have to speak for a cause that has no fixed outline of its own. Revelation remains



fixed, but science changes. Science, by its changes, shows itself as yet incapable of raising a permanent argument against revelation. What appear to be the insuperable objections of one day have to give way to what are recognised as the insuperable objections of the next, and that because there is an element of falsehood in all our inductive science, however grand the elements of truth may be, which careful investigation has brought together. We cannot say how two discrepancies are to be reconciled until we know all on both sides. When the whole truth is known about the universe, if ever that time arrives, then we shall be able to see how the cosmical phenomena indicated by the Sacred Writings are to be arranged in their due order and relation. Meanwhile it is the part of a patient faith to hold firm to the fixed statements of God in revelation, not disparaging, much less ignoring, but carefully registering with a consciousness of the utter insignificance of the observation of mankind after all, those details of scientific discovery which may be called God's revelation of His work in nature itself. The analysis of man may seem hopelessly at variance with the grouping of cosmical events in the utterance of Divine wisdom. Truth is truth after all. The equation of cosmical truth, as shown by revelation and science, is one which will some day be seen in a very simple way. At present they may often appear irreconcilable because of the insufficiency of our data. We must have as many equations as we have unknown quantities before we can determine the value of either. Just as one who is only versed in elementary mathematics might turn into ridicule the simple operations of the Calculus, so may we be tempted to mock at the mysteries of the Divine work, not because they are adverse to the laws of the science which God has enabled us to learn, but because we have not humility to confess how infinitely the range of true science surpasses our highest conceptions, so that we rush to conclusions instead of accepting difficulties from the hand of our Divine Teacher and Guide. Yet certainly, patience, humility, diffidence of self, are the characteristics of true science. Hasty operation, impatient doubt, proud theorizing, self-confident judgment, involve the very overthrow of all scientific induction. The guesses of science must be very modestly expressed if they are to be happy ones. Surely the controlling power of faith, holding us back from the immediate acceptance of apparent truths, may be as serviceable to our intellectual advancement in science as to the moral stability of our hearts.

We have made these remarks for the purpose of showing at once what is not to be expected, and what is really useful, in every controversy. We are not to expect immediate answers overpowering all difficulties, but suggestive writing, cautious admonition, the indication of moral principles, the elucidation of special details where they can be elucidated, is most useful. The minds of men require to be impregnated with thoughts bearing upon the controversy of their day. At length the convictions of an age remain behind in some

condensed form as material for the succeeding age to carry on—not the same, but—a kindred struggle. The controversy between Faith and Reason is not a mere intellectual struggle of two forces. It is a moral struggle in the heart of individuals. The material, therefore, which should make one side triumphant by outward strength of invincible argument against the other is Divinely withheld until the struggle is over. It is gained by the moral struggle. Were it provided at the outset, there would be no struggle for the moral nature of man. The law of our probation, which must be a law of faith, would cease.

In Dr. Moberly's preface there are many remarks for which we are indeed thankful. First let us take the following solemn admonition respecting the recklessness of danger, and consequently the moral guilt which is involved in throwing out as serious difficulties to minds incapable of judgment, the unproven, unmeasured statements of an uncontrollable scepticism. We should distinguish between scepticism and infidelity. A vague scepticism is perhaps more dangerous than an avowed infidelity. Many can be led to doubt who are not prepared to disbelieve. Scepticism has a charm of individual consciousness more than infidelity. There is a gratification of intellectual pride involved in suspending our judgment far more than in accepting the statements either of the Church or of the infidel as settled truth. The evil of the *Essays and Reviews* consists in their pandering so speciously to this intellectual foible of our nature. If the writers require disbelief on certain points, yet it is as a step towards doubt upon a vastly greater number. There is nothing in the book to establish the intellectual nature of man, but everything to overthrow his moral nature. He is not instructed in any part of the science of criticism. He is tickled into the fretfulness of a universal scepticism. This is the necessary result of that free handling of sacred things which these seven gentlemen have thought so advantageous.

But it is time to let Dr. Moberly speak :—

“The writers claim consideration, tenderness, respect. Is this a well-founded claim? If the forty-two per cent. who stayed away from church on a particular Sunday in 1851 are distressed in their intellectual depths by all these ‘difficulties,’ (which, however, is surely an absurd supposition,) is it quite fair to scatter these wild firebrands of infidelity among the fifty-eight per cent., who, with much greater reason, may be counted as contented with the Christianity of their fathers? May not they more reasonably claim consideration and respect? Is it reasonable to demand the respect of believers, very many of them unable from want of leisure and learning to examine such deep questions for themselves, for men who, not in the way of serious and complete discussion of single points, but in the assumption of superior intellect, knowledge, and love of truth, throw random discredit upon every point of that holy faith wherein they have their peace in life, and their hope in death? I desire to speak with all caution and self-restraint, but may I not reasonably

ask this question? Suppose, for a moment, that the Holy Scriptures *are* the Word of the Spirit of God,—that the miracles, including the Resurrection of CHRIST, are actual objective facts, which have really happened,—that the doctrines of the Church are true, and the Creeds the authoritative expositions of them,—and that men are to reach salvation through faith in CHRIST Virgin-born, according to the Scriptures, and making atonement for their sins upon the cross. On this supposition, is not the publication of this book an act of real hostility to God's truth, and one which endangers the faith and salvation of men? and is this hostility less real, or the danger diminished, because the writers are all clergymen, some of them tutors and schoolmasters, because they wear the dress, and use the language of friends, and threaten us with bitter opposition if we do not regard them as such?

"It is quite possible,—it is more than possible, I believe it to be the actual state of the case,—that the writers themselves, or, at least, some of them, are eagerly desirous of an affirmative standing-place of faith. They, it is very probable, feel the pressure of infidel argument so strongly as to be unable to retain any Christian faith at all, except such shadowy residue as this 'negative theology' might leave unassailed. They may, in their intellectual search for truth, have lost various powers of attaining truth which intellects such as they deem feebler may retain. But the movement itself is one of hostility, and the manner of it is one of insidious hostility; and the movement and the manner of it seem to me to be no more defensible than the scattering of poison in the wells of a city would be defensible, and the defending of such an act on the ground of personal taste, or peculiarity of constitution, or the search after chemical truth. And therefore I am struck almost more with what seems to me the hardheartedness and exceeding unkindness of this book, than with its unsoundness. Have the writers considered how far the suggesting of innumerable doubts,—doubts unargued and unproved,—will check honest devotion, and embolden timid sin? For whom do they intend this book? Is it written for the mass of general readers? Is it designed for students at the Universities? Do they suppose that this multitude of random suggestions will be carefully wrought out by these readers, and be rejected if unsound, so as to leave their faith and devotion untarnished; or that they will be lightly taken up by light and conceited brains, to the ruin of all humility and simplicity of faith, and the encouragement of all kinds of sin? Have they reflected how many souls for whom CHRIST died may be slain in their weakness, by their self-styled strength? Yet let me not be mistaken. Unmerciful as I think this book, I do not plead for mercy. Those who have the means of knowing must not be content with a religion on sufferance. The difficulties must be solved, and the objections must be met, when they are produced in a serious and argumentative form. When so offered they will not lack their answer. What I am now principally objecting to in this unhappy book is the random, and, as I think it, cruel way in which these things are thrown out in it, unargued and unproved, to the certain injury of the faith of many."—Pp. xx.—xxiii.

The following short extract is all that we shall give further, and it seems to us most valuable, as indicating the true guide in measur-

ing the difficulties of faith. We are not to measure them by their proportion to our puny intelligences, but by their proportion to the vast system of revealed supernatural truth which surpasses our intelligence. How small a man in the nation is the petty tyrant of some village! Just so a difficulty which we cannot cope with in detail will be found to be void of all real legal power if regarded in its due place in the great empire of truth.

"I believe that the true method of replying to such objections as these is not to waive the vantage-ground of assured belief in the great Christian verities, nor to consent to regard each 'difficulty' with all its train of consequences running up into total unbelief, as an open question to be argued without reference to those consequences, but rather, holding fast the great affirmative certainties of Christian religion, to regard from thence these which then appear comparatively insignificant questions. It makes a wonderful difference in the apparent magnitude and importance of a difficulty, whether it be regarded as the possible entrance to an entire unbelief, or an acknowledged perplexity on the fringe or edge of a strong and impregnable faith."—Pp. xxiii., xxiv.

Amidst every struggle of truth we must remember to have confidence not only in the truth, but in the wisdom of Him Who governs us.

The difficulties of our own day, whatever they may be, are specially suited for our own moral probation. If they appear too great for us, it is because of some fault in ourselves akin to them which made them specially necessary in order that we might triumph over ourselves by using God's grace in this struggle, or be shown in our moral unworthiness by refusing to endure the probation. Let us then wait in faith upon God to bring the present struggle to a happy issue, and not imagining that the cause of truth depends upon us, nevertheless do each one of us our own part in all humility, knowing that we depend each one of us individually on that Truth of God for which we have to fight as the only basis of an eternal hope. Let us not allow the doubts of a transitory world to unsettle us from the hopes of an eternal world, for which this self-satisfied scepticism cannot even offer us any substitute. When the sceptic can afford some solution of the moral difficulties manifest in our present natural position, and our relation to the future of God's judgment, then, and not till then, may we listen to his insinuations about the supernatural requirements of CHRIST'S Church, and the past utterances of God's Voice, which we accept as the basis of revelation.

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## THE PRESENT STATE OF THE CHURCH RATE QUESTION.

SINCE we last drew our readers' attention (No. 85, Jan. 1860,) to the state of the Church Rate struggle, the subject has passed into a somewhat new phase. Sir John Trelawney's renewed motion for Total Abolition met with an unexpected resistance last Session in its, hitherto, more friendly home the House of Commons: the Bill, on its second reading, being passed by a majority of only 29 as compared with 74 in the preceding year; while the third reading was barely accorded by the slight preponderance of 9 members.

This diminished support was due, no doubt, to more than one cause. The *greater prominence* given by the Report of the Lords' Committee to the ulterior designs of the Anti-Church-and-State party could not be without its effect; though it is now denied that the ultimate objects of the political Church Rate opponents were not well-known years ago; and Mr. Wilks, "himself a Dissenter, and then the representative of his co-religionists in the House" of Commons, is brought forward to prove that in 1834 there was a "clear and unambiguous avowal" of such objects. All, however, that his citer represents him as saying in support of "the principle for which Dissenters contended," is "'that every man has a right to worship God according to his conscience, and that he cannot be required consistently with justice to contribute a doit to the support of a form of worship which his conscience condemns.' He added, that 'if any Dissenter did not act on that principle, he deserved the respect neither of the Established Church, nor of those to whom he professed to belong.'"<sup>1</sup> It is hardly needful to say that the common-sense of our readers will at once detect the glaring misrepresentation which attempts to parallel the principle of Mr. Wilks with that unprincipled tyranny which now seeks to overthrow the Church of England as an *Establishment*, by forbidding her own members to rate themselves for the support of her Fabrics, and the maintenance of her Services.

Again, the apathy which, from security or despondency or indifference, had overcome a large proportion of the pro-rate Churchmen, was in various ways sufficiently aroused at the commencement of last Session to prompt a more vigorous, however undisciplined, resistance to the Abolitionists, than had been made for some years before.

But it would be to overlook a fact, known in Parliamentary circles and important to be borne in mind, if we did not mention that a third cause of Sir J. Trelawney's ill success last year was

<sup>1</sup> Paper by Rev. Basil Cooper, read at the Anti-Church-Rate Conference, February, 1861.

the inviting (to some, no doubt, uninviting,) presence of a Bill, which drew off supporters or rallied opponents of the Baronet, by proposing a settlement which, while maintaining the Rate, should relieve from its incidence all who wished to be exempt on the ground of Nonconformity. We are credibly informed that had not Mr. Hubbard's measure been before the House, the clamourers for the extinction of this immemorial payment would have had reason to speak in less modest language than that of Mr. Cooper, who says, "It is needless to describe in detail the events of 1860—the year of alleged re-action." The order of the day for the second reading of that Bill was indeed discharged, mainly owing to its being relegated to the end of the Session by the procrastination of Sir J. Trelawney's Bill, though in part from discouragement to proceed coming in a direction whence support had been anticipated. Notice was, however, given of bringing in a similar Bill at the beginning of the next Session.

Such having been the state of the conflict when the Parliament of 1860 was prorogued, the recent language of a leading Statesman may fairly be adopted, as describing the current opinion of the supporters of Church Rate, when he said that "they owed to that division their present commanding position."

The great anxiety, however, of every good officer is how to keep and use to the best advantage the position he has won. This ought to be, and we are sure is, the one desire of all who are engaged in repelling the assault on Church Rates; but it is to be regretted that differences of judgment threaten to defeat such a combined plan as might put an end to the attacks, though we are confident it will be strong enough to hinder any really dangerous advance of the foes. Nevertheless they may perhaps recover some portion of the ground which they lost in their last engagement with the politico-ecclesiastical troops.

After surveying the various positions of the defenders of Church Rates, they seem reducible to the three following points:—

1. To maintain in its integrity the *principle* of the Rate, while improving and strengthening the Law which regulates it.
2. To improve the Law while exempting from the impost all, or at least all Nonconformists, who may object to it.
3. To try whether some proposed changes in the Law will reconcile opponents, but failing this to concede hereafter exemption if necessary.

Let us make a few remarks on each of these proposals.

No. 1 is, in other words, the cry of "No surrender." This was, substantially, the purport of the *Declaration of the Archdeacons*, published some eighteen months ago. Since the divisions on Sir J. Trelawney's motion the cry has been echoed and re-echoed from many parts of the kingdom, and in quarters both political and ecclesiastical. New, and in some respects, influential advocates of

the *status quo* have come forward; old defenders have taken fresh courage and prepared themselves for a more vigorous resistance. Yet it behoves all such to look well to their position and see whether it is as unassailable as they believe.

Now the main reliance of the no-compromise party is—That the present Law of Church Rates embodies a principle which cannot be yielded without renouncing the claims of justice and abandoning the theory of a National Church.

We are willing to admit that abstractedly the impost may with justice be maintained as regards Dissenters, and that private scruples ought not to be regarded in a case where persons are enjoying certain advantages from property chargeable with Church Rates, merely because they object to the application of the charge, or have voluntarily taxed themselves for a kindred purpose. It would be not just claim for the remission of a highway rate that a man never used the road himself or objected to those who did, and moreover had made a private road which he must needs keep in repair. But there is this difference in the two cases—that, whereas you can make and collect the highway rate, and the objector, whom we have supposed, would meet with no sympathizers; the Dissenting Church Rate opponent enlists support, when pleading his religious scruples, which practically renders it impossible to make a Rate where the majority in a parish refuses it, and most obnoxious to collect if resisted when levied. Indeed so strong is the sense of the difficulties which beset this claim of justice, that all confess to the necessity of some settlement hardly consistent with its strict demands. With about the like prospect of success might the seceding American States be urged to pay their dues to the Union Treasury on the eternal principle of Justice, as the refusing Nonconformist be induced to contribute his Church Rate on the like plea, to which he would reply that conscience being the representative of justice obliged him to withhold it.

But when we come to consider the allegation that a relaxation of the Law would be an abandonment of the Church Establishment, we are forced to declare our conviction that such a plea is wholly untenable. If Church Rates were settled upon the ground that the Church of England was *in theory* and *in fact* the National Religion from which there was no such thing as Dissent, the matter would be intelligible. But it is difficult to see how Nonconformist exemption from their payment invades a principle, when not only is formal communion with the Church no longer compulsory, but when avowed separation is both recognised and protected by Law.

We feel that the *principle* of a National Church, in its strict sense, was long ago destroyed (whether rightly or wrongly we need not here discuss) by the Toleration Act: that Statute, not merely accorded to Dissenters the freedom to worship God after their own fashion, but gave a legal status (§ 8) to the acts of their ministers,

e. g., their baptisms, which made the Dissenters' previous disabilities no bar to a *locus standi* in the Ecclesiastical Courts, and so rendered inoperative the excommunicating canons of 1603. It cannot be denied that the tendency of all subsequent legislation has been to strengthen the position which they acquired under 1 William and Mary, c. 18.

It is true that this Statute so far imposed a penalty for non-conformity, in that (§ 6) it required the Dissenter still to pay "tithes, or other parochial duties, or any other duties, to the Church or Minister;" but it is worth observing that Church Rates are not named, seemingly because they were not "duties" in the sense of the Ecclesiastical Courts. Yet surely this very section was in principle a contradiction of the liberties granted by the Act, and, being so, invited agitation when the time should arrive. Is it surprising, then, that that agitation should be directed against Church Rates, which being by law a matter of vote, though only as to the mode of levying, seemingly furnished an opportunity of resisting the principle of Church imposts against which the non-conforming will rebelled?

No doubt the state of the law materially increases the difficulty of imposing a rate where obstacles are raised, and so there is a real necessity for amending its details. But there can be no greater delusion than to suppose that Parliament will increase the stringency of the law with a view to enforcing the Rate as it now exists. If any seriously believe otherwise, we commend to their consideration the language of Mr. Spring Rice, who, as Chancellor of the Exchequer, in 1837 said, "It is not sufficient to assert that the law must be strengthened; if you wish to maintain such a proposition you must carry the House of Commons with you. Can you do so? I confess I should like to see, not the person, but the party, however combined in force or numbers, who could come down to this House and ask of Parliament to grant additional powers for enforcing the payment of Church Rates. They would soon find that they miscalculated the character both of the Legislature, and of the people whom it represents."

If this was true in 1837, how much more is it applicable now, when the opponents of Church Rates in the House of Commons are legion as compared with what they were when these words were uttered?

We could urge much more in reference to the point we have been now considering, but we think we have said enough to show that the "no-surrender" Church Rate party has, to say the least, but a somewhat insecure footing.

2. We pass on now to examine, secondly, the position of those who are prepared to concede a partial or general exemption.

For convenience, let us deal first with the latter alternative, which is the recommendation of the Lords' Committee who are prepared to forego (even without any declaration on their part) the claims of



the Rate upon *all* who object to the payment of it. In this conclusion we cannot as yet concur; first, because we think the necessities of the case require no such concession, our belief being that the non-dissenting opponents of Church Rate neither do nor can share the plea of those with whom they choose to combine; next, because we feel that a *principle* which is applicable to the non-conformist is not applicable to them as professing Churchmen. That principle is, that abstractedly there is an objection to allowing Dissenters to contribute towards maintaining the fabrics and, much more, the services of the Church. And this is, in fact, one reason for which we advocate such a proposition as that of Mr. Hubbard, who would allow declared non-conformists to be free from the Rate.

It will be admitted, we presume, by our readers, that in theory and principle the Church of England is at one with the Early Church; is there anything, then, in the rule of that Church which may guide us in this case? We think there is; it seems to us that it was a strict principle of old not only *not to seek*, but moreover *to refuse*, support for the maintenance of the Church's worship from those who refused or were excluded from her communion.

It will suffice for our purpose to quote *Bingham*, who says, (v. 200,) "It was a standing rule among them not to admit the oblation of them, who, having a right to communicate, would not stay to a participation of the Communion. This is expressly ordered by the Council of Eliberis; and the rule extended further to all those that for any crime or heresy were excluded from Communion by the discipline of the Church, or were not in full communion with her." And the reason he assigns for this rule (vi. 98,) is, lest she should involve herself in the guilt of filthy lucre.

It is true, indeed, as S. Jerome mentions, that thieves and oppressors made their oblations, and gloried in doing so as a good act; but this was in fact done under the guise, hypocritical though it was, of *communion* with the Church; even as now, among ourselves, similar acts, whatever their real character, are for the time apparent notes of adhesion to the Church of England.

Now surely this rule of the Ancient Church embodies exactly the same principle which has all along governed our own Church in asking and receiving the pecuniary support needed for her maintenance—the principle being that they who contributed were *her members*, not strangers and foreigners to her communion. It must be conceded indeed that, however much any stood aloof from, or opposed her teaching and discipline, there was no such thing as a recognised and permitted severance from her communion until it was *legalised* by the Act of Toleration already referred to. The inconsistency of the present position of Nonconformists towards the Church lies in the fact that, while the State Legislation has been gradually giving them the character of independent religious com-

munities, the Legislation of the Church has simply stood still and continued to ignore such a separate existence.

Church Rates, then, being *in fact* (whatever the strict Law) a *voluntary* charge upon property, levied at the will and by the vote of parishioners, of whom a smaller or larger proportion may and do legally *disavow* the Communion of the Church of England, it seems to us a contradiction of the principle we allege, to refuse to grant them a *legal exemption* from a tax designed for those who were nominally her members.

We are prepared for the objection—that on our own principle we must not merely *exempt* the Nonconformist, but must *inhibit* his contribution to the Rate. Our reply is that the principle no more drives us to this course than it compels us to refuse to collect the Offertory from any man who is *practically* a Non-communicant, but who by tendering his offering seems to wish to proclaim his Church membership. The most that can be said against such a view is that in strictness it is an inconsistency; but then the Ancient Church was alike inconsistent in not putting a stop to what it could not easily prevent even with the aid of its stricter discipline. Moreover the point which the Church of England has now to resolve is—how can she best adjust a legal claim which is resisted by many who formally withdraw from her rule?—it is not, whether she ought to brand that separation itself by forcing all who unite in it to an uniformity of opposition. Such a course could only estrange the more those whom she wishes to reconcile—probably would permanently bar their return to her fellowship.

Moreover, while we think that this *ecclesiastical* principle (as we venture to call it) justifies the proposal to legislate for the self-exemption of dissenters, it agrees also in our opinion with the *legal* principle which regulates the rate: it was laid down by Chief Justice Tindal in 1841, when giving judgment on the Braintree Case, in the Court of Exchequer, that the duty of a church-rate vestry is to “deliberate and determine . . . how far and in what manner the common law obligation [to repair the church] . . . may be best and most effectually, and at the same time most conveniently carried into effect:” he further said, that “the power of assessing a rate upon themselves [which is in the nature of a by-law] by the majority of the parishioners assembled at a meeting for repairing their church, must have been a power that existed from time immemorial.”

Now, if it were not the case that the exemption, by the majority, of any rateable parishioner would probably invalidate the rate itself, it is likely that in many cases the difficulty which hinders the making of a rate might easily be overcome. By removing, then, the legal impediments to exemption the ancient principle of assessment would be retained in its integrity, and at the

same time adjusted to the new condition of things which a legalized dissent has introduced.

Indeed, this mode of dealing with the difficulty of Church-Rate has been so far recognized, by some who object to the plan of exemption provided in Mr. Hubbard's Bill, as to suggest that the legislature should enable a parish, if it chose, to exempt its non-conforming rate-payers. But a little consideration must show that this would only shift the difficulty in cases where alleged principle or self-interest or personal quarrels or various other motives prompted a refusal to act upon the permissive law. This evil could only be prevented by a general law, which should make it compulsory upon all parishes to exempt from assessment every nonconformist who claimed exemption on that ground.

We admit that *this condition* of exemption raises the difficulty to which we alluded in our former article, when remarking that "a very simple settlement of the whole question would seem to be the exemption of dissenters altogether from the payment of the rate : and some kind of registration of those who object to such payment on the professed ground of conscience, or more generally because they are dissenters, has been frequently proposed."

It is still as far from our wish, as we have already intimated in the present article, to counsel anything which should look like self-excommunication or tend to repel dissenters from the Church : but it is clear that if rate-payers are only to be exempted *because they are dissenters*, there must be some mode of indicating their demand for non-assessment : and after a careful consideration of the point, and comparing all previous forms, we think that Mr. Hubbard's "*Form of Notice*" is as free from objection as any that can be devised, saying, in fact, no more than every professed dissenter proclaims of himself, either by word or act, while yet from a sort of Catholic instinct he would avoid the avowal of not being in *communion* with the Church. The form runs thus :—

"I [A. B.], of \_\_\_\_\_, who am rateable to a Church Rate in respect of Property situate in the Parish of \_\_\_\_\_, claim the Exemption allowed under the \_\_\_\_\_ of Victoria, Chapter \_\_\_\_\_, to Persons not conforming to the Worship of the Church of England."

The formalities attending this notice are as simple as can be, all needless publicity is avoided, and it may cease to be in force whenever the claimant desires : moreover the Bill imposes but three penalties upon those who claim exemption—exclusion from the office of churchwarden, ineligibility to vote in what is to be called the "Church Vestry," and the forfeiture of any *right* to an appropriated seat in Church : he is barred from no privileges of the Church which he can now claim, nor discouraged in any way from resorting to her Services if so minded.

Our purpose in this article is mainly to discuss the principle of exemption or non-exemption, and therefore we pass over the con-

sideration of any alleged ill consequences, such as hardship upon those not exempted, tendency to encourage Dissent real or feigned, disturbance of parishes where no opposition now exists, and other objections which have been urged; if the principle is sound these difficulties ought not to interfere with its establishment; moreover we think they admit of answers which would prove them to be more imaginary than real; and, too, it is important to recollect that what has to be done now, is to maintain Church Rates by conceding what seems fair to the objections of Nonconformists; it is too much to expect to free the question from every difficulty at once.

For the reason just given we also abstain here from any examination of the various provisions in Mr. Hubbard's Bill, for amending and improving the general law of Church Rate; suffice it to say, that those provisions seem to meet the needs which have been expressed in various quarters, and by ourselves.

3. We come now to consider, and it need be but briefly, the last of the three more prevailing counsels for dealing with the Church Rate difficulty. This may be called *delay*; and is the recommendation of the Report of Convocation which proposes, chiefly, to withdraw the Rate from the jurisdiction of the Ecclesiastical Courts, in the hope "that many of those who do not conform to the Established Church might forego much of their feeling against the Church Rate when they find themselves no longer amenable to the authority of those Courts;" it then adds, "but should this unhappily not be the case, it will then be for the Legislature to determine whether or no, or upon what condition such persons, being occupiers of lands and tenements subject to the payment of Church Rates, may be exempted from contributing their quota to provide what is necessary for the support of the fabrics of the churches, and for the celebration of public worship according to the national religion . . ."

Upon this we will but remark that though delays are sometimes beneficial, they are proverbially dangerous. Save in the re-action of last year, experience does not counsel an indefinite postponement of the subject. The reduction of the Rate from £560,000, in 1833, to £360,000 in 1859, (allowing fully for various omissions which have been made in order to reduce the opposition to Rates in many places,) sufficiently points to a growing refusal amid the failure of various proposals for settlement. The increased strength of the Anti-rate party, both in and out of Parliament, is notorious enough: and it is much to be feared that unwillingness to consent now to a plan which even the Convocation does not pronounce against, will diminish the chances of a satisfactory adjustment, unless indeed a further and stronger re-action sets in than there is reason to hope for. It seems then to us that the Church should use the present vantage ground to yield what we think she can on principle concede; the more so if she feels confident of her strength. We

believe, too, that thus she would disarm much opposition to the Rate, and even be likely to recover it in places where it has been lost. In our judgment it is no answer to what we have been now urging, to say that the Nonconformists refuse any such settlement, and demand the total abolition of the Rate. We believe that the restless declaimers who seek to drown all other voices are no true representation of the wishes of the majority of their co-religionists. But even, if they were, we humbly think that the wisest and the best, because the most equitable policy which the upholders of a Church Rate can pursue, is by exemption to remove the alleged grievance, and thus secure, as we are convinced they would, the approval of moderate and reasonable Dissenters, defeat the counsels of the Liberation Society and its allies, by compelling them further to unmask their real designs, and strengthen the position of the Church herself to encounter future—perhaps more dangerous—assaults.

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## DR. WOLFF'S TRAVELS AND ADVENTURES.

*Travels and Adventures of the Rev. Joseph Wolff, D.D., LL.D., Vicar of Ile Brewers, near Taunton, and late Missionary to the Jews and Muhammedans in Persia, Bokhara, Cashmere, &c. Vol. II.*  
London: Saunders and Otley. 1861.

THE second volume of Dr. Wolff's travels opens with a rather quaint preface by Mr. Alfred Gatty, which contains a sort of apology and justification for certain strong expressions, and the use of some unusual epithets, which the reviewers, ourselves among the number, pointed out in the notice of the first volume:

"The first volume required laborious verbal corrections, and re-arrangement of sentences: whereas the second volume has been much more grammatically told; [qu. would it not be as well if Mr. Gatty's preface had been overlooked by some of these reviewers, for certainly the above passage would be the better for a little verbal correction?] without losing any vigorousness of expression, characteristic of the author's style. Some sensitive reviewers and readers, not acquainted with Dr. Wolff, [qu. how does Mr. Gatty know this?] and therefore not able to appreciate his meaning [?] in the use of strong epithets, found fault with him, and induced him to correct these objectionable expressions [qu. if 'objectionable,' ought Mr. Gatty to defend them?] a concession with which the editor is entirely unconnected; for, being wholly unaccompanied by unkind feelings, they were merely Wolfian expressions, showing the open-hearted candour of the man."—Pp. vi. vii.

We were wrong then in attributing the singular corrections, in the table of *errata*, to the editor, Mr. Gatty, or, as we gathered from the first volume, Mrs. Gatty. Dr. Wolff kindly corrects another error, into which we, with other reviewers, fell :

“ Now Wolff has to correct an error which some of his reviewers have fallen into, though they have spoken very kindly about him ; for they have been led into error by an indistinct statement of Wolff himself. They relate that Wolff was sent forth by the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews, in the first instance : but this was not exactly the case ; for, first of all, the Society wished to send Wolff forth with Solomon (who afterwards disappeared altogether, and never has been seen since,) to Poland, instead of sending him to Jerusalem. Wolff protested against this, and said that ‘ a missionary was not to be treated like a soldier ; ’ when Henry Drummond exclaimed, ‘ Hear, hear ! ’ and so did Bayford. Basil Woodd thought that it did not show humility in Wolff to know better than a committee ; when Wolff said that ‘ the committee consisted of linendrapers and book-sellers. ’ The late Lord Calthorpe got up and said, in reply, ‘ Mr. Wolff has no judgment. ’ Henry Drummond, pointing his hand towards Lord Calthorpe, said, ‘ Erasmus says that those have most judgment who have read many books, and travelled most ; and I wish to know whether the noble lord has read as many books, and seen as many countries, as Wolff has ? ’ Bayford said, ‘ Hear, hear ! ’ Charles Keech Hastings also agreed with Drummond ; and Drummond at once said, ‘ To cut the matter short, I will send Wolff to Jerusalem myself, and will pay the expenses. ’ ”—Vol. II. pp. 449, 450.

On his first going out as a missionary, Dr. Wolff had not been ordained by the English Church, he had only the four minor orders which he had received at Rome. In 1837 he received deacon's orders from the hands of Dr. Washington Doane, late Bishop of New Jersey ; and in 1838 he was ordained priest by the Bishop of Dromore. Previous to his ordination by the Bishop of New Jersey, he was examined, not by the Bishop, but, according to the anomalous plan of the American Church, by a “ board of examiners. ” These gentlemen, after some questions in Ecclesiastical History, the Articles of the Church, Hebrew, and Greek, proceeded to examine him in Natural Theology and Philosophy.

“ But his answers to the questions on natural philosophy were rather funny :

*Examiner.*—‘ How do you get up water ? ’

*Wolff.*—‘ By a pump. ’

*Examiner.*—‘ But how ? ’

*Wolff.*—‘ You must pump hard. ’

*Examiner.*—‘ What must be removed ? ’

*Wolff.*—‘ Difficulties. ’ ”—Vol. II. p. 315.

Thus Dr. Wolff got through the “ difficulties ” of his examination, and was forthwith ordained.

"On the motion brought forward by the ex-president, John Quincy Adams, in the House of Congress, Wolff was invited to preach and to lecture before the whole Congress, when the Bishop of Virginia, all the members of Congress, and all the Clergy of Washington, were present."  
—*Ibid.*

In connection with the mention of the fact, that Dr. Wolff now received holy orders from the hands of a Bishop, we may quote the following instructive passage :

"When he arrived at the monastery of Etch-Miazin, [the seat of the Patriarch of the Armenian Church—in fact, the 'Rome' of Armenia,] he began to preach to the aged and venerable patriarch, when that patriarch coolly, and with a smile, said :

"'Young man, who has commissioned you to come here and preach ?'

"*Wolff.*—'The SPIRIT.'

"*Patriarch.*—'What evidence have you ? What are the credentials of your having the SPIRIT ?'

"*Wolff.*—'The internal voice.'

"*Patriarch.*—'That may be evidence to yourself, but it can be no credentials to me. Besides this, you are a Jew, and have read the Old Testament, and how did Moses prove to Pharaoh, and to the children of Israel, that he had been commissioned by GOD to deliver them ? He did not say, 'I saw the LORD in the bush, and the bush burned, and the bush was not consumed.' He did no such thing ; but he performed miracles, and they proved him to be endowed with a high commission. . . . And then the Apostles themselves received the same extraordinary credentials. 'Raise the dead,' said our LORD to them ; and Peter proved his apostolic office by healing the lame in the Name of JESUS CHRIST ; and then the Apostles established again a regular priesthood by the imposition of hands, which has been carried on in the Church from their time unto the present without interruption.'"—Vol. II. p. 312.

Amongst other allusions to ourselves we read the following ; Dr. Wolff is speaking of a certain Irish gentleman whom he met in the Rotunda in Dublin, who made some foolish inquiries about Jews and Roman Catholics in Central Asia :—

"So that Wolff, recollecting the observations of the gentleman just recorded, would be tempted to call him also 'a jackass,' as he has already called some others in his first volume, but that he has been warned from doing so by the remarks of some of his reviewers, who have chastised him for using such phrases."—Vol. II. pp. 30, 31.

Accordingly he refrains from the use of this epithet, in the second volume, as applied to others ; but he makes up for it by applying it to himself :—

"He (Wolff) expounded to them his own doctrine on the personal reign of CHRIST, and of the restoration of the Jewish nation to their

own land, and of their future conversion to Christianity. He also told them that those mighty events would take place in the year 1847 : and if now an opponent were to ask Wolff, 'Why did you fix that time?' he has but one answer to give, which he candidly gives to every one. 'Because I was a great ass.'—Vol. II. p. 129.

The first volume left Dr. Wolff at the gate of Bokhara, the second commences with a description of his appearance before the king, and escape from the danger of being taken for a Russian spy. From Bokhara he proceeded towards India ; arriving at the Dooab, he found a sect of Mohammedans called Kharijee, *i.e.* 'seceders.' Their ancestors had killed Ali, Mohammed's son-in-law, because he was not a strict enough Mohammedan for them ; they are a Mongol tribe :—

"Wolff was called by his people 'Hajee Joseph Wolff.' The Hazara of Dooab, (those Kharijee) took offence at this, and said, 'Why do you dare to take the name of Hajee, as you are not a Muhammedan?' Wolff said, 'Even the Muhammedans in Bokhara, and in Arabia, recognise as *Hajee* all Jews and Christians, who have been at Jerusalem.'

"They replied, 'This is not the custom here among us, we are here 'Kharijee' *i.e.* seceders from all the rest. With us, many things are not allowed, which are allowed by other Muhammedans.'

"Wolff replied, 'I could not know your customs, for I have but just arrived among you ; so all you can do is not to call me *Hajee*, and I shall tell my people not to call me *Hajee*.' 'But,' they said, 'the mischief is done, and therefore you must either say, 'There is God, and nothing but God, and Muhammed is the prophet of God : ' or we will sew you up in a dead donkey, burn you alive, and make sausages of you.'

"Wolff said, 'There is one God, and nothing but God, and Jesus is the SON of God.'

"They at once now gave a sign, and all their Moollahs assembled in a large cave, hewn out of the rock. The Affghans who accompanied Wolff, as well as his three servants, trembled with anguish, and said to him, 'Say the creed, and the moment you are on your journey again, you may just be what you were before.' Wolff replied, 'Leave me, and let me alone. I will manage them. All you have to do is to disperse, and leave me only with my three servants. Some of you go towards Kondoz, but don't go far.' Wolff then ordered his three servants to bring him his writing case ; they did so, and he wrote the following words :—

'To Lord and Lady William Bentinck.

'My dear Lord and Lady William Bentinck,

'The moment you read this letter, you must be aware that I am no longer in the land of the living ; that I have been put to death. Give my servants some hundred rupees for their journey, and write the whole account to my wife, Lady Georgiana.

'Your affectionate

'JOSEPH WOLFF.'



"Wolff gave this paper into the hands of his servants, and said, 'Now I will make one more attempt to save my life. If I succeed, well. If not, go on as far as Loadhiana, and the first red-coat you see, give it to him, and he will bring you to the Governor-general, and you will be rewarded. Now bring me my firmans from the Sultan of Constantinople.' They did so, and Wolff, with the firman in his hand, entered the cave, where the Moollahs were seated, with the Koran open before them, deciding that he must be put to death.

"Wolff said, 'What humbug is that! You cannot dare to put me to death! You will be putting a guest to death!'

"They replied, 'The Koran decides so.'

"Wolff said, 'It is a lie! The Koran says, on the contrary, that a guest should be respected, even if he is an infidel; and here, see the great firman that I have from the Khalif of the whole Muhammedan religion from Stamboul! You have no power to put me to death. You must send me to Muhammed Moorad Beyk, at Kondoz. Have you not seen how little I am afraid of you? I have told the Affghans already that they should disperse, and probably some of them have already gone to Kondoz.'

"When they heard the name of Muhammed Moorad Beyk, they actually began to tremble, and asked Wolff, 'Do you know him?' As Wolff could not say that he knew him, he replied, 'This you will have to find out.' They said, 'Then you must purchase your blood with all that you have.' Wolff replied, 'This will I do. For I am a dervish, and do not mind either money, clothing, or anything.'

"Thus Wolff had to surrender everything. Oh! if his friends in England could have seen him then, they would have stared at him. Naked like Adam and Eve, and without even an apron of leaves to dress himself with, he continued his journey; and, as soon as he was out of sight of Hazara, he witnessed a sight, which he never thought to have seen among Muhammedans. All his Affghan companions knelt down, and one of them, holding the palm of his hand upwards to him, offered up the following extempore prayer:—

'O God! O God!

Thanks be to Thy Name,

That Thou hast saved this stranger

Out of the lions' den.

Thanks, thanks, thanks,

Be to Thy Holy Name.

Bring him safely back

Unto his country,

Unto his family. Amen.'"—Vol. II. pp. 38—42.

It certainly is a remarkable fact that any Mohammedans should return thanks for the preservation of a Christian from the hands of one of their own religion, especially in the bigoted regions of Middle Asia, and speaks well for Dr. Wolff's personal character.

The most interesting portion of Dr. Wolff's travels is his second journey to Bokhara, to ascertain the fate of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly. He travelled through Armenia, and there he

heard for certain that these English officers had been murdered; he would not, however, turn back, lest it should be thought that he was actuated by fear. That there was cause for fear, and that the visit was one of very great danger, the narrative abundantly shows. With his usual adroitness he baffles the designs of the chief counsellor of the King, Abel-ul-Samut Khan, a man Wolff had known some years before in Peshawur, and whom he had turned out of his house on account of his great villany. It was he who had instigated the murder of Stoddart and Conolly, and now tried to procure that of Wolff. To obtain information of the past, and to comprehend fully the danger of his present position, Wolff had recourse to a stratagem, which fully succeeded. The Jews there were quite ready to give him information, if they had been allowed to speak in Hebrew, or in private; but being always surrounded with spies, and forbidden to converse in Hebrew, an apparently insuperable difficulty was thrown in the way. However, he managed the matter thus: he asked permission to read the Bible in Hebrew with the Jews, in order to "correct his pronunciation." This he obtained, and commenced thus; Wolff chanted a verse of the Book of Esther, then in the same tone he asked his question; a Jew then sang another verse, and in the same tone answered the question. This went on for three months without detection. The day he left Bokhara thousands of the inhabitants came out, and exclaimed, "To-day thou hast been born again! to-day thou hast been born again! but be on your guard, for though thou art born again, yet thou art still in great danger; for ten assassins are sent after you to put you to death on the road." These were ten men who had been sent to accompany the caravan, to carry out their master's purpose. Wolff had, however, been given a paper with their names; when they arrived at the frontiers of Bokhara, Wolff read out the list to the whole caravan, who protected him till they came to Meshed, the capital of Khorassan, when these assassins were imprisoned.

It is scarcely worth while pursuing the history further. We cannot, however, close our notice without expressing our opinion on the whole work. Taken as a book of "Travels and Adventures," it is both interesting and amusing; the quaintness of the style, the variety of the matter, the raciness of the anecdotes, will delight every reader; but taken as a record of missionary labour, it presents but little, if any, real permanent work done. At p. 252, Dr. Wolff gives a summary of the effects of his mission: the principal points are, the immense amount of information that he obtained about the Jews in Central Asia, the distribution of thousands of Bibles in various languages, the possibility of preaching to Mohammedans; besides these, he tells us that he heard from "Henry Leeves and others," that "several hundred Jews in Constantinople and Adrianople were convinced of the truth of the Gospel by Jo-

seph Wolff, and were baptized by the Armenian Christians, and did afterwards confess the Name of JESUS CHRIST amidst stripes and imprisonments, from which persecutions they were rescued through the influence of Sir Stratford Canning. Jews in Bokhara, above twenty in number, were baptized in that place by Wolff himself." Of the conversion of the "several hundred" Jews in European Turkey we can really say nothing, Dr. Wolff being entirely silent on this point in his narrative. The only account we have is of his complete failure with the Domna Jews at Saloniki: and we happen to know, that Admiral Slade, a man well able to form an opinion, doubts much of the conversions in Constantinople. No doubt Wolff was an excellent pioneer, and, perhaps, had his work been followed up, some real fruit might have shown itself: but as far as we can find out, next to nothing has been done. Dr. Wolff has taught us to discredit the Reports of the Jewish Mission Society, which he declares has spent £800,000 in fifty-two years: the only result being the conversion of "two Jews and a half!" (vol. ii. 144.) It is true that Dr. Wolff got a rebuke for this piece of levity, by Dr. Hervey writing under this remark the question, "What is the value of one soul?" But perhaps Wolff might have replied, "Are you quite certain that none but a Christian *can* be saved—and that every Christian will be saved?" Still the fact remains of the almost total failure of these missions. We do not desire to predict what may happen if Dr. Wolff organizes, as he proposes, another mission.

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## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

*The Parish Magazine.* Price One Penny. Edited by the Rev. J. ERSKINE CLARKE. Bell and Daldy.

*The Monthly Medley.* Price One Penny. Edited by the Rev. J. ERSKINE CLARKE. Bell and Daldy.

*The Oxford Parochial Magazine.* Price Fourpence. London: Thompson.

THE labours of the Rev. Erskine Clarke, of S. Michael's, Derby, are hardly so generally known as they deserve. The elevation of the social status of the working classes, by inculcating habits of temperance and frugality in their own body, and by providing them with amusement and recreation from without, is the end for which he labours—and certainly with very great success. His "Parish Magazine" is excellently conducted; the engravings are very spirited and original, and the poetry very much above par; and among the contributors we recognise such popular favourites as Mrs. Alfred Gatty and Mrs. Gaskell. In fact, we desiderate only a little more Church tone in the Magazine, in order to make it quite what one could wish.

The "Monthly Medley" begins only with the past year, and is intended for children. It is full of vivacity, and free from all twaddle.

The "Parochial Magazine," published at Oxford, goes on improving. It seems to aim at being a kind of middle-class Periodical, (certainly a most useful sphere,) and is addressed mainly to grown-up people.

The authoress of *The Sunbeam, or the Misused Gift*, (Masters,) has excellent abilities, an evident desire to take a high line in religion, and good Church principles—with these qualities her works ought to be thoroughly useful; but up to the present time, she has failed to take the position which might be hers in our Church literature by the determined admixture of uncongenial elements, which furnish the material of her tales: religion and marriage, courtship and spiritual direction, love and self-denial—are all mingled together in such a manner as to render her religious teaching not only useless but dangerous. Surely common sense alone ought to be sufficient to show that the effort to grow in the love of GOD through the means of grace and works of holy toil, cannot go hand in hand with the cherishing of earthly love between the priest and the female workers without the risk of fearful unreality and self-deception. In the book before us these matters are brought to such a pass that with a real desire to describe a high degree of holiness, the limits of right and wrong become utterly confused, and the heroine refuses the clergyman she has encouraged into a proposal, because she has vowed in a moment of danger not to live with any one she loves too well, and then vows at the altar to love a man she does not care about because he requires a nurse to go abroad with him. This utterly unpractical writing can do no good to anyone, and if we have seemed to speak severely it is only from a real and friendly desire to see this lady turn her talents to better account.

*The Force of Habit, or the Story of Widow Monger*, (Masters), is very much above the average of village tales. The authoress has an unusually clear insight into character, and seems especially conversant with that phase of human nature, which is the most difficult to understand—i.e. the mind of the poor. She uses this somewhat rare gift in the best possible way, by showing they may be influenced for good, and the present work is one from which many valuable hints may be gained.

We have perused the Bishop of ROCHESTER's *Primary Charge* (London: Varty,) with attention, and we are bound to say that it does not appear to us open to the accusations which have been brought against it. On the contrary, we are quite prepared to re-echo the warnings which it gives against Cricket Clubs and the Rifle Corps, smoking, and "the cultivation of an inordinate profusion of hair about the face." These things undoubtedly all partake of the world and its vanities, and must be avoided by the earnest-minded Christian Priest. As regards also the general principle of the Charge, which goes to recommend a large co-operation of the laity with the clergy, we should be at one with the Bishop. Of the difficulties attendant on the working out of such a system, a greater jealousy for the doctrine and discipline of the Church is necessary than can be looked for, we fear, in a Bishop who has been nominated under the influence of the present Government.

We wish that we could say anything in behalf of the *Church Review*. Our expectations hitherto have not been realized. Intellectually it is *very much* below par; in the first Number there was not a single readable article. But even if the writing were what it is not, we do not see how a Monthly Newspaper can hope to compete with the *Guardian* or *Saturday Review*: or how it can hope to interest its readers. Our notion was, that the object of the *Review* would have been to chronicle statistics and to act as the organ of the English Church Union. In this capacity, reduced to threepence and issued fortnightly, it might occupy ground which is now left open.

The Bishop of OXFORD's Two Sermons, preached before the University of Oxford, on *The Revelation of God the Probation of Man*, (J. H. Parker,) demand special acknowledgment. They are such as the occasion required, and such as the Bishop was pre-eminently qualified to deliver at S. Mary's. At the same time we must venture to doubt if it is not attributing too much reality to the spirit which is abroad to imagine that it is likely to lead to such terrible deathbeds as the Bishop depicts. It is not the infidelity of the earnest inquirer after truth from which we are in danger. It is the spirit of self-satisfaction which is now to be dreaded; which imagines that it has arrived at the perfection of wisdom, and that, so long as decency and philanthropy are preserved, persons need not trouble themselves as to what they believe or what they do. In other words, what the next generation is likely to land in is not unbelief so much as indifference.

We are glad to announce the publication of a Second Part of Dr. PUSEY's *Commentary on the Minor Prophets*; and there is good reason to expect that a Part will now appear every quarter of the year.

*The Daily Sacrifice—a Manual of Spiritual Communion for daily use, &c.*, by the Rev. ORBY SHIPLEY, (Masters,) has been prepared with much care, and with a deeply reverential sense of the greatness of the Holy Rite of which it treats. The book is intended to be used devotionally in private, another manual being, the author states, in preparation for Communicants at the Public Office. The first part consists of a Daily Office of preparation throughout the week, of which the most valuable feature is the explanation given of each Psalm, where the proper portions are assigned respectively to the LORD and to the Disciple. The next portion contains Acts of Christian Virtues, Directions of the Intention, Memorial of the Passion, Prayers and Aspirations, and Hymns, &c., for every day in the week. These Acts especially are very useful. The fourth part is that which we like the least, containing Meditations, Conferences, Soliloquies, &c. The work concludes with an admirable collection of Collects, Benedictions, &c., for the different seasons. The volume is beautifully got up.

A small work, entitled *Devout Prayers on the Life and Passion of the Lord Jesus*, and bearing the initials R. B., will fully meet the wants of those who desire to bear in their hearts the image of CHRIST crucified. It will be found especially appropriate to the approaching Passion-tide, and will at all times prove a sensible aid to Communion with GOD the SON.

## WHAT HAVE THIRTY YEARS OF CHURCH REVIVAL DONE? *By J. H. Blunt.*

It often surprises us to see how few persons there are in society who have any definite information as to the history of what is called Tractarianism, and the actual results which have sprung out of it. We do indeed find, here and there, an elderly country gentleman, whose interest in it having been excited in his undergraduate days has kept pace in some degree with the progress of the controversies and the practical movement which then began, but the number is very few, and the knowledge of a rather indefinite character. The reason probably is, that Tractarianism has not yet found an historian; and floating facts of contemporary history are very imperfectly taken in by contemporaries while they are in a floating condition. The life of Mr. Stephenson, the great railway Engineer, has done more towards making this whole generation acquainted with the rise and progress of the railway system than any large number of persons possessed before it was published, although all that the book contains may be said to have been publicly known to most well-informed persons while the doings and sayings it narrates were in process of action or development. Perhaps it is to the fact that we have had no such single mind to lead the Church revival as there was to lead the development of the railway system that we are to attribute the absence of any biographical sketch of its progress; for it is undoubtedly the biographical form that is first assumed by histories.

There was, indeed, an attempt made last year in the pages of a contemporary to detail the progress of the Church cause and the Church party, but we cannot confess ourselves much satisfied with the result. The article bore clear evidence of being written for a purpose by a leading lay member of the London Church Union, and its chief object appeared to be to magnify the importance of that singularly dry association, as if it had been all along the soul of the Church cause and the Church party; when in reality, its energies have been chiefly expended on a series of long-winded and rather querulous documents, which few people have read but those who concocted them, and which have certainly had little effect towards moulding the minds of the last twenty years or so, during which the Union has existed. In fact, we are not sure that these associations really effect much good at any time; and as far as our observation goes, more solid work has been achieved by those who never belonged to any of them, and whose names have been little before the public eye, than by those who have been most ostentatiously paraded as members of this or that Society or 'Union.' Be this as it may, the article in question was put to-

gether under the influence of very exaggerated ideas respecting the London Church Union and its work ; and the quiet country clergy had as little reason to thank the author for being so ignored by him as they have to thank Mr. Hoare for a sarcasm attributed to him in the papers, and certainly not in harmony with his usual good nature, wherein he proclaimed his belief that the country clergy would not care if the Church went to the dogs, provided they secured their tithes and their parsonages. Perhaps the country clergy may like to do their own work in their own way, but they can do a good stroke of work towards reviving the Church of their generation for all that. Justice before sarcasm.

Our present object, however, is neither to defend the clergy from Mr. Hoare's hard words, nor to criticise the partial character of the article in the *Christian Remembrancer*, nor yet to write a history of Tractarianism ; but as the *Ecclesiastic* was originally an offspring of the Revival in the Church, and has also had some share in promoting its development, we take the opportunity now we are printing the hundredth number of our New Series, of reviewing the work which may be fairly said to have been accomplished during the last thirty years, and considering what are the prospects of the Church as to further progress.

First, then, it is very clear that a surprising difference is observable between the Church as it is presented to our view at the time we are now living in, and the Church as it was at the outset of the period with which we are dealing. Thirty years ago such things as we are now familiar with, in the externals of the Church, were quite unknown ; and almost as unknown were most of those less conspicuous but even more real things which belong to the Church's hidden life. What were our Bishops, for example, in those days ? A Bishop actually *working* his diocese was probably unknown in England from the time of the Reformation (and perhaps long before) down to that of Bishop Blomfield, who was the real originator of modern Episcopal diligence. Many Bishops were good pious men ; some of them worthy successors, as far as personal piety goes, of Andrewes and Wilson ; but if holy men like Andrewes left their dioceses to go to wrack and ruin, and to fall an easy prey, as they too surely did, to active Puritanism, it was little likely that a more energetic line would be taken by those of a later generation who yet looked up to them as their highest ideal of a Bishop. Besides these good Bishops, however, we had a large supply of the Tomline type, who must have looked on a see as a convenient and wealthy resting-place after the toils of tutorial or decanal life ; the chief duties of which consisted in occasionally going through the forms of ordination and confirmation in the easiest way possible and at the remotest intervals ; and in establishing those of their relatives whom they cared about by means of the patronage attached to the see. One does not wonder at the attacks

made on the Bishops by the radical section of the world, or by such men as Cobbett, in the days preceding the revival. It is a mercy that the press of later days did not arrive at its wonderful power before a great portion of the abuses we speak of were done away with; for it is difficult to see how in the ordinary course of Providence our Episcopate could have been saved from being swept away if it had remained what it was, under the torrent of just abuse which must have fallen upon it.

We do not want to extend the picture. Such as the Bishops were such were the inferior clergy in their inferior degree, and with their inferior revenues; a race open to the constrained official respect of the higher classes; to the hatred of the irreligious and to the almost contemptuous dislike of the religious among the lower. Any life which showed itself among the clergy almost certainly took them into a Dissenting line of belief and practice: and there was much to justify what was long a common opinion, but is now chiefly confined to the more ignorant classes in the North of England,—that, however respectable it might be to belong to the Church of England, all really religious people were either Dissenters altogether, or Dissenters as well as Churchmen.

No doubt the depths of torpidity into which the Church had sunk proved one great cause of her revival, especially when re-acted upon by that unsettling of all old foundations which marked the success of the Reform Bill. When there was less of the lower class influence in the House of Commons it had been comparatively easy to ward off the attacks which were made upon the Church, since most of our legislators were in some way interested in its defence, and few indeed interested in its overthrow. But upon the introduction of a large class of members into the House of Commons who owed their election to the very people whom the Church had passed by, or known nothing about, matters were very much changed; since very often their personal prejudices, and almost always their personal interests were hostile to the Church, and on the side of either no-religionists or Dissenters. Attacks on the Church now began to take a much more alarming form, and could be warded off for a time only by such concessions as were made by Lord Derby when he gave up ten Irish sees to save the rest from destruction. But the imminence of the danger woke up Church-people from their calm and self-satisfied condition, and startled the more thoughtful class of minds among them into a conviction that if they would save their house from being pulled down about their ears they must begin to set it in order. The setting in order has been a long business, and will not be finished for many a year to come; but much has been done towards it, and though the attacks of the enemy are as bold as ever, we believe our means of defence to be infinitely more effective than they were thirty years ago. All of us set a higher value upon our inheritance, and most of



us are working in our own proper posts to build up what has fallen down, and to defend what we now believe and know to be worth defending.

It is customary to refer back to the early "Tracts for the Times" as the first instrument in stirring up the Church to her revival; but we are inclined to think a greater importance has been given to the earlier Tracts than they really deserve. They showed that men's minds were awakened, and probably through that rising movement obtained a circulation of some importance among the clergy; but they were rather the result than the cause of the earlier currents of revival. The original impulse of those currents came from a growing desire for reality and a growing sense of responsibility, which have moved this generation and the one that is passing away in a very remarkable degree in all the circumstances of life, and especially in respect to their religious principles and actions. If there is anything that distinguishes our own days from the days of our grandfathers equally with the development of energy in what may be called domestic progress, it is our dislike to unrealities, and our unwillingness to rest content with mere traditional authority. We have as great a reverence for form in these days as any of our immediate predecessors had; but we cannot accept form without life at any price; and we generally object to receive it at all without we can connect some intelligible idea with it, which will make its reception an act of reason as well as an act of faith. This rising disposition turned many minds to the contemplation of their religious position at the period we are speaking of, and led them to a greater or less extent into an inquiry as to its reasonableness and reality. Such an inquiry had not far to go to satisfy itself as to the unreasonableness and unreality of the position in which the Church of England was then standing, so far at least as that position was shown by the acts and teaching of the majority of her clergy. The Church was a witness against the clergyman who ministered in it; the Prayer Book was a witness against the congregations who professed to take it as their manual of devotion; it may almost be said that the Sacraments were witnesses against those who used them, for certainly few used them with the definite intention of obtaining that which the Sacraments are provided for the purpose of giving. When once a general tendency to look such a state of things in the face had sprung up, it could not but lead to a vigorous development, by the more energetic class of minds, of the principles on which the Church of England was entitled to be what it claimed to be; and of the distinctive points in which her religion differed from that of the sects who were beginning to claim an equality of right with her. Too many had looked upon her in the light of a religious community of persons hanging together by the bond of mutual consent as other religious communities, though receiving in addition, support and coun-

tenance from the secular part of the constitution. Sacerdotalism, as it has been since called, was unknown, or nearly unknown, except among the Roman Catholics, (themselves in a very effete condition,) and the work of the Church was done in a loose manner, according to local or personal habit, rather than according to rules of written law or theoretical principle. But as soon as we began to cast off this senseless and most unspiritual kind of tradition and proceeded to think for ourselves, the enormous discrepancy between the standard theory and the floating practice of the Church became at once evident. The 'reason why' such and such things were as they were—or at least as they were intended to be, was found to be because there was a ground of divine authority and not merely a ground of human law or choice; a priesthood was found to claim to be something more than a mere social institution; Sacraments were found to claim to be realities and not mere forms; and the Church system generally began to develop itself as a system full of life and meaning instead of being merely a respectable traditional superstition.

The first steps in this course of development necessarily involved some mistakes and some troubles. When these times come to be looked at from an historic distance by some one who can make a correct outline of the past and fill up the broad view with details, it will be found that the revival in which we have been and still are engaged occupies a place second only to the Reformation itself in the importance and magnitude of its acts and its results. And when it is considered that our course in the first part of this second, or rather third, Reformation was necessarily full of experiments, it is not to be wondered at that our choice of means was not always the most judicious that might have been, or the path we decided to walk in always the most direct one to the end in view.

Among this kind of mistakes must be mentioned those attempts at rubrical revival which led on to the opposition that culminated in what were called the 'Surplice riots' of 1844. No one, perhaps, saw it clearly at the time, but we can see now, that to begin with endeavouring to bring about an exact observance of the rubrics (even had they been more intelligible and consistent with themselves than they are,) was not beginning at the right end, either as a matter of reality, or as a matter of policy; but the attempt was the more unfortunate from the particular rubrical direction on which the question was made to turn. The established usage of many years had considered the Nicene Creed as the ordinary conclusion of the "Morning Service" on Sundays; and the sermon was tacked on, (after a hymn had been sung,) as an addition not strictly included in the *ritual* part of Divine Worship, but forming a sort of appendix, bound up with the volume, yet distinct from its regular contents. On "Sacrament Sundays" a second appendix was added which commenced after the bulk of the con-

gregation had departed. Of course, this was all wrong both in theory and practice, and our new reformers determined that it ought to be altered. Their determination was good, but the manner in which they carried that determination into effect was as wrong as wrong could well be. Instead of concluding the sermon part of the Morning's Service as had been usual, with a Benediction, they descended from the pulpit to the altar, said the offertory sentences and the prayer for the Church Militant, skipped over all the rest of the Communion Office without the least intention even of using it, said the Benediction, and—left the church. This "innovation" was startling to the congregation, and made the more so by requiring either the use of the surplice in preaching or a double change from surplice to gown and gown to surplice, where there was only one priest officiating, as was then more frequently the case even in towns, than now. But, however startling an "innovation" may be, it is possibly of so great importance as to make it worth while to risk offence and disturbance for the sake of the ultimate gain to order or spirituality. Nothing of the kind could be alleged in favour of the alteration in question. The "Prayer for the Church Militant" is plainly an Eucharistic Prayer, and although provision is made in the rubric for its *exceptional* use on the exceptional occasions when no communicants present themselves to enable the priest to carry out the intention of celebrating, on account of which he used the Prayer; yet it was clearly contrary to the spirit of the rubric to make that the rule which was expressly provided for as an exception. It was as clearly injudicious to force on an unwilling people the 'offertory collection,' since a question of money naturally aggravated other questions tenfold. But the sin of omission was worse than the sin of commission; for very few indeed introduced the new usage with the intention of introducing a constant celebration of the Holy Communion; and they therefore stuck to a mere service of dry bones as much as ever their predecessors had done. We see now, but did not see then, that if there was to be a fight at all, it should have been for a reality that was worth striving for, not for a meaningless shadow which brought no spiritual or any other gain to the Church. England was agitated from one end to the other; if it had been in consequence of a general attempt to revive constant celebrations of the Holy Eucharist, even such an agitation would have been worth encountering; as it was, the Church reformers incurred great odium with Church people as well as others for a mere nothing, and the question was really very little more than what it was called, a battle about a black gown or a white one: except indeed in those cases, not a few, where it was a desire to screw money out of the congregation for those necessities of the church which they would not willingly provide. On the other hand, a careful review of the experiences gained during the last few years leads to the conclusion

that the revival of a weekly Eucharist would have been generally accepted even by non-communicants as a sign of real life and holy zeal on the part of the clergy, and would have been respected accordingly.

Much the same may be said with regard to many other of the attempts which were made to restore an exact observance of the rubric. Important as such observance is, because there are few cases in which a meaning does not lie hidden under the form, there were other "innovations" required which were of far greater importance; and especially in what would scarcely have come under the observation of the congregations at all, and would certainly not have been opposed, we mean a more exact attention on the part of the clergy themselves to due celebration of the Blessed Sacrament, Holy Baptism, and other rites. But we have known those who stood out, in the face of all opposition, for the 'Church Militant Prayer,' who yet allowed the remainder of the Sacrament to be carried into the vestry to be disposed of by the clerk,<sup>1</sup> and who administered Holy Baptism with the barest possible sprinkling of water from the tips of one or two fingers; so little had they considered the *principles* which required restoration. It is not with any disrespect that we mention these things, but to show that if the Church revival has had a hard struggle to make the way it has in hundreds of parishes, something of the difficulty must be laid to the door of those who started it, or tried to start it, as well as of those who have openly opposed its progress.

These partial and not very wise attempts were, however, accompanied and succeeded by a vigorous church-building and church-restoration fervour which has had in it so many of the elements of reality as to meet with scarcely any opposition from the people at large. Mr., now Dean, Close endeavoured to stem the tide of this fervour by means of a widely circulated pamphlet, entitled "Church Restoration the Restoration of Popery;"<sup>2</sup> but neither his teaching nor his example had any effect in stopping the progress we were making in that direction; and probably there is no quarter of a century in the history of our country in which so many new churches have been erected and old ones renovated, as during the last; perhaps none when so large an amount of money was expended on the material fabric of the church. And in this the laity at large have been willing fellow labourers from the highest to the lowest. Owners of property have appropriated part of their wealth to the purpose, sometimes in large sums, as has been the case with the Earl of Derby, the Marquis of Westminster, the Duke of Northumberland,

<sup>1</sup> We know one case, only ten years ago, in which the churchwardens had a kind of convivial drinking from these remains in the vestry. The clergyman was "*very High*" too.

<sup>2</sup> A practical illustration of this pamphlet and its author's work is to be found in the shutting up of Cheltenham Parish Church for years through want of repair. It is still, or was very lately, closed.

(who has lately given £30,000, to meet a similar sum from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, in one town alone,) and many others; while all over the country costly restorations have been effected in which the expenditure of £4000 to £10,000 has been quite common;<sup>1</sup> and here and there magnificent new churches have been built, such as those of Doncaster; All Souls', Haley Bridge; All Saints', Margaret Street; and others, which outrival the parish churches of mediæval England. And to go from our parishes to our cities, what an effective work has been done within the last ten or fifteen years in our cathedrals. The rich chapter of Durham led the way by a long and costly series of restorations which have been going on during the whole time of Dean Waddington's presidency, in the course of which the fabric has been restored to as secure a condition as it was in probably when first erected. Lincoln, Wells, Gloucester, Peterborough, Westminster, Lichfield, Worcester, followed with work not so extensive but yet important; while at Ely, as we hope all our readers know from personal visits to it, the beautiful cathedral has been so lovingly renovated by its guardians, that it is in a fair way to realize the full ideal of an English diocesan church in all its material splendour.

This spirit of Church Restoration has done more, quietly and inoffensively, towards the restoration of ritual decency than a century of "Church Militant Prayer" agitations could have done. Ecclesiastical architecture soon became a profession under the stimulus given to it by the vast expenditure of money and zeal which was going on; and then those who had to build churches made it their business to know what were the real requirements of a church; so that now no one can ever again have the effrontery to adapt the dark square chamber of a heathen temple to a purpose so entirely different in character as that for which it had been used, and so discordant with the idea of our ritual, as had been a common plan some years before; nor are we tempted, as in the days of Wren, Queen Anne, and the Georges to copy debased Classical Architecture, through want of love for our own.

We have therefore a great body of churches—we really think it is safe to say a majority of our parish churches—in which the ritual indecencies that were almost necessitated by the type of church interior with which we were once so familiar would be as incongruous as ritual proprieties seemed to be in their then condition:<sup>2</sup> and the gain on the side of practical devotion is enormous. Nor are we to forget, in summing up this gain, that a generation is now rising up which has hardly known the worst phases of the former state of

<sup>1</sup> At Sherborne, upwards of £30,000 has been spent on the restoration of the church alone.

<sup>2</sup> It would require a bold mind in the clergyman of a restored church to have a bracket so arranged that he should appear to his flock to be kneeling, while really he is comfortably sitting. We can direct curious inquirers to such an arrangement.

things. It is a very different thing for young persons on their first holiday visit to a cathedral city, to see Ely as it now is, to what it was to ourselves to see it as it was twenty-five years ago. And those must grow up with much improved instincts—to say the least—about churches, who grow up from their earliest days familiar with beautiful, well-appointed and well-cared for buildings, to what we did who knew them only as comfortable, pewed rooms, or as uncomfortable, dusty, damp and uncared for structures in which everything that was handsome and good was referred to the days of Popery, and everything that was unusually mean to our own. And the effect upon the clergy has not been less important than it has upon the laity. In one sense it may be said to have been much more important, for they have been surrounded by associations which all lead them to a higher appreciation of their office and duties instead of by those which made it seem almost a condescension for them to go into their churches and “read prayers” to their people.

There is one consideration about this external phase of the revival which we do not think ought to be lost sight of. It has been as rapid as it has been extensive. The work really accomplished has been very great, and it has been achieved in a very little time, and in spite of our mistakes at the outset. This ought to encourage us as to the future, and prevent us from being impatient if there are yet some weak points about our ritual habits which we could wish to see mended. At the time of the “surplice riots,” a general revival of ritual propriety seemed most improbable, yet that was just the turning-point of time from which the full progress of our later work started: and that was only seventeen years ago. The generation which has been enabled to do so much can afford to leave something undone: or at least it can afford to be patient in regard to the introduction of practices which twenty years ago we should never have dreamt of; and for which we may not even yet be quite prepared. Younger men who are familiar with what is now, may wonder why we cannot graft still better ritual upon our present usage: but those who remember what has been, will not be unwilling to rest on their oars—if there should seem to be good reason for doing so,—and wait.

And now let us go on to consider what has been the case with doctrine, while this great apparent rise has been taking place in the external aspect of the Church. It can scarcely be said that the doctrine of the Church was fairly brought to an issue before 1847, which was the year in which the famous “Gorham case” came first upon the scene. There had been enough of floating controversy before then. First, the treatise on Regeneration, by the late Bishop of Bangor, then the sixty-seventh “Tract for the Times,” which was Dr. Pusey’s work on Baptism, had aroused the minds of the clergy; settling the orthodox in a firmer position, and drawing out all the energies of the unorthodox, with here and there

a man of some small learning, like Mr. Goode, now Dean of Ripon, to stand in the forefront of their ranks. But the struggle for the ancient faith respecting the first Sacrament of the Christian Life, was only brought, as we have said, to a direct issue, when the late Mr. Gorham was bold enough, or imprudent enough, to signalise his second year and his second presentation to a benefice in the diocese of Exeter, by a sort of challenge to his diocesan, the most unflinching controversialist of the day. The long agitation which succeeded, with the successive trials in various courts, had the effect of "ventilating" the doctrine of Baptism, and making men's minds thoroughly acquainted with all that was to be said on both sides of the question; and although there are still many clergymen whose views of that doctrine are far below the theories and practice of the Church, yet there is probably no thinking man among them who lived through that controversy and did not rise in his belief and in his respect for the Sacrament of Baptism. Large numbers had their ideas thoroughly settled by it in a manner that perhaps could hardly have been hoped for from private study: we have secured a literature on Holy Baptism such as we should never otherwise have possessed: and, however halting the decision of the Privy Council may have been, we may consider that the final decision given by a large majority of the Church of England, both clergy and laity, was on the right side; and that her doctrine on the subject of Holy Baptism need never again be put upon its trial.

A similar result, without any legal decision, ambiguous or otherwise, has followed upon the agitation in which Archdeacon Denison was put into the focus of the anti-Sacramentalist burning-glass. Although the Archbishop coolly deprived him of his Archdeaconry and all his other preferments, this decision was reversed, (as almost all decisions of Archbishop Sumner have been, either by himself or somebody else,) and Mr. Denison came unscathed out of the scorching rays which all the persecuting power of Calvinism had directed upon him. What was still better than Archdeacon Denison not being a loser, was, that the Church has been a great gainer by the persecution, that her defences were re-organized and strengthened; that we have all been taught to understand better than before the solemn subject that was so long under discussion; that a literature of it has been drawn out and settled into our modern language; that the very opponents of the "high" doctrine have learned respect for it; that the extremer form of the "low" doctrine is hardly now tolerated, though it used to be so common; and that the serious portion of the laity have in this case, as in the other, taken up a much higher ground of belief than they ever occupied before since the days when Puritan ascendancy unsettled the hold of the Church upon them.

We need not stop to point out, in any detail, that what has

happened in the case of the Baptismal and Eucharistic doctrines has also occurred, in a quieter way, with the doctrine of Absolution, and with the Church theory of "Sacerdotalism" in general. The platform of defence, in respect to these, has become so wide, and the bulwarks so strong, that opponents have acknowledged their defeat by agitating for the alteration of the Prayer Book to suit their views. But while they are agitating, the defenders of the Prayer Book are extending their hold upon the affections and sympathy of the people, and by the time their forces are brought to bear in earnest on our formularies, public opinion itself will rise up in defence of those formularies, and the Prayer Book will remain, doctrinally, what it is at present.

Such has been the course which the great religious movement of our day has taken. Let us now sum up the principal results which we have to show as forming a real substantial gain to the Church, for that the gain has been substantial no impartial and experienced observer can doubt.

The highest gain of all is the great increase of practical religion. At first thought any one who looks out on the world of our day may be apt to ask themselves, where is there any real increase of spirituality from all that has been done? Churches have been built and restored, schools have been founded,<sup>1</sup> the decencies of Divine Worship have been brought back into our churches; but after all, look at the wickedness by which we are surrounded! Was our population at large ever more sunk in godlessness than now? Was there ever a larger number of English people unaffected altogether by the work of the Church? But, in spite of all that there is to dishearten in the state of things around us, when we look at it from one point of view only, that of the present; there is certainly much ground for believing, upon comparison with the past, that practical religion has quite kept progress with the restoration of Church externals, and that we are living in a better state of things than has existed before, since the days of the Great Rebellion. No one doubts that crime is much less common, in proportion to the increase of our population, than it was formerly. But it is not so much with crime that we are dealing as with those forms of irreligion which are beyond the reach of the law: and especially with the religion or no religion of those who have not cast off the outward profession of being in some degree religious. Look then at the interior of our churches, and notice the contrast between our own generation and the last. No fair person who was acquainted with our congregations as they were a quarter of a century ago, whether in town or country, can deny that there is an appearance

<sup>1</sup> The great work of National Education has been almost entirely a Church-work. We have said nothing upon the subject here because there is really nothing new to say since we summed up the question in an Article on "National Education and its Difficulties," in our XVIIIth Volume, page 215.



of true devotion about them now which they did not at all frequently possess then. The best of them are not, perhaps, *all* that could be wished, but the better class of them generally, not to say the best only, present an aspect which could hardly have been found, perhaps, in twenty large churches throughout the country at the time we speak of; so commonly had the appearance of devotion gone out of fashion except with a few persons here and there, and so little reverence was felt towards the services of the Church by the great majority of those who attended them. It may be said that this is only habit, and that an external appearance of devotion does not indicate much more than that it has become the custom to kneel instead of to sit, and to look grave and reverent in time of Divine Service rather than indifferent or worse. But external signs are all that we have to judge by, and it is simply unreasonable to attach no value to them whatever. If we have observed the appearance and habits of some one with whom we are well acquainted undergo a very remarkable change, so that the feeble walk, the languid air, the pain-stricken countenance, have given place to a healthful aspect, a happy face, and a robust habit of body, we reasonably conclude that a real constitutional improvement has ensued, and that the outward signs are true indications of it. It is therefore *a priori* irrational to say as some do, that our new habits of reverence do not indicate a better sense of religion than our old careless habits; and very strong proof indeed would be required to be given before that which appears *a priori* to be so unreasonable could be shown to be founded in truth. Such proof is certainly not forthcoming.

It is not only, however, in the conduct of our congregations that a real increase of practical religion may be noted. There is good reason to think that habits of private prayer are far more general than they formerly were, and the number of those who desire to lead an unselfish and unworldly life is certainly greater than it used to be: while instances are plainly to be seen of not a few whose success in carrying out such a desire is acknowledged by all who know them. Then, again, we must count it for something that the *morale* of all respectable society is so much more in accordance with religion than we once knew it to be. Profane swearing was, not long ago, a common habit among gentlemen, and all but universal among the lower classes: but it has died out from among the former almost as much as duelling and excessive drinking, and even among labourers the habit is very far from being so general as it was. And so it is with other things too, that an irreligious licence is not acceptable in society as it once was, but is often checked, and almost always discouraged. If it is answered that our vices are only glazed over, we reply as before, that we must judge chiefly in such matters by outward signs: yet even "glazing over" would be an improvement upon the open display of vice, and

makes the contamination of the pure by the impure less likely. In reality, however, the improvement is much more than superficial; and it would be as unfair to say that Queen Victoria's court is none the better for seeming so much better than that of George the Fourth, as to say that our modern society is not really better at heart, with its change from a vicious to a virtuous outside. And if, as we believe, all this is to be attributed to the revival of religion among us, and chiefly to the movement of the last thirty years, we ought certainly to set it down as one of our chief gains that society is in progress towards being leavened by practical religion.

Another gain, let what will be said, is the greatly strengthened political and moral hold of the Church upon the country at large. This we say advisedly, in the face of the Marriage and Divorce Acts, and of the Church Rate agitation. It is one of the Providential mercies for which we have to be thankful, that questions of this kind were delayed as long as they were. If an Anti-State-Church Association had been formed thirty years ago, we are strongly inclined to believe that it would have succeeded in its objects. The Church had little else to plead then beyond its established constitutional position; but established constitutional positions go for very little in revolutionary times; there would not have been much help for us from the respect and religious sympathy of the people at large, and there would have been little more hope from the House of Commons of that day, composed, though it principally was, of Churchmen, than from that of our own time, in which there is so large a Dissenting interest. Taking into account the increase of power which has been given to Dissenters by the introduction of a system of thorough toleration and political equality, we think there is good reason to congratulate ourselves on the fact that the Church has been able to keep her position as she has in the Constitution; and to frustrate many an attempt at encroachment upon her endowments, her privileges, and her independence. In their regret at the legalized licence which has been allowed to those who do not profess to be Churchmen, many have undervalued the great fact that there is almost invariably in such legislation a saving clause by which the internal laws of the Church are left untouched. The effect of the law which provided for the registration of births was thus very much exaggerated: as was also that of the New Marriage Act of the same period.<sup>1</sup> However much it may be wished that the old ecclesiastical arrangements for registration had been strengthened and revived, rather than that new and secular plans should have been introduced, we must remember that the civil Legislature has hardly ever taken up such questions as this, except in cases where the negligence and indifference of ecclesiastical officers was acting detrimentally to the

<sup>1</sup> Though there was an oversight in this, only lately removed, which might have proved a very tyrannical encroachment upon the liberty of the Clergy.

general welfare of the nation; or where the novel circumstances of the time had rendered the old machinery useless. In fact, we think the one great lesson to be learned from the legislation of the last twenty years in respect to Church matters is this, that if the Church is able to show that she has honestly and efficiently fulfilled the duties assigned to her, the civil legislature will not interfere. If estates had been well managed, and revenues really applied to the honest work of the Church, we should never have heard of an Ecclesiastical Commission, a Cathedral Commission, or an University Commission. Outrageous selfish abuses of the Church's revenues have brought down upon us the Nemesis of these Commissions.<sup>1</sup> And analogous abuses have too often brought undesirable legislation upon us in other matters also. And with respect to our politico-ecclesiastical relations generally, we firmly believe that *we shall be strong enough to resist all assaults from without, if we are strong enough to resist abuses from within.* Let us take Mr. Bright's criticism in a more friendly spirit than it was offered, and be warned in time. And to this end let each man set his own house in order.

We may do this now, perhaps, with greater equanimity of mind than we might have been able to do some years ago, for the general course of events has certainly had the effect of giving Churchmen more confidence than they had in the solid stability of the Church of England and the Catholic rectitude of her position. We have heard that the chief leader of the seceders to Rome has declared that if he had thought the Church of England could have weathered the storms she has endured during the last few years, he should have accepted that capability as a proof of her soundness, and would not have left her fold. For the exact truth of the anecdote we cannot vouch, but it probably represents the true feeling under which many actually did secede. A strangely erroneous view was taken of the consequences which would follow from the Privy Council judgment in the Gorham case, and hasty minds would not listen to the sober assurance of more far-seeing persons that the doctrine of the Church was not affected by it; nor would they believe that such a seemingly fatal blow could be struck at the Church without her being moved by it. The effect of such despondency must always be injurious upon the persons who suffer themselves to yield to it: it must be injurious, too, beyond their own individual sphere, upon the Church itself, and we cannot too strongly deprecate it. To be unduly sanguine may lead us to feverish haste in acting, and to a dangerous undervaluation of enemies or difficulties; but despondency makes men unfit to do any

<sup>1</sup> If we are to have Bishops charging travelling expenses for consecrating churches, while large revenues are given them for the purpose of enabling them to go about their Dioceses and do their work; and if there are many "Cheese" cases, we shall have some more of these Commissions.

work with full effect, and diminishes our faith in God by lessening our faith in His institutions, and in ourselves, who are His instruments. If therefore we have, to a certain extent, got rid of this want of confidence in the Church and her future fortunes, and have come to believe that she has a latent life and power within her still to overcome in struggles through which she is now passing, or will soon have to pass; let us reckon our position so much the stronger by how much we have lost whoever is "fearful and faint-hearted:" and let us stand to our colours with the faith of men who know that they have never yet struck to a foe, however hard the battle might seem to go against us.

We must not overlook, in thus confidently taking a view of our present position, the much-improved organisation of our forces, personal and literary, which has ensued through the watchfulness we have had to exercise during this transition state of the Church. Of personal organisation indeed we cannot say much, except that we are slowly getting the old synodal machinery into work, in the form of Ruridecanal meetings, more real visitations by the Archdeacons, and a working Convocation. There is much to do yet, and perhaps something to undo, for we have been relying a little too much upon Societies and Associations, and a great deal too little upon the Divinely constituted system which we ought to trust to in the form of Diocesan and National Councils. Until Diocesan Synods are practically revived we much doubt whether anything can offer a point of union for the Clergy, or establish fair confidence between them and their Bishops; and we are sure that their non-revival is a great loss to the Church in point of power over public opinion. They may be revived at any time, for nothing is wanting except the will of each Bishop in his own Diocese; but we fear there is little hope of seeing the Exeter experiment repeated.

With respect to our literary forces, if we may be excused the expression, our organisation is infinitely better than it was when the "Tracts for the Times" first began to issue from Mr. Rivington's press. We are in a fair way to the establishment of a great body of devotional and intellectual theology of a Catholic character, and yet thoroughly national, which will form such a practical and permanent ground of stability and defence for the Church of England as it may be said never before to have possessed; though the beginning of it is indeed to be found in the great works of Hooker and Pearson, and in the devotions of the Caroline divines. A large number of volumes have been produced within the last twenty years, which have collected together and rendered into a manageable form an immense body of patristic and scholastic learning; and numerous original works have also appeared, which will always prove useful text-books of doctrine: and though there is reason to fear that our younger clergy are not making the most use of what has been provided for them, no doubt a much sounder floating

tradition has been established in the Church by means of these works. The late Archdeacon Wilberforce's volume on the Incarnation has probably been a more influential book than any theological work published since Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity. The study of Holy Scripture has been turned into a Catholic direction by sound and searching investigations into the original texts, and by many valuable annotations on the New Testament. Church history in general has been well attended to, though we are still in a state of transition in respect to the history of our own Church. The Book of Common Prayer has been exactly reproduced (no light matter) by the late Mr. Pickering and our own publisher ; and has been largely elucidated by such writers as Mr. Freeman and Mr. Procter. The Thirty-nine Articles have been carefully catechised as to their history by the late Archdeacon Hardwicke, and soundly interpreted by Professor Browne. Each of the two Sacraments has been provided with a literature of its own. And last, not least, we are receiving by instalments a really great vernacular commentary on the Holy Bible, under the editorship of Dr. Pusey. And if to all this store of intellectual theological *pabulum* we add the mass of sermons (so much better and more sound than they used to be), and the many devotional volumes, including a few good manuals, which the last few years have given us, we may well sum up all as a literature which has made good for us large ground in the head and the heart of England ; the full extent of which is not yet nearly developed, but which already includes a very considerable proportion both of clergy and people.

And now that we have said so much as to our progress, our fair prospects, and the strength of the position which we have come to occupy, is there nothing to be said on the other side ? Is there no strength left in our foes ? Have we no weak points in our fortifications ? Is there no internal disorder remaining within them ? Alas ! when did Christendom, or any portion of it, offer such a picture of a Millennium ? When will our own part of it approach to anything at all like it ? Not only is our work of revival not yet half done, but even if it were twofold of what it has been, there will ever be new foes springing up to replace those that have been conquered ; there must be an element of decay in even the newest fortifications ; and within the camp there will never be wanting the infirmities of human nature to weaken us and make us humble. .

One of the most serious drawbacks to progress for the last few years has been of a character to be very humiliating indeed to the Church, we mean the appointment of Bishops alien to her principles, whose sympathies are chiefly with the Dissenters, and who can only avoid considering their own office and their own Episcopal acts a relic of superstition, by a non-natural interpretation of what they are obliged to do and say. It is grievous, too, and rouses one's

indignation to think of the scandal that has been brought upon the Church by the covetous worldliness which has been shown by some of these prelates, and the mean tyranny which has been exhibited by others. The old ideal of a dignitary was that of "a scholar and a gentleman;" but, while few of the recently made Bishops have been the one, some can certainly claim to be the other only by the laws of the College of Arms; and the Church of England has not suffered so great a moral degradation since the Revolution of 1688, if there was even then anything parallel to it. It may well make us humble to think that notwithstanding the great progress which the Church can make when left to herself, it is yet possible for a small and narrow-minded party, barely within the Church, to inflict such a humiliation upon her, to impede her action thus, and to introduce into her very thrones men who disbelieve her first principles, who would eliminate those principles from her Prayer Book if they had the power, and who even dare to ridicule her highest synodal institution during the time of its solemn meeting, and in the midst of her assembled Bishops. And the evil is so entirely beyond the reach of remedy as to make it all the more disheartening; for it is clear that we can never succeed in obtaining the appointment of Bishops otherwise than by the influence of the ministers of the crown (even if we could devise a better plan); and that Prime Ministers will sometimes do anything to secure party votes even on the Bench of Bishops. One thing indeed it does seem as if the clergy would soon be called upon to do; and that is to devise some means for repressing the extravagant tyranny with which they are sometimes ruled by these nominees of the freedom party. They occasionally assume towards their clergy as autocratic a power as any exercised by the Pope himself, and appear to know hardly any other law than that expressed in the old vulgar principle *sic volo sic jubeo*. Such exhibitions of this have been made in several recent cases as must surely end in rousing the clergy to a defence of their privileges and to a definition of the boundary between "godly admonitions" and ungodly persecutions; but we confess that we do not see what is to be done while it is made a principle to attack only defenceless curates, and carefully to eschew collision with those whose legal rights would enable them to resist the persecution and defend the privileges of their order. We sincerely look upon this as a very serious question indeed, and we are by no means sure that its bearings are limited to the acts of the one class of Bishops referred to. It appears to us that the diligence and energy of Prelates who ought hardly to be named in the same breath with these is also leading them unconsciously into a false position towards their clergy, from which they ought to rescue themselves by that limitation of autocratic power which is provided in the Diocesan Synod. It would be a true grief to such Bishops if they could see into the future and find

that one result of their noble energies was the fastening of a yoke upon the necks of their Clergy which was perhaps bearable under such loving rule as theirs, but might be made insupportable under the rule of others less loving, and must be injurious as well to the best interests of the Church. We cannot but think that the time has come for reviving Diocesan Synods, and that their revival would tend to place the Bishops and their Clergy in a much more healthy relation towards each other than they stand at present ; and to unite all in one work as they have never yet been united since the revival of religion began.

Another thing that is wanted is a great reformation in the exercise of patronage. We do not mean that improper persons, in the ordinary sense, are presented to livings ; but it is grievously evident that, either from shrinking of the Clergy from town work, or from a want of careful discrimination on the part of patrons, we very often indeed fail to get the right man in the right place. No doubt the "High Church" Clergy themselves have been somewhat to blame in this matter, especially in past years. They seem almost to have looked upon it as a necessity that the towns should be left in the hands of popular preachers of the Calvinistic school, and have often voluntarily betaken themselves to quiet parishes in the country where they would not encounter much opposition in the establishment of better principles and practices. If this has been the reason why our towns have been so generally excluded from the good results of the Church revival, the Clergy who have aided such an exclusion are seriously to blame. But we think it must be attributed also in no small degree to a want of careful consideration of their responsibilities on the part of patrons. It is painful to see a town living in the hands of a Clergyman whose want of tact, or want of energy, or want of moral power, prevents him from reforming abuses, and drawing his people up to a higher standard ; and then, in a neighbouring village of three hundred people, to observe a man of large powers, of good judgment, and full of what the muscular school calls "go," expending all his energies in a field where as good a result, or perhaps a much better one, might be produced by a far inferior man. And yet there are such contrasts to be found in abundance, though not, perhaps, in such close juxtaposition. It would be well for those who have it in their power to choose a position, to remember how important it is that the Church should regain her footing in the towns as soon as possible, and that the best men we have to offer ought to be placed there. And with respect to this question of patronage in general, it would be well if some one, who, from a position of authority or otherwise has the ear of the higher laity, would put plainly before them what an important duty is confided to them, and how much the welfare of the Church depends upon the manner in which they fulfil the duty.

We have now finished, as far as we are at present able to carry it, this survey of our position and our prospects ; in which it has been impossible to do more than refer to the general outline of each, although abundance of details might have been brought forward to fill up the outline, and show that we have not been putting an imaginary case on paper. Sufficient has been said, we think, to show that there is much reason for thankfulness and satisfaction in respect to the past work which revived Church principles have accomplished ; and that there is nothing in the experience we have had which need make us down-hearted as to the future. We also see that there is no room for relaxation of energies ; that there are, in fact, fields already white to the harvest which fresh vigour and energy will enable us to take possession of whenever we are prepared to enter upon them ; and that the generation of Clergy now rising up have at least as much before them to do as that one has had which is now passing away. The rising Clergy have indeed to do in the towns<sup>1</sup> what their predecessors have done in the villages of the land. Particularly we would venture to press upon them the duty of providing in all different parts of the country a good and liberal education for the great body of the middle class, whose children are now notoriously worse educated than are the children of the poor. The work to be done may be harder in some respects than that which has been accomplished, but in one important particular it will be easier, for the rising men will not have to break the ground and to make the road, nor to forge their tools. All this has been pretty effectually done already, and our successors will enter into our labour.

If there is one earnest word, in conclusion, which we would wish, above another, to leave on the ear of the reader, it is a word of exhortation to more union and charity among the Clergy. If the "Church party," as they have been called, had been united, they might have done more, much more than they have done ; but their energies have too often been diverted from proper objects and exercised upon minor divisions among themselves which were really not worthy of causing such dispersion of energy. No doubt each of us has his special strong point, according to our particular tastes and idiosyncrasies. One will be much impressed with the value of ritual and choral services, another will set his heart on theology, a third on eloquent preaching, a fourth on the use of confession. But why should these four persons form or belong to four several cliques ? Are not all parts of one common work, and may not each respect the particular line which the other has been led to choose ? Let each carefully consider what special line, if any, beyond the ordinary level of his duty, he is fit for ; and as far as he can, let him exercise his powers for the good of the Church

<sup>1</sup> It is remarkable that it is only within the last two years that the correct arrangement of Churches appears to have made any head in London.



in that line. But do not let him despise other lines or look upon them with patronizing pity. Every workman is interested in the whole work, though one has to carry a hod, and another to mix the mortar, and a third to handle the trowel. Let the common work be our bond of union, and let each remember that the work of the other is as necessary as his own to the sound progress of the building.

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### MR. SADLER ON THE DOCTRINAL REVISION OF THE PRAYER BOOK.

*Doctrinal Revision of the Liturgy considered. An examination of the subject with special reference to the suggestions of the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol, Rev. P. Gell, and others.* By the Rev. M. F. SADLER, M.A., Vicar of Bridgwater and Rural Dean. London: Bell and Daldy. 1861.

WHILE, as we endeavoured to show in a past number, the Prayer Book has ever been an object of assault on the part of the Puritan party, who, even when obliged to submit, have never cordially acquiesced in it, there is a very observable difference in the tactics which they have used at different times. At one period no epithet was too foul to be applied to the Prayer Book, no name too scurrilous to throw at its upholders. But this violence disgusted thinking men, and the result was a reaction in the Book's favour which compelled Puritanism to hold its tongue. Circumstances have, however, lately given it an opportunity of shaking off this long silence. For the first time in its history it has found itself powerful in ecclesiastical position as well as numbers. Bishoprics, Deaneries, Canonries, Rectories, have fallen to its share in unexampled profusion, and its most violent supporters have suddenly found themselves thrust into positions of authority and power. And, true to its instincts, it reverts to the one idea which has possessed it all along—viz., an alteration of the Book of Common Prayer. A change, however, has been made in its tactics. It no longer abuses, it no longer calls names, it no longer holds up the Common Prayer to scorn and ridicule. On the contrary, it professes great respect for "our Protestant formularies," duly appreciates the labours of our Reformers, and takes on its lips at all proper occasions the praises of "our incomparable Liturgy." Nay, it so values the Book of Common Prayer, it is so alive to its excellencies, that it is distressed beyond measure that others should not see its beauties, and if, as being human, "to its share some frailties fall," it contends it is only acting the part of a true friend to remove as

gently as may be the blemishes, and enable it to appear before an admiring world in the perfection of simplicity. Accordingly, as we said, there is no bullying—no blustering this time, but Puritan prelates come forward with suggestions “for the modification of a few words”—“a slight verbal alteration in certain services,” thinking that by this modest and reasonable method of speech, they will win their way with the Church and succeed at last in their long-cherished design of thoroughly Protestantising the Church of England, eliminating from her service-books all Catholic truth, and banishing from her altars all who are not prepared to say shibboleth after the approved Genevan fashion.

At the head of this party stands the Bishop of Gloucester, who, alone of the Bishops, has thrown the weight of the Episcopate on the side of the Revisionists. We say alone, for though we believe Bishop Villiers of Durham shares the views of his brother of Gloucester, it is of so little consequence what he thinks on any matter whatever, that he may be dismissed as unworthy of further notice. But Bishop Baring is not only a much abler man than Bishop Villiers (which, indeed, is not saying much), but he has stated more plainly and explicitly the changes which he thinks it desirable to make, and has given to the world the reasons on which he grounds his opinions. We are not at all sorry he has done so, not only because we like to know on what side a man is, on what we believe will be a great battle-field before long, the question of Liturgical Revision, but also because he has called into the lists a champion before whose well-aimed spear the Revisionist mitre is hurled into the very dust.

We would advise any one who wishes to see the fallacies of the “few words modification”—the “slight verbal alterations” theory thoroughly sifted, exposed, and ripped up, to purchase Mr. Sadler’s Pamphlet. He has handled his subject skilfully and yet popularly, and has shown in a way the plainest can understand that to alter a few words is impossible—that the truths objected to by Bishop Baring and Co. are so closely interwoven with the very structure of the Service Book, that if you wish to deny them you must have new services altogether, under which circumstances, we cannot but agree “the old are better”—even though it might be our “privilege” to receive new models of devotion from the hands of the Bishops of Durham and Gloucester.

It is very easy, for instance, to say that you have only to alter a few words in the Ordination Service, and that crowds of Nonconformists who are anxiously desirous to become members of the Church, but are deterred by its strong language, will come rushing in crowds so soon as the Church has declared that in its sins cannot be forgiven. But not to speak of the reluctance which any but a Puritan must feel to alter the only Ordination formula we find in Holy Scripture, it is evident that much more is required than

the omission of a "few words" if the Prayer Book "of the future" is to be consistent with itself. Absolution in every form must disappear, even in the very mitigated shape it assumes in the Morning Prayer. It will no longer be the truth to say, that "God hath given power and commandment to His Ministers to declare and pronounce to His people being penitent the absolution and remission of their sins," when the power to do so has no longer been imparted. And not only this, but a new Ordinal will require a new Article, for the present one asserts that the said Ordinal contains nothing that is of itself superstitious and ungodly. Bishop Baring's "few words" will swell into very many before the Service Book can be made to speak consistent Protestantism, in the matter of absolution. And what is true of the Ordinals is true also of the Baptismal Office—"A slight verbal alteration," says Bishop Baring—"only a few words" echo his followers, just a little modification of the positive assertion, "this child is regenerate"—and again thousands whom your present services keep back, will crowd your fonts and present their children for a Baptism which you declare conveys no grace.

Now after the Gorham judgment we should have thought that we should have heard no more about the Baptismal Office. The Supreme Court of Appeal decided that though the Church teaches indubitably the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration, that yet those who do not hold it must still be tolerated, and as the Church in Convocation has never repudiated the judgment as a body, it may be said to have done something very like acquiescing in it, so that there was no need for Puritans to stir themselves on this matter. The present agitation however shows that, in spite of the sophistry of the Privy Council, the party feels in its consciences the service is against the Puritan view, and therefore it must be so much the worse for the service. But to let this pass, we refer the reader to Mr. Sadler's pamphlet, p. 27, for complete satisfaction on this important point, viz. that the idea connected with Baptism to which Puritans object is so interwoven with the whole service, so pervades the whole of its parts, that to be consistent you must have a new service altogether. The opening address, interpreting S. John iii. of Baptism, can no longer be tolerated on the assumption that to be baptized is not to be born anew of Water and the HOLY GHOST, in other words to be regenerate. The allusions in the first prayer, to the Exodus and the Deluge, as types of Baptism, are intelligible only on the supposition of Baptism admitting us into a state of salvation. The second prayer, as Mr. Sadler points out, must to Puritan minds "betoken a miserable confusion of religious views"—"we call upon Thee for this infant that he, coming to Thy Holy Baptism, may receive remission of his sins by spiritual regeneration"—for here is no less an error, it may be said, than the confounding justifica-

tion and sanctification, and we all know how deadly an error that is in Protestant eyes. That prayer must go. So must the Gospel, if no blessing from CHRIST is to be expected. So must the prayer of Consecration, for it may fairly be thought to give shelter to that "dangerous doctrine" Baptismal justification, though unhappily this error has a place in the Homily to which Article XI. refers as explanatory of itself. To bring the Formularies into accordance with each other, the Homily must be altered too, and reference to it be omitted from the favourite Article of the revising school. Of a truth the few words swell into a great many in this case as well as the other. Any one must see from the above summary, which we have taken from Mr. Sadler, that there is no resisting the conclusion to which he comes:

"I have now gone over the whole service as far as the places to which exception is taken. I have shown what I undertook to show—that if the Dissenters object to Baptismal Regeneration and remission as there stated, every part of the service must be re-written before they can be admitted."—P. 37.

In the same way Mr. Sadler deals with the Burial Service, and shows how absurd it is to quarrel with a few words in the committal, when the same tone breathes through the whole service from the introductory sentences to the last prayer. We all feel the inapplicability of the service in certain cases, but the fault lies not in the service, but in our want of discipline. Mr. Sadler well puts it, and better than we ever saw it put before:—

"The adulterer or the free-thinker has been allowed to pass as a member of CHRIST'S Church till the day of his death, and if we, as a Church, have allowed his sin to pass uncensured till then—as a member of the Church, we must then bury him. There is no help for it that I can see.

"Censure has been withheld when it might have saved his soul, and now, when the man cannot say a word in his own defence, and is before another Judge, we shall never be allowed to exercise discipline on his lifeless remains. Common sense shows that the thing must be done before the man dies, or not at all."—P. 55.

But, interposes the "Deus ex machina," in the person of Bishop Baring, "a rubric enabling the officiating minister under exceptional circumstances, with the written sanction in each case of the Bishop, to omit the expressions to which exception is taken, is all we require, and again our burial grounds will be thronged by weeping Nonconformists anxious to bury their friends with the Church rites as soon as they shall not be forced to hear any hope expressed of the resurrection to eternal life."

Now, not to mention that it is very strange that just at this time when dissenters are said to be panting for the reformed services of the Church, they make no agitation for it, but content themselves with giving the go-by to the Church altogether, and

bring in bills to be allowed to perform their own services: putting this aside, it is indeed strange to find any such proposal seriously entertained. No one, save a Palmerstonian Bishop, could have ventured upon such an egregious piece of folly. It is so very likely Parliament would assent to such a rubric, Bishop Baring! Do you really think that the jovial Premier will allow a Bishop, even of his own making, thus publicly to state his opinion that all is not right with his departed friend in "another place?" Well is it put by Mr. Sadler:—

"Take the case of a man of lax opinions on religion. Such an one dies. It is generally supposed that he was a free-thinker, but his wife and daughters attend Church, receive Holy Communion, and teach in the Sunday School. The clergyman hears of the death, he has perhaps attended the man, and he is satisfied that he was not a believer. He scruples to read 'in sure and certain hope of the resurrection' over him. The family are indignant at the disgrace of a mutilated service. There has to be an investigation, which must go on whilst the shutters are closed, and the letters to the friends are written, and preparations are making for the funeral. And what is to be brought up? Scraps of former conversations, inuendoes, jokes at sacred things, perhaps the books he had in his library, his correspondence and familiar intercourse with such and such persons, on the one side; on the other side, it is alleged, that 'he was so sweet-tempered, that he had such a respect for this or that good man, that he was disgusted with the dulness and unreality of the preaching in the Church, and so kept away; that he always mentioned CHRIST with respect; that he died so peacefully.' The clergyman is a conscientious man. *Being free in the matter to read or not to read, he feels that a serious responsibility rests upon him.* He has lately buried a miserable pauper drunkard, and a forlorn outcast adulteress, without the full rite, and he must be just. So the Bishop is appealed to for 'his written sanction.' He is in London attending Parliament, or he is on a Confirmation tour. All investigation on his part is out of the question, for it is July, and he must answer by return of post. He gives or withholds his sanction, according to his private opinion of the clergyman's discretion or scrupulosity, or, perhaps, doctrinal agreement with his own views."—Pp. 54, 55.

No, we must have two services, as he says elsewhere,—one for the saved—one for the lost—"those whom we, in our perfect knowledge of the human heart, and our perfect acquaintance with God's dealings, past, present, and to come, judge to be lost eternally." (P. 57.) And we wish Bishop Baring and Co. joy in drawing up such a service. It is well that the laity should understand what a power Bishop Baring desires to put into the hands of the Clergy. The truth is, that the whole of what is said about Nonconformists being reconciled to the Church if the formularies were altered is a mere pretext—a pandering to the liberality of the day, in order to relieve a certain school from the witness of formularies which they do not like and only half believe. The dissenters

have never yet told us they want to come in. When they do, it will be time enough to treat about terms of union. A certain clique want to be more at liberty to teach dissenting doctrines in the Church—to bring the Church to a level with dissent, and hence their dislike of the present Prayer Book, which undoubtedly stands in their way. This is the key to theatre preaching, evening communion, sacramental parodies at Freemasons' Hall, and various other puritanical exhibitions to which we have lately been accustomed. Meanwhile, the licence of interpretation claimed by Protestants has already borne such bitter fruit, that the Church must indeed be mad if she gives way any further. Kept back by the restraining influences of creeds, and the reverence felt by a large school in the Church for Catholic tradition, the Protestant element in our Church had long been kept from running riot as in other countries which glory in the name of Protestant. But Protestantism proper is Rationalism in germ, and Rationalism is Protestantism in flower, and circumstances having temporarily weakened the resistance of the Catholic element, there has been nothing to hinder the true Protestant spirit kicking down the feeble barrier which popular religionism interposes, and exhibiting itself in its true light. The *Essays and Reviews* are but a development of that vaunted free inquiry and right of private judgment of which we hear so much—a true and lawful development. The authors have inquired freely, have judged for themselves, and we all know the result. But be it remembered, that the liberty of subscription which they claim, is not greater than that which has been already conceded to Puritanism. If Puritans are allowed to interpret "regenerate" as meaning "not regenerate," it is difficult to see what formularies may not be explained away. The gate which Puritanism opened, it will with difficulty close. Puritanism has insisted on a dishonest subscription in its own case, and we repeat again, Mr. Wilson's theories of subscription are not more incompatible with honesty than the celebrated Gorham judgment. Puritanism put a weapon in his hands which he has ruthlessly used, and we venture to predict, it will be all but impossible to procure a decision against an essayist from a court which inaugurated its ecclesiastical career by declaring that the Baptismal Service, the plainest of our formularies, did not really bind the conscience. Seeing the mischief already wrought, let us be wiser for the future, take our resolute stand upon the "faith once delivered to the saints," refuse to surrender one jot or one tittle of it, and close our ears against schemes of liturgical revision, though Whig Bishops may sing sweetly about "verbal alterations" and "modification of a few words." The "old women" will yet be too many for Bishop Baring.

## MR. MORGAN ON BRITISH CHRISTIANITY.

*S. Paul in Britain; or the Origin of British as opposed to Papal Christianity.* By the Rev. R. W. MORGAN. Oxford and London: J. H. and Jas. Parker.

A SPECIAL honour was in ancient days ascribed to those churches which could claim Apostles as their founders. It was a natural and pious feeling, which led men to rejoice in a spiritual lineage derived from one of the twelve foundations on which the Church was built. Whilst the princes of this world might boast of a long line of regal ancestors, the Christian Bishop would think it no light honour that one of CHRIST's Apostles should once have sat upon the seat to which he in GOD's Providence had succeeded. Even although this feeling was akin to worldly pride, we need not blame it, since, when Christianity sets her stamp on earthly affections, they come forth sanctified and pure.

With such feelings we took up Mr. Morgan's book, attracted by its title, and thinking the subject a fitting field on which a Welsh Clergyman would labour with all the diligence and acuteness in his power. We anticipated an enthusiastic demonstration of the arguments in favour of S. Paul's visit to our shores, but we found more than we expected; for, after wading through a large amount of extraneous matter, we discovered the very novel and ingenious theory which we are about to detail. In pity to the patience, or impatience rather, of our readers we will reverse Mr. Morgan's course, and coming to the point at once, will return to the extraneous matter afterwards. The conclusions arrived at respecting the first preaching of the Gospel in Britain are these:

I. The soil of Britain was prepared for the reception of the Gospel by the religion of the Druids, which, from its greater resemblance to Christianity, was calculated to be a better school-master in bringing men to CHRIST, than the Mosaic Law had proved. It happened, A.D. 35, that Joseph of Arimathea, Lazarus, S. Mary Magdalene, Martha, Marcella, her handmaid, and Maximin, were exposed by the Jewish people to the sea in a vessel without sails or oars. The vessel drifted to Marseilles, from whence this saintly company, at the invitation of certain Druids of high rank, proceeded into Britain. Here they were located at Glastonbury, where Arviragus granted them twelve hides of land. At Glastonbury the first Christian Church was built, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and there Joseph was buried, A.D. 76, in a tomb on which the following inscription was engraved:

"Ad Britannos veni post Christum sepelivi,  
Docui, Quevi."

Amongst the earliest converts made by Joseph were Gladys, (Pomponia Græcina,) the sister of Caractacus, Gladys, (Claudia,) and Eurgain his daughters, and Linus, (afterwards Bishop of Rome,) his son. Caractacus was prince of Siluria, and military dictator of the national forces against the Romans.

II. Next came Simon Zelotes, who was not so well received as his predecessor Joseph of Arimathea, but was crucified and buried at Caistor, in Lincolnshire. It is remarkable that Britain was rich in martyrs even now, although Mr. Morgan tells us that no persecution touched our land until the tenth under Diocletian, and yet Simon was evidently put to death by the Romans, as crucifixion was unknown to the British laws.

III. Then came Aristobulus, one of the Seventy, brother of S. Barnabas, and father-in-law of S. Peter, commissioned first Bishop in Britain by S. Paul, and consecrated by S. Barnabas. Aristobulus, having left his household at Rome, had already gone to Britain, when S. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans. S. Peter appears to have visited his father-in-law, and whilst in Britain, sleeping where Westminster Abbey now stands, he received the vision to which he alludes, 2 S. Peter i. 14. But the gentle Druids laid aside their gentleness towards Aristobulus, not on account of his religion, as Mr. Morgan assures us, but because he came from Rome. He was scourged, and repeatedly dragged as a criminal through their towns, until at length, having converted many, built churches, and ordained deacons and priests for the island, he received the crown of martyrdom.

IV. The scene now changes to Rome. Caractacus, several members of whose family had been converted before, was carried thither as a hostage, A.D. 50. A marriage soon afterwards took place between Gladys, the daughter of the British king, who, being adopted into the family of the Emperor Claudius, received the name of Claudia, and Aulus Rufus Pudens Pudentinus, who whilst in Britain had first met his future wife at Colchester. These are the Pudens and Claudia who, with Linus her brother, salute S. Timothy. 2 Tim. iv. 21. This same Pudens, also called Rufus, was S. Paul's half brother, for such is the interpretation which Mr. Morgan gives to the message of the Apostle, "Salute Rufus chosen in the LORD, and his mother and mine."

When S. Paul arrived in Rome he took up his abode at the palace of Pudens, which stood on that part of Mons Sacer which is called Scaurus, where was built the church of S. Pudentiana, of which Hermas was the minister.

This palace was the Hospitium Apostolorum where SS. Peter and Paul resided, enjoying the hospitalities of Pudens. Between his first and second imprisonment S. Paul visited his royal relatives in Britain, and founded the Abbey of Bangor, of which he is esteemed the first Abbot; but returning to Rome, A.D. 64, he



again took up his residence at the Palatium Pudentinum, from whence he was brought to his trial and his death. After his martyrdom his body with that of S. Peter was laid in the family sepulchre of Rufus Pudens, until both were removed to Canterbury Cathedral, A.D. 656; when they were sent as a present by Pope Vitalian to King Oswy, so that their remains still rest on English soil. From Caractacus is descended both Constantine, and, through the Tudors, Queen Victoria; consequently Linus, first Bishop of Rome, brother-in-law of Pudens, who was half-brother to S. Paul, is a collateral ancestor of our Sovereign.

The task which Mr. Morgan has imposed upon us is one which can at best be but inadequately performed within the compass of a Review, since it is easier to make assertions in a brief space than to prove negatives. We admire the enthusiasm with which Mr. Morgan has sprung to his conclusions; but unfortunately we, poor mortals, are of slower instincts and unable to travel quite so fast.

The customs of the British Churches, and the part which they took in the Quartodeciman controversy prove, beyond a doubt, that Christianity first came into England from the East, and had an origin independent of Rome. Believing this we should have been inclined to accept all Mr. Morgan's conclusions, if the evidence which he adduced had been sufficient to claim our credence; but, unfortunately, his evidence is so weak that we are forced to dismiss his conclusions as not proved.

First then with respect to the story of Joseph of Arimathea. It rests on the authority of William of Malmesbury's Book of the Antiquity of the Church of Glastonbury; but this evidence is considerably weakened by the fact, that when William of Malmesbury wrote his history of the Kings he knew nothing of the story of Joseph. He there states that the ancient church of S. Mary, at Glastonbury, was built by preachers sent into England by Eleutherius, tenth Bishop of Rome, at the invitation of King Lucius. Gildas, of whom William of Malmesbury speaks as the most illustrious of British historians, does not mention the mission of Joseph, which he would scarcely have omitted, if it had rested on authority of any weight. Besides this there are many anachronisms in William of Malmesbury's account.

There were in England no churchyards in cities until the year A.D. 798, when Cuthbert, Archbishop of Canterbury, obtained this privilege from the Pope. The Church is said to have been built in honour of the Blessed Virgin, to whom particular devotions were offered up, customs which date their origin from a much more modern era. The word "*hide*," moreover, is not a British, but a Saxon word, a fact which throws no small discredit on the story of the grant of Arviragus. Further than this Arviragus could have had no power as King of the Belgæ, to make this grant at all, since at the time of the arrival of Joseph his territory had, as we

learn from Tacitus, become a Roman Colony, subject to Ostorius, who, when he marched northward against the Silures and Brigantes, placed garrisons on the Severn and Avon to protect it. The precedence of the English Ambassadors at the Council of Pisa was certainly admitted, when they claimed it on the pretext that Joseph of Arimathea had founded Christianity in Britain before it was introduced into France or Spain, but this proves nothing, as the Council did not undertake to decide on the authenticity of documents which were not before them. The English Ambassadors at the Council of Basle again urged their claim on the ground that there were very ancient records in England, and particularly in the Abbey of Glastonbury, which make express mention of Joseph of Arimathea coming thither. Now putting aside Gregory of Tours and Maelgwyn, of whatever value their authority may be esteemed, the most ancient documents which could have been produced are the charter of Henry II.,—for King Ina's, questionable although it be, makes no mention of Joseph,—and an inscription on a brass plate which was at that time attached to a pillar in Glastonbury Abbey, which Archbishop Usher and Sir Henry Spelman have proved to be of comparatively recent date. But the fact which seems to us to throw the greatest discredit on the story is the date, which places it five years before the conversion of Cornelius, which took place A.D. 40; and it is plain from S. Peter's vision and his apology to the Apostolic Council at Jerusalem, that until this time the Apostles knew not that the Gospel was to be preached to the Gentiles.

The visit of S. Simon Zelotes, and his martyrdom in Britain, is certainly mentioned by Nicephorus Callistus, Dorotheus, and the Greek Menology, but the Roman martyrology, as well as the martyrologies of Beda, Usuardus and Ado, assert that he suffered martyrdom at Suanir in Persia. Between these authorities we will not attempt to decide.

The mission of Aristobulus appears to be mentioned in the Greek Menology, but granting this, the evidence that S. Peter also came to Britain is very slender. Baronius only mentions it on the authority of Theophrastes, a writer to whom he attaches little credit; and indeed to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles at all seems to have been altogether beyond the commission of S. Peter, after he had once opened the gates of the Kingdom of Heaven to them by the conversion of Cornelius, for S. Paul specially declares that the Gospel of the uncircumcision was committed to him, as the circumcision was to S. Peter. Gal. ii. 7. If Theophrastes could quote things out of Eusebius which were not there, as Baronius asserts, his authority with respect to other facts falls before the weight of probability which lies wholly on the other side, for it must be remembered that we never hear of Jews dispersed as far as Britain in those days.

With respect to S. Paul's connection with the British royal family of Siluria, Mr. Morgan has a great deal more to prove. The mere similarity of names without any proof of identity, would be but poor evidence to bring forward in a court of law, and much as we should like to believe Mr. Morgan's hypothesis, we can scarcely be satisfied with the large amount of facts which he takes for granted on the barest possibility. In this part of his book, moreover, he does not help us much with the quotation of authorities, but although he is prodigal of them when he relates undoubted facts, he has unfortunately omitted them when things hitherto unknown are brought to light. We must, therefore, ask him first to prove the identity of Gladys, the daughter of Caractacus, with Claudia, who salutes S. Timothy, and that of Linus, the Silurian prince, with Linus, Bishop of Rome, before we can seriously entertain the question. Mr. Morgan is probably the first commentator who has interpreted "his mother and mine" to refer to any other relationship as regards the Apostle than that spiritual tie of which our SAVIOUR speaks: "There is no man that hath left house or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, for My sake and the gospel's, but he shall receive an hundredfold now in this time, houses, and brethren and sisters, and *mothers*, and children and lands, with persecutions, and in the world to come eternal life." The only evidence from Scripture, which can be brought to bear upon S. Paul's residence at Rome, certainly tells against his abode in the Pudentine Palace, for we read in Acts xxviii. 30, "Paul dwelt two years in his own hired house, and received all that came unto him." Rufus is said to have been a son of Simon the Cyrenian, which seems probable from the mention of the son as evidently known to the Apostles, S. Mark xv. 21; and that S. Paul should call the same person Rufus in one place and Pudens in another, is at least extremely doubtful.

Mr. Morgan's inaccuracy diminishes the weight of his authority. It has led him into some mistakes which we have detected, and therefore we may expect to find others if we carried our investigations further. He tells us, for instance, that the Church of S. Pudentiana was anciently called "Titulus," as if he was not aware that Titulus was a name common to all parish churches in Rome. Again, the wonderful fact that the bodies of SS. Peter and Paul now rest, if anywhere, in Canterbury Cathedral is a striking instance of inaccuracy; he tells us that Pope Vitalian sent them as a present to King Oswy; a most remarkable present they certainly would have been, especially as, according to Mr. Morgan, *the bodies* of the martyrs Laurentius, John, Paul, Gregory and Pancratius accompanied them. Now what Vitalian sent were the relics of these Apostles and martyrs, and it is strange that Mr. Morgan who appears to have written several controversial books against the Church of Rome did not know that *reliquiæ* did not necessarily

mean bodies. But the strangest mistake of all is the point to which the whole book tends. Mr. Morgan writes as a protestant to maintain the independence of the English Church with respect to Rome, and therefore it was a material point to prove that the British Church was not only independent of Rome in its origin, but that the orders of the English Clergy are not derived from Rome at all. This he does attempt to prove, although, as if he did not see that it was a point at all, he relegates it to a note. The note is so remarkable that we must let it speak for itself:—

“When all the heptarchy except Sussex had been converted, Wini, Bishop of Winchester, was the only Bishop of the Romish Communion in Britain, and he had purchased his first Bishopric of London from Wulfhere, King of Mercia; all the rest were British. And the cause is patent: Maelwyn, or Patrick, the Apostle of Ireland, Ninian the Apostle of the Southern Picts, Aidan of the Northumbrians, Paul Hên his successor, Columba of the Scotch, Finan of the East Angles, Cad or Chad of the Mercians, were all native Britons, educated in the native colleges. *The Romish succession had died down to one prelate, and Saxon Christianity was kept alive or refounded by British Christians. The succession of Augustine in Canterbury and Rochester expired in Damianus, A.D. 666.*” (P. 185.)

Now the real facts of the case are these: the British Bishops, as every one knows, did not for a long time receive the Nicene rule with respect to Easter. They were therefore considered by the Roman Church in schism, and the consecration of Bishops by schismatics was uncanonical. Wini, Bishop of Winchester was at this time, A.D. 664, as Bede tells us, the only canonically ordained Bishop in England. S. Chad was appointed to the see of York just after the death of Deusdedit, Archbishop of Canterbury. Wig-hard, nominated as his successor by Oswy, who had submitted to the Roman rule, was sent to Rome for consecration but died whilst there. In the interim, that the consecration of Chad might not be delayed, Wini consecrated him, assisted by two bishops who, although consecrated by Quartodeciman bishops, now kept Easter at the orthodox time. Theodore of Tarsus was consecrated to the see of Canterbury in April, A.D. 668, but did not arrive in England until June 669, when he immediately commenced a visitation through England, chiefly for the purpose of inquiring into the regularity of the consecration of the bishops. Coming to York he deposed S. Chad, partly on account of the irregularity of his consecration, and partly because he was consecrated whilst Wilfrid, who had previously been elected to the see of York before the death of Deusdedit, was gone into France to be consecrated there. The reason of King Oswy's sending Wilfrid into France was probably that he might receive canonical consecration without exciting the jealousy of the British Bishops, as might have been the case if he had applied to Deusdedit. S. Chad submitted with so much meekness to the authority of Theodore, that he supplied

the defect of his consecration by the laying on of his hands, and obtained for him the bishopric of Lichfield on the death of Jaruman. Theodore laid hands on all the other Bishops in England, thus pursuing the same course which had been followed in the case of the Donatist Bishops when they returned from their schism. The division which the Quartodeciman controversy had caused was now healed and henceforth there was but one communion in England. Whether the British Bishops were rightly considered in schism or not,—and we must remember that it rested on a decree of the Œcumenical council of Nice,—there can be no question but that, when Theodore laid his hands upon the Bishops they received their commissions anew, and with their commissions a fresh succession which superseded the old. The very time at which Mr. Morgan says the old succession died out was therefore really that at which it spread its root through every see in England.

But Mr. Morgan is a Welshman and it may be something to his purpose that Theodore's visitation did not extend to Wales. It is true that the British succession still continued there; but three hundred years afterwards, Gucan, a Welsh priest, was consecrated Bishop of Llandaff by S. Dunstan. This precedent was followed by his successors, who from this time owned the superiority of the See of Canterbury. If there were British Bishops, who still remained independent of Canterbury, their independence must have ceased when Bernard was consecrated to the See of S. David's by Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1115. Before the Archbishop and six suffragan Bishops, Bernard made a profession of Canonical obedience to the See of Canterbury, and although after the death of Ralph he claimed a metropolitan and independent jurisdiction, he made his claim in vain, for he had both professed obedience to, and received consecration from, the Archbishop of Canterbury. Henceforth, therefore, the Anglo-Roman succession superseded the British, and the Welsh and English Churches were united, as Henry I. had designed, when he obtained consecration for Bernard from the Primate of England.

In controverting Mr. Morgan's fancies, we have to deal with facts—facts which we state without pain, for proud as we are of the ancient independence of the British Church, and thankful to be able to believe in the probability of S. Paul's visit to our shores, we think it shows a larger heart and a more Catholic spirit in these days of unhappy separation from the Churches of the Roman obedience to look upon their succession of Bishops and ours as one, waiting in earnest prayer for their reformation to acknowledge them not only as one *de facto*, but one in the holy fellowship of communion and affection. At any rate we dare not at the expense of truth accept the position which Mr. Morgan claims for the Church of England.

We must now hasten to fulfil our promise of noticing the extraneous matter, through which we had to wade before we arrived at

that which the title of Mr. Morgan's book led us to expect. The first chapter is devoted to the different philosophic systems of Greece and Rome, with the intention of proving their superiority to the Mosaic Law as a preparation for Christianity. In this, the author overlooks entirely, if he does not disbelieve, the Divine origin of the Jewish Religion; and it would appear as if he had never read S. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, since he is unable to see how all the rites and ordinances of the Law were types and shadows of good things to come, which were fulfilled in the Church of CHRIST. The judicial blindness which had fallen on Israel was sufficient reason, surely, to account for the national rejection of CHRIST, and a more reverent one, than the inadequacy of the law for the purpose which it was designed by God to serve.

In the second chapter the superiority of Druidism to Judaism is shown. "It was," Mr. Morgan says, "a highly elevating and beneficent religion, a superstructure not unworthy the principle on which it assumed to be built, and by which it offered itself to be judged, 'The Truth against the World.'" We must ask whether this was the religion which the Cymri practised when, inhabiting the Crimea, they sacrificed strangers to their Deity, as the "Iphigenia in Tauris" of Euripides reminds us; and whether these are the Britons described by Cæsar, as a people amongst whom incest was a common practice? If so, Mr. Morgan's estimate of an elevating and beneficent religion is singularly curious, for we hear nothing of savage rites, licentious manners, and cruel sacrifices, but Druidism is described as scarcely inferior to Christianity.

We cannot conclude our notice without giving one specimen of Mr. Morgan's critical acumen which will most likely provoke a smile from our gravest readers. The white astral bull was the sacred animal of the Druid, "the sign and representant of the great Druidic Isle, and *the name still in common parlance continues to indicate a Briton of Britain as distinguished from the rest of the world.*"

Now as the name of John Bull was only invented by Dr. Arbuthnot in the reign of Queen Anne as the title of a political satire, in which this designation was given to an Englishman and Nic Frog to a Dutchman, whilst Charles II. of Spain and Louis XIV. of France figured respectively as Lord Strut and Louis Baboon, we might as well be told that the *frog* was anciently the sacred animal of Holland or the *baboon* of France. This specimen of Mr. Morgan's archæology may help us to form an estimate of the value of the light which he throws on the Antiquities of the British Church. And so we leave him, fearing that "*S. Paul in Britain*," will prove but a feeble contribution to the armoury of Anglican Divines.

The ideal "Archæologist" has been said to be "a man without sense, or reverence, or feeling." Mr. Morgan's book goes certainly far to justify the severe *dictum*.

## OUR WORKHOUSE POOR.

*Journal of Workhouse Visiting Society.* No. XII. Longmans.

THE subject of the Poor-Laws is justly claiming at this moment the attention of the nation and the legislature, and it seems therefore a favourable opportunity for bringing the subject again<sup>1</sup> under the attention of our readers. When the occurrence of a short period of severe weather could exhaust all the resources of the system, as we lately witnessed in London, it is assuredly time to amend a scheme which may be required to meet far more direful emergencies. Should the gloomy prospects of America darken yet further, the distress of this winter in England will be as prosperity compared to the wide-spread desolation which the failure of the cotton-trade must inevitably involve. How it may ever be possible to cope with a calamity of such gigantic magnitude it is not our present intention to consider—that some *equalizing* of poor-rate burdens (whereby the monstrous differences now existing in neighbouring localities may be removed) will be a step in the right direction we can hardly entertain a doubt.

Our immediate purpose is to direct our readers' attention to two special branches of Workhouse discipline, in the hope that they may be induced to lend their influence to procure the removal of the worst evils connected therewith.

The first is, the education of pauper girls. At this moment when such earnest efforts are being made to reclaim fallen women, it is at least to be equally anxiously studied how we can stop the terrible drain of lives, yet young and innocent, which yearly swell the dread flood of vice in our great cities. We do not hesitate to affirm that the most unfailing source whence these wretched recruits are supplied to the haunts of sin is the Workhouse—the institution supported by our public funds, and regulated on a principle so perfectly democratic that a share of the responsibility of all that passes therein rests on every rate-payer in the kingdom! This assertion we are aware is startling enough, but we make it after long and anxious personal investigation of the subject. We have found that in all save a few happily exceptional instances which we have known, the same history belongs to the great majority of the girls educated in these asylums. They quit the workhouse utterly uninstructed in the domestic duties, in self-control, and in the idea of the value and rights of property. They know nothing of the perils of the world they are entering, though they have learned in the evil atmosphere of the female pauper's neighbourhood the secrets of a

<sup>1</sup> Two articles on the subject of the Workhouse Poor appeared in the *Ecclesiastic* for 1855.

life of sin, and, as they sadly express it, "how to get a living without work." They are sent out usually to service and to some tolerably moral family. But the patience of even a well-disposed mistress is overtaken by their helplessness, carelessness, and stupid insolence. They change places for the worse once or twice and then comes the evil day—no service and no home, no friend—only some cruel tempter using for worst ends the words of kindness, which are perhaps the first ever addressed to the poor creature in her life.

It is hardly necessary to adduce authority for our assertion that such a position *must* lead to the same fatal results continually; but we quote one fact which speaks for itself: "It was stated before the Committee of Inquiry on Education last spring, by E. C. Tuffnell, Esq., one of Her Majesty's Inspectors, that in one London parish on inquiry being made as to what had become of eighty girls brought up in the Workhouse, it was discovered that *without one exception* they were all on the streets." (See "Workhouse Orphan," p. 7.)

The remedies proposed for this hideous state of things are these—First, that the management of pauper children should be entirely taken out of the hands of Poor Law Guardians, whose proper office is entirely distinct, and whose ordinary character and pursuits altogether disqualify them from the high and difficult duty of the care of the young. Secondly, that the pauper children be removed altogether from the associations and contaminations of the Workhouse, and placed in schools miles away from all its evil influences. Whether these schools ought to be large District Schools (combining several Unions) or Union Schools, or simply Parish Schools, has been differently viewed. Our own opinion is decisive against the herding together large masses of girls where no individual influence can be brought to bear on their affections (without which no woman's nature can ever be developed), and where one member of the herd having imbibed the fatal virus of impure ideas constantly infects the whole number of her companions. The smaller the school and the more home-like it can be, its members and domestic arrangements resembling most closely a family, the better. Nay more, to make such schools really successful we believe that the sacred element of free human love and charity must be permitted to work in them, and *women*, (not men), assume the position from which they cannot be excluded without infinite mischief, and superintend the education of children of their own sex. The Home opened by the Honourable Mrs. Way, at Brockham, and Miss Louisa Twining's Home in New Ormond Street, both for workhouse girls, are institutions which we would fain see multiplied over the country under the care of qualified ladies or committees of ladies. The needful point to obtain from the legislature is the permission to Boards of Guardians (now denied them by the Poor



Law Board) to pay to the Superintendents of such institutions the cost of the girl's maintenance in the workhouse. At present they can only grant the *out-door* relief, which is of course far below the cost of the Home, and throws on private charity a weight beyond what it can bear to the enormous extent to which such works should be undertaken.

Further, when the girls have left the immediate charge of their guardians, it is of the utmost importance that a regular system of supervision be established over them. Ladies should visit them in their places of service, interest their employers in their moral and physical welfare, and by gathering them, whenever it be feasible, in a Sunday Class, give them at once the sense they need so sadly to possess, of an earthly and a Heavenly Friend guarding and supporting them in the perils of the way. This plan having been tried for a considerable time in a large city has been found to be attended with the most entire success; the Chaplain of the Union remarking to the ladies who were working it, "Had you done the same these ten years back there would not be now a 'Black Ward' full of returned and ruined girls in S. — Workhouse."

Secondly, we earnestly wish to draw our readers' attention to the subject of the Incurables in Workhouses, for whom a plea has been lately urged in several letters in the "Times," "Guardian," "Daily News," &c., and in a Paper read at the Glasgow Meeting (republished by Nesbitt, price 2d.) A Circular has also been sent to every Board of Guardians in England embodying the substance of the paper and offering the services of the Workhouse Visiting Society in carrying into execution the plan suggested for the relief of these most pitiable sufferers. We are happy to learn that Miss Louisa Twining has received favourable replies from a great number of Boards, and that in many Unions the adoption of the scheme has been decided. The case is briefly this.

We have, properly speaking, no provision in England for incurable disease. There is a Hospital at Putney, but very few of its patients are admitted gratuitously. There is also one Ward in the Westminster Hospital reserved for incurables. All else, even the Cancer Hospital at Brompton, reject hopeless cases. But from the Registrar General's Report we find that there die of three forms only of such diseases eighty thousand persons in England every year. A vast number of these, probably not less than thirty thousand, must, under the pressure of such affliction, be unable to find support and attendance in any house open to them through family ties, and must inevitably be driven to seek shelter in their only refuge—the Workhouse.

Here, then, is a most awful mass of human misery to be dealt with,—thirty thousand men and women slowly expiring of dropsy, consumption, and cancer. How have we prepared to meet it? The answer is very sad. The Workhouse provision for the sick is

in every possible respect inferior to that of the regular hospitals open to less piteous sufferers. There are worse wards, worse beds, worse doctors, worse dietaries. It would take us pages to explain all the differences which a poor wretch must find who is removed from a well-ordered Hospital to the Workhouse under the physician's sentence that his cure is hopeless. Such a combination of moral and physical trial is enough to cast down the strongest courage, and we have often watched with unavailing sympathy the efforts of brave and pious souls to check a burst of grief when giving us the wonted answer after their entrance into the Workhouse: "I have been sent here because I cannot be cured. I have got a cancer. 'Tis a poor place to die in; but God's will be done."

It is hopeless to think of endowing Hospitals for these incurables. £900,000 a year would hardly be adequate to the cost. What we *can* do, and what we earnestly hope we *shall* do, is this. *Let the incurable patients in each Workhouse be placed in wards apart. In these wards let private charity be admitted to supply whatever comforts may alleviate the sufferings of the inmates.* Were these conditions granted by each Board of Guardians the result would be that in every Union Lady Visitors would form committees to raise and appropriate the small subscriptions which would be needful to supply the patients with good spring beds, a few easy chairs and cushions,—such extra luxuries, as good tea, fruits and lemonade, cough lozenges, snuff, books and spectacles, a few coloured prints, and plants,—all objects dearly prized in the dreary wards of the Workhouse. These things and the frequent presence of religious and sympathizing fellow-creatures would actually transform these dreary prisons for the dying and make them no unfit asylum for the poor sufferers who must spend in them their last months of mortal agony.

In conclusion, we beg to inform our readers that any Chaplain or Guardian of a Workhouse, or other person willing to assist in this good work, should communicate with the Secretary of the Workhouse Visiting Society, Miss Louisa Twining, 13, Bedford Place, Russell Square, London. A Fund for the purpose of affording grants in aid to visitors in Unions where the local subscriptions fall short, has been opened at Messrs. Twining's, 219, Strand. Subscriptions are payable to the "Fund for Destitute Incurables;" and applications for grants should be made to Miss Louisa Twining.

Those who are interested in the subject, will do well also to take in the periodical which is named at the head of our article.

## THE PENTECOSTAL CHURCH AND THE FELLOWSHIP OF THE APOSTLES.

1. *The Apostles and the Offertory. A Sermon preached before the University of Oxford*, by the Rev. H. E. TWEED, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Oriel College, Oxford. London and Oxford: J. H. Parker.
2. *Exposition of the Acts of the Apostles. Nos. 1—10 of Bible and Prayer Book Expositor.* London: Masters.

WE sat down to read Mr. Tweed's sermon, with the intention of just giving it a few lines of notice, such as is ordinarily sufficient for a single sermon; but we found upon perusal that besides being concerned with the interpretation of an avowedly difficult passage of Holy Scripture, it touched so largely the value and import of the whole book to which the passage belongs, that we felt bound to enter upon a more complete review of its statements and reasonings. And for this purpose we shall borrow largely from the excellent exposition of the Acts, which is contained in the series of Tracts which is also placed at the head of this article.

The neglect which the Book of the Acts of the Apostles has met with at the hands of commentators, has not been generally noticed, much less accounted for. As matter of fact, the Acts of the Apostles have been less fully annotated than any Book of the New Testament, and yet they contain the history of the foundation and establishment of the Christian Church. And, what is remarkable, while it has pleased God to provide that in reference to what our Divine LORD "began both to do and to teach" from His Nativity to His Ascension,

"Four blest Evangelists record"

whatever is needful for us to know, one inspired historian alone was commissioned to hand down to us a record of the events which immediately succeeded. In other words, against the four biographers of our Divine LORD, the work of the HOLY GHOST on earth, (the Acts of the Apostles has well been called "The Gospel of the HOLY GHOST,") is related by a single historian. That historian is S. Luke, the author also of one of the biographies.

It is true, of course, that the Epistles may be regarded as supplementary to the Acts of the Apostles: but they do not approach to the character of a history of any single Church.

We revert then with great interest to this unique portion of the inspired volume. Another circumstance calculated still more to enhance its importance, we will state in the words of Mr. Tweed.

"I shall assume, that is, that the New Testament, besides that

threefold authority which practically all Christians accord to it—besides the ultimate appeal reserved to it in questions of *private judgment*, and on matters of *individual practice*, and besides even the supremacy it claims over the Church's *corporate faith*, as expressed in creeds and formularies shaped and measured by its standard, has yet a fourth and independent empire over the Church's *corporate practice*, which it claims even now to guide by a body of still valid and authoritative precedent. In other words, that the usages and organization of the Apostolic Church, so far certainly as they may be made out from Scripture, fairly interpreted by itself or the writings nearest to its own age, and where not bearing on their surface the marks of adaptation to a temporary economy, are to be regarded as *exemplary*, and *purposely recorded as exemplary*, to the Universal Church."

And again as illustrating the especial value which attaches to some few points mentioned in this book, Mr. Tweed well adds :

"There is scarcely any more salient peculiarity than the absence of broad general views, or summary collective statements; and the predominance in their room of comparatively minute detail respecting the few special events selected for narration. Thus, while a few important transactions, and the individual agents concerned in them, occupy more space than we might *à priori* have expected; of the *collective Church*, viewed as a whole, we seem to hear little or almost nothing directly. It is but natural, then, that the general prevalence of such a rule (whatever be its cause) should throw out such exceptions as my text into greater prominence; natural that we should not only prize all the more from its very *rarity* the information it conveys as to the corporate life of the infant Church, but feel peculiar certainty that a *condensed statement*, thus exceptionally inserted, must owe its place to some very high inherent value in the eyes of the Sacred Writer and the mind of the Spirit by Which he was guided."

We have said that the Acts of the Apostles has been well called "The Gospel of the HOLY GHOST," inasmuch as it is this particular Person of the HOLY TRINITY that works and directs the Church of CHRIST, whose history S. Luke is here professedly relating.

The link which connects the two together is forcibly brought out to view in the first of the "Tracts," from which we shall borrow a long quotation :

"Many are in the habit, at the present day, of contrasting or opposing CHRIST and the Church, as though there were some contrariety or opposition existing between them. I need scarcely say that this is a mere fallacy—a fraud I might almost call it—which has been adopted by persons for the purpose of throwing dust in men's eyes. But if any one could for a moment believe such an opposition to exist between the members of the body and the Head: if any one could believe that there was a division between the bride and the Bridegroom, they need

only refer to the ninth verse of the first chapter of this Book, which affirms the great fact on which the constitution of the Church rests.

"For although in his Gospel S. Luke had already related all that he considered necessary concerning the actions and sayings of CHRIST in the days of His flesh, yet here again, in order to prevent the possibility of mistake, he goes back, in order to show that he built on none other foundation than that was laid, once more to speak of CHRIST. He cares not, for this purpose, to make a seeming contradiction in terms; but after having entitled his Book a History of the Apostles, he commences with recording something which our LORD Himself did. For the second time he relates the Ascension of the LORD into heaven. Now it is in truth a point of very great importance indeed that we should understand what is the groundwork, so to speak, of all Church ordinances, of all that method of salvation which the Church prescribes, of which she is, under the inspiration of Almighty GOD, the sole efficient agent. It is, S. Luke tells us, the historical fact of our LORD's Ascension. Not that by this we understand the simple circumstance that our LORD after His ministration on earth was completed, after He had done all He came down here to do, returned to heaven, just because there was nothing left for Him here to do further. He returned to heaven for a definite purpose—for a purpose as definite as that for which He originally left heaven. He came down from heaven to be the SAVIOUR of mankind, and He returned to heaven to be the SAVIOUR of mankind. He came down from heaven to suffer for man, He went up to heaven to intercede for man. He came down from heaven to be our Redeemer, He returned to heaven to be our Great High Priest.

"This is really all that we mean when we speak of the Church: whether we speak of the Church as a series or system of ordinances for the edification and salvation of men: whether we speak of it historically in times past, or in reference to its present existence, or prospectively as regards the future. In whatsoever aspect we look to or speak of the Church, we must understand that whatever it does, whatever it teaches, it derives that power to do or to teach from this circumstance, that CHRIST has ascended into heaven, to be the Church's High Priest and Head. And just as illustrating this fact, I would refer to two events which are related in this Book. First, we have it on the testimony of the two angels, that when the LORD vanished out of the sight of His Apostles on the Mount of Olivet, He was really taken up 'into heaven.' And secondly, it is related by S. Luke that when on one occasion the heavens were miraculously 'opened,' and it was permitted to one to see within the veil that hides GOD ordinarily from our sight, the special fact which the HOLY GHOST records that he beheld is, that JESUS was 'standing at the right hand of GOD.'

"If then we were at this time permitted to do what that first martyr Stephen did, viz. to obtain by our visual organs a knowledge of what is going on in heaven, the thing which would strike us in the first instance is this, not primarily that GOD the FATHER was there present in all the fulness of His glory, but that at His right hand stands One bearing our nature conjoined unto the Godhead which is inherently His own, Who is there as GOD and man in our behalf. This is the point to

which our thoughts, when we endeavour to elevate them up to heaven, should be particularly directed, and on which they should be unceasingly fixed, viz. that we have an Advocate and High Priest with the FATHER. And most important it is for us to understand that CHRIST's ascended life is by no means one of inaction; it is by Him alone that we have access to the FATHER, and it is in order that we may understand the principles on which that intercourse between Him and us is regulated, that Christian instruction is chiefly needed.

"This then is the key to all that we mean by Church ordinances and Church work—viz. that we have CHRIST standing continually at the right hand of the FATHER to be the Mediator and Intercessor between GOD and ourselves. It is by CHRIST's Personal Agency, conjointly with the correlative institutions of the Church—those institutions which are made to bear direct correspondence and relation with the work of CHRIST—that we are permitted to enjoy communion with the FATHER. Therefore, you see, it does become a matter of the highest conceivable importance that we should have correct and exact views on this subject. The Church does not consist, as some persons would imagine, merely of certain independent visible institutions; those institutions are simply hands by which CHRIST acts. Thus, if we need grace from CHRIST, we have resort to that particular institution of the Church which is appointed to convey the grace we need: in one we seek the grace of the New Birth: in another the grace which perfects the Christian character; in one the grace of forgiveness; in another, grace for the discharge of the ministerial office, &c. Therefore when we are speaking of the Church we are speaking really of CHRIST. It is His own individual work on our behalf. It is as impossible for us to separate one from another, the Apostle tells us, as (to use a comparison, which, after all, is most inadequate for the purpose,) it is in the eye of the law to release the husband from responsibility in respect of his wife. They are 'not twain, but one.'

"The fullest statement of this doctrine is found in the Epistle to the Hebrews. There the Apostle again and again commemorates the Priesthood of CHRIST, as the great ground of our hopes. 'We have a High Priest.' Where? within the veil, sitting down at the right hand of the FATHER. Farther, he tells us what the function of a Priest is. It is to offer 'gifts and sacrifices for sin.' This is the theory of all worship offered by the Church on earth to GOD in heaven. It is an oblation of gifts—of our praises and prayers to GOD Almighty on the one hand, and still more of the one great all-atoning Sacrifice, by which we propitiate Him for sin committed. Without such means of propitiation religion would fail to be a medium of communication between GOD and men. But, blessed be GOD, this is the very province of CHRIST's Gospel. Here we have not only the ever-continuing sacrifice of Himself on the cross, able to make full and sufficient satisfaction for the sins of the whole world; but further it presents to us the same Divine Being as the Church's 'Priest for ever' to continue the oblation of Himself."—Pp. 2—8.

It was when CHRIST ascended up on high that He received gifts for men, and these He accordingly imparted ten days after, when  
VOL. XXIII. 2 B

the Church was constituted in all her Pentecostal fulness, and all people began to flow into her. The benefit of this gift was explained by S. Peter, in what has been rightly called, "The First Christian Sermon;" and "the same day there were added to the Church about three thousand souls."

Now of the whole body it is said, that they "continued steadfastly in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and the breaking of bread and in prayers." This was the rule and practice of their corporate and individual life. And here we may pause to inquire, why this rule has been so little dwelt upon and studied in all ages of the Church.

The answer, if we mistake not, will furnish a striking illustration of the old saying that "extremes meet." In the early ages of the Church there was no need to explain this practice in words; for the Church itself was its living illustration: it was the actual rule according to which she was framed. As S. Paul speaks of the separate Churches which he founded being "his epistle known and read of all men," so might it be said of the Church in its undivided days, that it *was* the veritable description of S. Luke. Widely different is the cause which we must assign for the more recent neglect of the Acts of the Apostles. The Apostolic pattern had been lost, and men have not cared to recover it.

Here, however, it has been preserved; and in the general understanding of it, the two writers before us are quite agreed.

The following is from Mr. Tweed:

"First, then, and most obviously, the acts in question are all *common or united* acts. This *unity* is the key-note to the whole passage. 'With *one accord* they were together in the temple: they were together and had all things common;' and as the similar description of chap. iv. adds, yet more emphatically, 'the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and one soul.' Secondly, it is not so much *steadfastness in, as diligent attendance upon*, that is implied in προσκαρτερεῖν,<sup>1</sup> as every use of it in the New Testament sufficiently demonstrates. And thirdly, this attendance was *continuously* repeated, ἡσαν προσκαρτεροῦντες. Thus far, then, the text asserts an *habitual attendance on four united or public acts*, called severally, 'the teaching of the Apostles,' 'the communication,' 'the breaking of the bread,' and 'the prayers;' acts, too, which manifestly, when S. Luke wrote not less than thirty years after, had become familiarized to both writer and

<sup>1</sup> Thus, e.g. it is used (1) of the ship appointed to *wait on* our LORD because of the press of the multitudes, S. Mark iii. 9; (2) of the diligent *attendance* of Simon Magus on S. Philip, when seeking to discover his fancied secret art, Acts viii. 13; (3) of the exclusive *attendance of the Apostles on their public functions* of preaching, &c., proposed to be secured by the institution of the diaconate, Acts vi. 4, (cf. Rom. xii. 12); (4) of the regular waiting of his soldier-servant on Cornelius, Acts x. 7; (5) of the official attendance of the civil authorities on their sacred function (for such the word λειτουργία implies it to be) of administering the law, Rom. xiii. 6. Others might be added, but with no variety of meaning.

reader as established customs in the Church ; otherwise the mere brief mention of each would not have been intelligible, nor could the definite article have been with any propriety attached to each. And this same fourfold repetition of the article clearly establishes yet further, that four *distinct* acts, or *separate parts* at least, of the act of worship are here enumerated ; so that the rendering of the Vulgate which would absorb *τῇ κοινωνίᾳ καὶ τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἁρτοῦ* (communion and breaking) into *one* expression for the Holy Communion, and that of our Version which, with an opposite bias, links together *τῇ διδάχῃ τῶν Ἀποστόλων καὶ τῇ κοινωνίᾳ*, (doctrine and fellowship,) referring both equally to the Apostles, stand alike condemned by their ignoring the true order of the words and the proper value of the article."

But now we come to the more difficult inquiry of what is meant by *κοινωνία* or "Fellowship." With respect to "the doctrine of the Apostles," the "Breaking of Bread," and "the Prayers" of the Church, there can be no difference of opinion among Catholics.

But what is *κοινωνία* ? It cannot be mere sympathy of feeling towards one another. Otherwise it would not be associated with those other outward actions of Church life. Neither can it mean "communion:" for that is specified under "the Breaking of Bread." Mr. Tweed then argues that it must be understood to mean the "collection for the Saints," (the offertory) which, no doubt, at all times accompanied the celebration of the Eucharist.

Undoubtedly Mr. Tweed shows, as many both among ancients and moderns have done before, that the word is capable of bearing that meaning ; but he also shows that it was also used in many other senses in the New Testament. And it is plain to us from a variety of reasons, that it must be extended so as to take in other acts of the Christian life. Suffice it now to mention only two reasons.

1. The offertory can only be considered as an accompaniment of the Holy Eucharist : not as a thing separate from : it has less of a separate existence in fact than the *Ἀγάπη* or love-feast.

2. It is not joined by S. Luke with the Breaking of Bread at all, but with the act of "teaching;" and so, it is fair to infer, we ought to assign to it a spiritual, or at least, an intellectual meaning, rather than one merely external or mechanical.

We adopt entire the view set forth in the Expository Tract before us (No. viii.) :

"The early Christians continued also in the Apostles' 'Fellowship.' The Church, we know, is a Body or Society. We must not, however, suppose that it is a mere aggregation or collection of units. It is a society framed on the strictest laws of order. And therefore it is not enough to be a member of a congregation or society of our own organizing. It must be the real Apostolic 'fellowship'—i.e., it must be that society which has JESUS CHRIST for its Head, and Apostles for its directing members, and with it we must maintain all those laws of intercourse or communion which she herself prescribes.



"Now this communion seems to involve both what is outward and inward. (1.) Outwardly it involved in Apostolic days, and still involves on the part of the Christian, the offering freely of our substance for the support of the Clergy. The payment of a tithe or tenth part of property appears to have been a precept of religion from the very earliest days of the world's history; and Christians of the Pentecostal day went much farther, saying that 'nothing which they possessed was their own,' and selling their possessions and goods, and bringing the prices of them, and 'laying them at the Apostles' feet.' No such *obligation* indeed existed; 'While it remained, it was their own, and after it was sold, it was in their own power.' The *principle* was only this: to communicate in all good things with those who were set over them in the LORD; and that they who sowed unto them spiritual things, should be allowed to reap their carnal things. It was an enactment of the Levitical Law that a man should not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn. And on the same ground S. Paul argued that they who preached the Gospel should live of the Gospel. And further, since the Christian is not his own, but has been bought with a price, and since it is the will of GOD that the knowledge of His Gospel should be conveyed by a human ministry, to whom those who are benefited by it may be said to 'owe themselves besides,' there does not seem any limit to what men should be ready to give when the honour of GOD requires it. Now the honour of GOD requires that the knowledge of Himself should be everywhere extended, and men cannot call on Him of whom they have not heard, neither can they hear without a preacher. There is, therefore, a duty incumbent upon every individual Christian to continue in the 'Apostles' fellowship' for the purpose of hastening on the LORD's Kingdom upon earth, and employing those means without which works of Christian enterprise cannot be carried on for the amelioration either of the temporal or spiritual condition of mankind.

"(2.) The inward fellowship is from the condition of the case less capable of definition. But it must of necessity have included the establishment of the most confidential relationship between all the faithful and the Apostles. How intimate that originally was between all members of the same Body, the Epistles tell us, when we read, that if one member suffered all the members suffered with him, and if one member rejoiced all the members rejoiced with him. What, then, must it have been with those of whom S. Paul speaks, 'Though ye may have ten thousand instructors, yet have ye but one father; for in CHRIST JESUS I have begotten you through the Gospel;' or towards those converts whom he addresses as—'My own son in the faith,' 'mine own bowels!' In such a relationship there could have been no place for holding anything whatsoever back: the soul, with all its sorrows and its sympathies, its hopes and its aspirations, its fears and its infirmities, must have been poured freely forth, in order that those counsels and medicines which the case required might be administered.

"The system indeed took its root in that mutual love and sympathy which existed among *all* members of the One Body; but naturally and necessarily acquired the form of Apostolic order. The principle is exhibited in such directions as 'Bear ye one another's burthens:' 'Confess your faults one to another:' 'Ye that are strong should support

the weak : ' Brethren, if a man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are spiritual restore such an one in the spirit of meekness.' But then remembering the terms of the Apostolic commission, ' Whosoever sins ye remit, they are remitted ;' and again, ' These signs shall follow them that believe : in My Name shall they cast out devils—they shall take up serpents—they shall lay hands on the sick, and they shall recover ;' and bearing in mind that GOD is ' not the author of confusion,' we can understand how even the energies of spiritual beneficence would be directed by Apostolic rule—how the care of the poor was confided to one special order of the Christian Ministry (Acts vi. 1, &c.), and the treatment of the diseased, whether in mind or body, to a higher order of the same Ministry ; for so directs S. James : ' Is any sick among you, let him call for the elders (Presbyters or Priests) of the Church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the Name of the LORD. And the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the LORD shall raise him up ; and if he have committed sins they shall be forgiven him.'"—Pp. 8—12.

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## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

*A Practical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle of S. Paul to the Philippians.* Oxford and London : J. H. and James Parker.

WE have here the second volume of what is called Mr. Newland's "Catena on S. Paul's Epistles," but which turns out to be the work of the Rev. Reginald Shutte, Rector of S. Mary-Steps in Exeter, who had modestly preferred appearing under the Editorship of his friend. In our October Number we spoke of the general characteristics of this Work, as well as of the peculiarities of the class to which it belongs. The present Epistle is not one which tests an annotator very severely, and we are surprised that Mr. Shutte should give it this prominence. The Epistle to the Romans should on every account be taken first. The advantage of chronological arrangement, (which Dr. Wordsworth follows) is as nothing in comparison with securing the regular development of Christian doctrine which that Epistle alone preserves ; but Mr. Shutte appears not to follow any rule ; and we much fear that the little special interest which attaches to the Epistle to the Philippians will very much discourage purchasers.

Our first piece of advice to the Editor then would be not to risk the publication of another volume for a single short Epistle. The Commentary would bear compression ; and the notes are cut up unnecessarily into fragments—the parts commentated not averaging, we think, above six words at a time.

And, secondly, we desiderate something more of positive doctrine. We will give two examples : and after the famous passage, " He thought it not robbery to be equal with God," (which is worthily handled) these are the two which most need illustration.

First, in connection with the remarkable words, "If I be offered on the service and sacrifice of your faith," there is actually no allusion to what appears to us to be the best interpretation, as falling in exactly with the prophecy of Malachi, (cap. i. 2) viz., that the "Sacrifice" is the Eucharistic Oblation, which S. Paul offered on their behalf, and which he was prepared to continue to offer even if he should be required to shed his own blood, which in that way would become the libation poured upon the Sacrifice. The parallel passage in the Epistle to the Romans, in which every liturgical term is heaped together, seems to demand such an interpretation.

The other matter to which we refer is the application of the term Apostle (in our version rendered "Messenger") to Epaphroditus. This was certainly the place when the gradual restriction of the term, which at first seems to have been identical with Bishop, to the original twelve, together with SS. Paul and Barnabas, should have been noticed; but there is no word on the subject.

*Ploughing and Sowing.* London: Mozleys.

THIS is the record of a really great work which has been and still is carried on by one individual in a country parish in Yorkshire. A clergyman's daughter established there a night-school for the farm lads of the surrounding district. The school itself seems not to have had any marked success, but it led her to undertake a species of Mission amongst these young men, which was productive of great results. She sought them out one by one, and endeavoured to Christianize them by means of direct personal influence. She spent her days with them in the field walking, by their side while they were ploughing, and striving by every means to awaken their consciences and instruct their minds. She readily gained their confidence and affection, as might have been expected, and when they removed after harvest to another part of the country, as they invariably did, she kept up her connexion with them by letter, and persuaded them to be guided by her advice. Too much cannot be said in praise of the self-devotion of this lady, and of the zeal and earnestness with which she worked on in the midst of great discouragements and many difficulties, and whatever errors there may have been in her system she is herself deserving of all honour in the Church of God.

To the fact however that she was to a certain degree mistaken in her plan of action may be mainly attributed some of the failures she records. Her mistakes appear to us twofold:

1. She was not herself under the guidance of any clergyman, but acted entirely on her own judgment and according to her own ideas; and we need only record one instance of the result of this independence in order to show its undesirableness. We find the lady one year sanctioning a young man going to a Dissenting Meeting-house, and the next autumn frankly owning that her views were changed and she had committed a great error in so doing.

2. She made no effort to bring the young men themselves to the clergyman, as their appointed guide and counsellor. The evil of this omission is strikingly evident—the lady soon found that she could gain

no real ground in the conversion of these youths unless she vigorously attacked the sin most common to their age and sex. She felt painfully the indelicacy of approaching the subject with them, and yet saw plainly that unless this, the root of the matter with them, were touched, their progress would be entirely on the surface and unreal. She did, therefore, her best in such anomalous circumstances, and spoke to them as plainly and modestly as she could; but any one who knows the character of the English labourer would have told her that her efforts in this direction must be unavailing. Young Englishmen, of however low a class, have an innate respect for a pure-minded woman, which may be a great safeguard to them if properly used; but when this healthful instinct is outraged by having their deeds of darkness openly discussed by the gentle lady before whom they would not utter an improper word, it can only have the effect (as our authoress proved) of shutting their hearts against her and diminishing their reverence for her. How different it would have been if, letting them see how she shrunk from so hateful a theme, she had led them to the guide of their own sex, whose rightful place it was boldly to rebuke vice and restore the penitent where the grace of repentance was given! This would have been the fresh starting-point which their kind friend found they so much required, and which often they sought for themselves by suddenly going to be "brought in" by the Wesleyans or Primitive Methodists, and she would have found a happy and successful mission in thus paving the way for the authoritative work of the Priest.

We have pointed out the flaws in this admirable lady's system in detail because we consider her work so very valuable that we desire to see it brought to perfection, as we think it might be if conducted thoroughly after the mind of the Church; and we have so high an opinion of her personally that we believe she is not above profiting by our suggestions.

Mr. Parker's *Historical Tales* have reached a point at which they are able to map out the history of Christendom into ages and countries, and to challenge the idea of illustrating by means of fiction the Church's history in its widest sense. Great credit, we think, is due to the editor for his perseverance, and we hope to see the scheme fully carried out.

*Resurrexit tertia die*, an Easter Carol (Masters), attracts attention in the first instance by the exceedingly tasteful appearance of the title page, which is surrounded by a wreath of passion-flowers. We have seldom seen a piece of music more beautifully got up. The Carol itself, we doubt not, when sung in full harmony would sound well. The refrain strikes us as the best part.

*A Hymn for Good Friday*, and *a Hymn for Easter*, by a Clergyman's Wife (Masters), are pleasing melodies of a very simple character.

*Daily Meditations, from Ancient Sources*, selected by the Rev. ORBY SHIPLEY (Masters), cannot fail to be interesting to many readers,—to all, in fact, who know what they are to expect from the devotions of the early Church, and what will not be found in them.

The Editors of *Hymns, Ancient and Modern*, have made good their undertaking by the publication of the tunes for the whole series, which may now be had of Mr. Novello in a goodly volume. We have not had time to try the later tunes, nor can we as yet give any opinion on the new harmonies of the tunes from the "Hymnal Noted," but after experiment made of the first part, we are enabled to say that the Lenten tunes more than answered our expectations. In the new edition we are glad to see that S. Bride's, a much over-rated tune in our judgment, is given less frequently than in the first edition.

The literature of the Church Rate Question has increased rapidly upon us. Archdeacon DENISON's volume (Saunders and Otley) is a very valuable treatise on the historical and constitutional bearing of the Rate—the author, it appears, having materially changed his politics since the date of his pamphlet "Why should Bishops sit in the House of Lords?" We do not, as we said in our last number, agree with the Archdeacon in his "No surrender" cry; but no one can read his work without having his convictions concerning the importance of the question deepened. In the same way we can appreciate Mr. BENNETT's pamphlet, *Why Church Rates should be Abolished* (Whittaker and Co.), but it is obvious that the writer is very little acquainted with the condition of our country parishes. *The Success of Dissent the Inconsistency of Churchmen* (Masters), on the other hand, under an awkward title, shows the author to be well acquainted with the social condition of our towns and villages, and may be useful in rousing Churchmen to greater activity and firmness of purpose.

Under the head of Sermons we have to acknowledge (1.) a very thoughtful volume by Mr. BENSON, entitled *Redemption* (Hayes), which we hope to review more at length on another occasion. (2.) A volume by Mr. CHEYNE, which will be read with much interest. It is an excellent specimen of what it professes to be, *The Church's Teaching* (Masters), dogmatic, yet tender and devotional. (3.) A noble Ordination Sermon, by Mr. WOODFORD, *The Commission and the Promise*. (4.) A good University Sermon, by H. M. WHITE (J. H. Parker), *Is the Gospel duly Preached to the Poor?* and (5.) *Two Sermons on the Choral Worship of the Church*, by Sir FREDERICK OUSELEY, Bart., and the Rev. J. B. DYKES (Mozleys); the former taking the simply practical, and the other the philosophical view of the question.

*Charley's Trip to the Black Mountain*, written in a genial easy style, with some pretty descriptions of scenery, teaches a lesson on the forgiveness of injuries in a pleasing manner.

The Rev. W. J. DEANE has published a new edition of his *Catechism on the Holy Days*, which is so enlarged as to supply a sufficient notice of all the days which occur in the Calendar of the Church. There ought, however, we think, to be some reference to the pious belief which has been always held in the Church, that a portion of the saints departed are already "under the altar" in heaven. We should advise the author to effect the removal of a very offensive east end of a church which forms the external illustration of his manual.

## RECENT ANNOTATORS ON THE APOCALYPSE: WORDSWORTH AND ALFORD.

*Wordsworth's Greek Testament.* Vol. IV. Rivingtons. 1860.

*Alford's Greek Testament.* Vol. IV. Part II. Rivingtons. 1860.

WE have here the concluding volumes of two very important works—works varying considerably in their general scope and execution, characterised each by grave defects, yet both likely to prove of real and permanent value to the Church. Traversing simultaneously the same ground of sacred exegesis, the writers still pursue their journeys by totally different routes. Neither work interferes with the other: neither supersedes the other: each has a value of its own: each brings to light beauties unnoticed by the other: each supplies deficiencies to be found in the pages of the other.

Dr. Wordsworth's Commentary is, as is well known, professedly Anglican and Patristic. The specialty of Dean Alford's consists in its claim to furnish a compendious *résumé* of the results of the best German and other modern criticism. Dr. Wordsworth is staunchly conservative; Dean Alford progressive. Not that the former ignores the labours of recent critics, or the latter neglects all appeals to patristic authority: we are merely stating the general complexion of their respective works.

Our present object, however, is not to undertake a detailed examination of either of the volumes now under notice, but to confine ourselves to one portion of each,—the Revelation of S. John.

We own to having felt a certain measure of curiosity and anxiety to see how this mysterious Book would be handled in both these works. We have wondered, with regard to Dr. Wordsworth, whether maturer reflection, and the deeper insight into the scope and language of New Testament prophecy, which his recent labours will have afforded him, would have induced him to qualify or abandon any portion of that system of Apocalyptic interpretation with which his name has become in a measure associated. We have been glad to notice occasional modifications of previously expressed opinions; but regret that in regard to the leading features of his hermeneutic scheme, his views have undergone little or no alteration.

We opened Dean Alford's notes with a vague feeling of apprehension; which, however, we are bound to say, has been considerably dissipated by their perusal. The notes are too often meagre and most unsatisfying, and in certain crucial instances vexatiously brief: still they are, on the whole, characterized by a careful sobriety of

tone; they evince a thoughtful and cautious recognition of the real difficulties and exigencies of the text, and occasionally exhibit in this respect a favourable contrast with the more copious and ambitious annotations of the Canon of Westminster. Dean Alford is often wise enough to acknowledge his inability to offer any solution of difficulties which present themselves: and, in the case of several of the visions, merely aims at suggesting certain broad and general principles of interpretation—at indicating some of the leading way-marks which seem designed to point out the main tracks of exposition to be pursued, and those to be avoided—rather than at attempting to thread all the intricate mazes and by-paths into which the details of the text invite the reader. Dean Alford is thus often saved from the forced, far-fetched, and incongruous interpretations which occasionally disfigure Dr. Wordsworth's volume: but on the other hand, he misses numberless beauties of detail, and marks of Divine perfection and design, which a more laborious analysis of the text would have disclosed to him.

I. In his exposition of the Seven Epistles, Dr. Wordsworth's notes are replete with valuable and suggestive matter. This important section of the Revelation of S. John is treated by him very ably and completely; the writer appearing to take a reverent delight in tracing out the numerous tokens of Divine superintendence furnished by the very language itself, and in detecting the many indications of minute elaboration and system which are so abundantly discernible in the general structure and contexture of that sacred series.<sup>1</sup>

We rather wonder, however, that he has not noticed the *symmetrical* arrangement of the septenary series, (an arrangement very common in the sevenfold sequences of Holy Scripture, and in this case specially indicated by its visible type, the seven-branched candlestick,) in which the *first* and *seventh* members correspond, the *second* and *sixth*, the *third* and *fifth*, leaving a fourth or central member.

That in the present instance, (amid multitudinous other traces of order and design which are constantly presenting themselves,) there exists this kind of balancing contrast, parallelism, or relation between the corresponding members on either side of the central Epistle, we conceive to be sufficiently plain.

1. Thus in *Laodicea* we see the full development of those germs of evil which were beginning to manifest themselves in *Ephesus*. Ephesus is zealous and enduring, keen-sighted in the detection of error, and able with righteous fervour to *hate*: but she is forget-

<sup>1</sup> When Dr. Wordsworth, however, adduces the sevenfold repetition of the *ὁδὸς τοῦ ἁγίου* as one of the marks of Divine order, he should bear in mind that the weight of MS. authority is very decidedly against the insertion of these words in the case of the 2nd and 3rd Epistles, and that they are there rejected by almost all recent editors.

ting. how to *love*. Here is the root of that censorious self-sufficiency which exhibits itself in the "I am rich and increased with goods, and have need of nothing," of Laodicea. In Ephesus we see love *waning* : in Laodicea (which seems specially to point to the latter days) we see "iniquity abounding, and the love of the many *waxen cold*." We learn from the two, that zeal if only "one-sided," eventually "loses even that one side:" all religious fervour which is not kept alive by love, soon chills: the loveless abhorrence of error degenerates into cold, self-satisfied indifference to error. We see, moreover, in the rebuke to Ephesus, "Thou hast left thy first love," the explanation of that to Laodicea, "Thou art lukewarm;" and also the ground of the peculiar loathsomeness of that state. Had the Church never received the gift of Divine Life—the supernatural infusion of Charity; were she but in her natural state of coldness and death, it had been far better. There were then far more prospect of mercy. "It had been better for them not to have known the way of the LORD, than *having known it* to turn" therefrom.<sup>1</sup> But here there is not this natural coldness: here are the decaying embers of a supernatural Flame: here are the sad tokens of a love that *has been*; of a charity that has become tepid, lukewarm, and to CHRIST loathsome and intolerable. And as all other graces die out (some earlier, some later) with love; so, even that keen-sighted sagacity in detecting error which characterized Ephesus, has now departed. Laodicea has become "*blind*;" and is exhorted "to buy eyesalve of God that she may be able to see." For with the absence of love, she has lost not only her true riches, and her true clothing, but also (what she specially plumed herself on) her true *wisdom*. She has become denuded of all her beauty and loveliness. And her present state of secular prosperity, so far from being a token of God's favour, is rather (from Him who "loves those who love Him," and Who "rebukes and chastens" all His loved ones) a token of reprobation. The threat of removal denounced against Ephesus is now to be terribly realized, "I am about to spue thee out of My mouth."

2. In the Epistles to *Smyrna* and *Philadelphia*, the parallelism is even more marked. In these two Epistles, and in these only, is there praise accorded, without any admixture of blame. We see adumbrated in these, probably, the faithful Martyr-Church of the early, and the latter days. Both have fallen upon a season of *temptation*. Satan is about to *tempt* and afflict Smyrna, without harming her. Philadelphia is to be kept scatheless from the *temptation*<sup>2</sup> which is coming on all the world. Both the Churches are opposed by the very same ecclesiastical foes, "those who say

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Wordsworth appositely refers here to 1 Tim. i. 13; 8. Luke xii. 48; xxiii. 34.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. ii. 10; iii. 10; the only two references to temptation (πειρασμός) contained in the Apocalypse.



they are Jews, and are not; but are of the Synagogue of Satan" (ii. 8; iii. 9.) Smyrna has promised to her, if she continues faithful, the "*Crown of Life*." Philadelphia is encouraged to hold fast that which she hath, that no man take her *crown*.<sup>1</sup>

3. And in like manner, *Pergamos* and *Sardis*, the *third* and *fifth* Churches, present a similar kind of secret relationship or parallelism. Pergamos is established in the very seat of the world-power, the "Throne" of the "Prince of the world." Here appears to be a reference to State-establishment. Her danger, therefore, will arise from state friendship and worldly compliance. We see the developed result of this in the case of Sardis, who has lost all her higher life. Pergamos still holds fast God's Name, though she suffers tenets of earthly conformity to be promulgated: Sardis keeps the Christian profession, but has lost the reality: she "has a *name* that she lives, but is dead." Pergamos harbours those who teach the seductive doctrines of Balaam and tempt God's people to spiritual fornication: so rapidly do these insidious tenets spread, with such desolating power does the spiritual impurity propagate itself, that in Sardis but "a few names" can be found who have not "defiled their garments."

To those in Pergamos who cherish the 'hidden life, while traversing the world's wilderness, is the "hidden manna" promised, and also a "*white stone*."<sup>2</sup> The possession of this latter gift—this secret token of acceptance and absolution—this "pearl of great price"—is said to be known only to its owner. The world discovers it not. But the world *shall* discover it. The glistening *white* shall yet manifest itself. The colour of the sacred "stone," and of the "Bread from Heaven" shall yet be seen by all. And thus, of the faithful in Sardis we read, that they shall walk with CHRIST in *white*, and shall be apparelled in white garments. They shall be *all white*, like their LORD on the Mount of Transfiguration.

But further: in Pergamos the white stone is impressed with a "*New Name*"—the reward for holding fast God's Name: and this Name is recognized by none save him to whom it is given, the SPIRIT bearing secret witness with his spirit that he is God's own child. But in the promise to the faithful in Sardis we see an advance upon this. The New Name is now not only the receiver's for a time; given to him engraven on a white stone, and so perhaps capable of being lost: but it is really his own—his own for ever: "I will not blot out *his* name out of the Book of Life."

<sup>1</sup> Cf. ii. 10; iii. 11; the only two instances in the Apocalypse in which this word *στέφανος* occurs; except in reference to our LORD Himself, and certain of the symbolical personages introduced.

<sup>2</sup> *λευκός*; the distinctive colour of CHRIST in this book. It may be remembered also, that it is expressly stated (and the statement repeated) that the colour of the manna was *white* (*λευκός*). In the Book of Numbers it is said to have been "like the colour of bdellium." It is not quite certain whether bdellium was a white shining gum, or a "white stone;" some pure gem, a pearl or crystal.

Nor is the name any longer a secret which "none knoweth save he that receiveth it:" it is proclaimed to the whole spiritual universe; "I will confess his name in the Presence of My FATHER, and in the presence of His Angels." (Cf. ii. 17; iii. 5.)

4. In the central church of *Thyatira*, midway between Pergamos and Sardis, we see the worldliness, which in the former was beginning to manifest itself, and in the latter had resulted in spiritual death, existing side by side with active work for CHRIST; the two opposing principles, Christianity and antichristianity, for a time in energetic and loving co-operation. The Church of Thyatira is full of activity (the unnatural energy preceding the expiring life): we read of love, faith, service, endurance, and works. And yet "He whose eyes are a flame of fire" discerns that the Angel of the Church has taken to his very bosom the false prophetess Jezebel, that she is industriously disseminating false doctrines, and he tacitly permitting it.<sup>1</sup> Here is some unnatural and unholy alliance: and hence the denunciations of vengeance, "Behold I cast her into a bed, and those who commit adultery with her into great tribulation, except they repent of her deeds." It is not said "of *their* deeds," but "of *her* deeds" (ἐκ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῆς, ii. 22.) *She* is responsible. "By *thy* sorceries (it is said to her great antitype) were all the nations deceived." (xix. 23.)

But we must not dwell longer on this introductory heptad.

II. In his exposition of the mysterious vision of the Throne of God, in cap. iv., Dr. Wordsworth adheres to the strange conclusion already adopted by him, that the four ζῶα represent the four Gospels, and the twenty-four elders the books of the Old Testament. Now it is on all hands admitted that there are some apparent points of typical connection between the Inspired Scriptures and the symbols in question; but to attempt to establish a bald identification of them appears to us something like a grave trifling with sacred symbolism.

How, for instance, can it be possible, without a most extravagant straining of S. John's mystical language, to identify the Elders with the books of the Old Testament?

What are we told respecting the sacred *twenty-four*?

We find them vested in white robes, enthroned, worshipping, crowned with golden crowns (iv. 4); prostrating themselves before God (iv. 10); conversing with, questioning, comforting, instructing the Apostle (v. 5; vii. 13—18); presenting the prayers and praises of the saints before God; singing a new song; sweeping the strings of their golden harps, and blessing God for redemption<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ἀφαίς τὴν γυναῖκα σου Ἰεζαβὲλ . . . καὶ διδάσκει καὶ πλανᾷ τοὺς ἐμὸς δούλους πορνεῦσαι. κ.τ.λ. (ii. 20.)

<sup>2</sup> ἡγόρασας τῷ Θεῷ ἡμᾶς. Dr. Wordsworth, together with Dean Alford and other recent editors, rejects the important word ἡμᾶς; but, we feel persuaded, on insufficient grounds. The preponderance of MS. authority seems unquestionably

(v. 8—10); offering thanksgivings to God because of His dread judgments (xi. 16); chanting the "Amen, Alleluia" (xix. 4.)

Now how can any sober writer endeavour to reduce these various statements into conformity with the interpretation adopted by Dr. Wordsworth? In certain instances Dr. Wordsworth does not even attempt any explanation (as we have occasionally noticed elsewhere, in cases of real difficulty): in others he does offer a solution, and our readers may judge with what success.

The elders are *crowned*, have each golden *harps*, and *present the prayers of the saints to God*. How can the Scriptures be said to satisfy these conditions?

First: Why are the elders crowned, and seated on thrones? Because (says Dr. Wordsworth) "Holy Scripture has a Divine power and authority, as God's law. It is a *royal* law (S. James ii. 8); thus it is *enthroned*, and wears a *crown*."

But secondly: the elders sing praises and offer the prayers of the saints. How does the Scripture effect this? Because "it is expressive of man's *desires* and *praises* to God for His mercies in CHRIST. The Scriptures declare the *longings* of holy men for the Gospel, and they record their *gratitude* for it." (P. 182.) Can anything be more weak and unsatisfactory?

But again: on the fall of Babylon, the elders and the *ζῶα* fall down and worship God, and chant "Amen, Alleluia."

Here is the exposition:—

"The voice of the Two Testaments will be lifted up in praise to God for His judgments executed by Him on the Harlot City, which has corrupted the Faith delivered to the Church in Holy Scripture, and has done wrong to Holy Scripture by placing unwritten Traditions on a par with it, and by exalting the Apocrypha to a level with the Canonical Books, and by withholding the Scriptures from the people, and by elevating her own Latin Version to a position of not less, even *if not greater*, authority than the inspired Originals themselves."—P. 256.

We wonder if Dr. Wordsworth considers such a method of interpreting God's Word to be one whit more respectful towards it, than the treatment of it with which he here charges the Church of Rome? We do not.

III. In chap. vi., at the opening of the four successive Seals, Dr. Wordsworth adopts what we conceive to be the erroneous reading, *Ἐρχου, καὶ ἴδε*, and thus misses the meaning of the utterance;

in its favour. See the note of Tregelles, who strongly insists upon its retention, in his useful little work, "The Revelation, from ancient authorities," (p. 11, 12.)

The translation of the genuine text appears indisputably to be, "Thou art worthy to take the Book, and to open the seals thereof: because Thou wast slain; and redeemedst us to God by Thy Blood out of every tribe and tongue, and people and nation, and madest *them* a kingdom and priests; and they reign on the earth."

The Church in heaven gives thanks for its own redemption, and for the establishment of the rule of the Church on earth.

regarding the fourfold "Come and see" as addressed by the Living Creatures to S. John.<sup>1</sup> The genuine reading, however, appears to be merely *ἔρχου*, the solitary word. We noticed in a recent number the sevenfold repetition of this word in the Apocalypse; embodying as it does the deep yearnings of the entire Creation of God, and the whole Church in Paradise and on earth. Four times it is uttered by the Living Creatures. Then we have, "The Spirit and the Bride say, *ἔρχου*;" then, "Let him that heareth say, *ἔρχου*." And lastly, the Apostle himself concludes, *Ἀμήν ἔρχου Κύριε Ἰησοῦ*.

To whom, then, do the Living Creatures address this word, "Come?" We believe, to the same Divine Object to whom the word is addressed in the other cases where it occurs in this Book.

We have been glad to notice that Dean Alford takes this view (which we cannot but believe to be the true one) respecting the Cherubic utterance: when we pressed it in a former paper we were not aware that any writer had adopted it.<sup>2</sup>

As the question is one of interest, and may be new to some, we will quote an extract from Dean Alford's note on the passage:—

"To whom, and with what meaning, is this *ἔρχου* spoken? The great majority of commentators . . . have regarded the 'Come' as addressed to the Seer. But whither was he to come? Separated as he was by the glassy sea from the Throne, was he to cross it? And where shall we find the simple verb *ἔρχεσθαι* used absolutely in such a sense, 'Draw near,' without *ᾧδε*, or some such particle? . . . In interpreting so unusual a term of address, surely we should rather begin by inquiring whether we have not the key to it in the Book itself? And in this inquiry are we justified in leaving out of consideration such a verse as ch. xxii. 17; . . . and xxii. 22? This seems to show in my mind, beyond a doubt, what, in the mind of the Seer, the remarkable and insulated exclamation *ἔρχου* imported. It was a cry addressed, not to himself, but to the LORD JESUS. And as each of these four first seals is accompanied by a similar cry from one of the four living beings, I see represented in this fourfold *ἔρχου* the groaning and travelling together of creation for the manifestation of the sons of God, expressed in each case in a prayer for CHRIST'S Coming; and in the things revealed when the seals are opened His fourfold preparation for His Coming on earth. Then at the opening of the fifth seal the longing of the martyred saints for the same great consummation is expressed, and at that of the sixth it actually arrives."—P. 611.

<sup>1</sup> It must be borne in mind that, according to Dr. Wordsworth's interpretation, it is the *four Gospels* in succession that utter this exclamation to the Apostle. The idea of S. John's Gospel addressing S. John is somewhat a novel one. However, an explanation of the difficulty is fairly attempted. But in a subsequent vision, when one of the four living creatures is represented as giving to the Angels of the last plagues the seven golden vials full of the wrath of God, (xv. 7,) here his ingenuity entirely fails him, and he leaves the question, as to *which* of the Gospels presented the vials, and *how* it performed the operation, without an attempt at an answer.

<sup>2</sup> Vide *Ecclesiastic*, No. XCI., July, 1860, pp. 296, 297, note.

We are unable also to acquiesce in Dr. Wordsworth's interpretation of the four Riders, who appear on the opening of the first four Seals. He sees in the first a representation of our LORD, and in the three others various representations of Satan.

Rather: we see in these four visions the successive phases of our LORD's continuous Advent; the four-fold, or complete, judicial preparation for His great final Coming. We are assured in the first (the "Rider on the White Horse" who goes forth "conquering and to conquer") that the ultimate and everlasting victory shall belong to CHRIST and His Church; but we are taught by the subsequent visions that this glorious result will not be brought about without 'great tribulation,' and the presence on earth of God's "four sore judgments."

"The horses and riders," writes Dean Alford, "are the various aspects of the Divine Dispensations which should come upon the earth preparatory to the great Day of the LORD's coming."

"All four (he adds) are *judgments* upon the earth: the beating down of earthly power, the breaking up of earthly peace, the exhausting of earthly wealth, the destruction of earthly life."—P. 612.<sup>1</sup>

The distinction between the "*sword*" in the second seal, and the "*sword*" in the fourth seal (chap. vi. 4, 8,) should be carefully noticed. In the first instance the word used is μάχαιρα; and the meaning of the Vision, sufficiently determined by our LORD's saying, "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth; I am not come to send peace but a sword" (μάχαιραν). Here then is the sword of war—the 'carnal' weapon. But the sword introduced in the other Vision is the ρομφαία, a word invariably employed in the Apocalypse in a mystical sense (chap. i. 16; ii. 12, 16; xix. 15, 21,) to signify the glittering Weapon proceeding out of the mouth of CHRIST, wherewith He smites His foes. The ρομφαία is CHRIST's Word judging; as the Manna is the Word sustaining. These two types of the Word are frequently brought into connexion. Thus in the Epistle to Pergamos the faithful are promised sustenance by the hidden Manna, the unfaithful are threatened destruction by the ρομφαία. In the present vision again, the same connexion is observable; the judgments denounced being *famine* (i.e., the withholding of the spiritual manna) and the *sword*—the two alike issuing in *death*. In these two emblems, moreover, we see the Church's work, on its active and on its passive side, symboli-

<sup>1</sup> Thus, in the Rider on the White Horse, Dean Alford sees, not exactly our LORD Himself, but "a Symbol of His Victorious Power, the embodiment of His advancing Kingdom as regards that *side* of its progress where it breaks down earthly power, and makes the kingdom of the world to be the kingdom of our LORD and His CHRIST." Our LORD, in the seals, is working in "bodily absence." In the vision, however, of chap. xix. 11, where the Rider on the White Horse again appears, there He comes in very reality—there He is visibly present "with ten thousand of His saints."

cally represented. The Church has to be fed, during her passage through the world, with the Manna; she has to fight her way and vanquish her foes with the "Sword of the LORD." Thus, on her passive side, the faithful Church is subsequently pictured, as the poor woman in the wilderness, sustained for the space of "1260 days" by the Bread from heaven (chap. xii. 6): on her active or aggressive side, she is represented under the emblem of the "two witnesses" (the Minister of the Two Testaments, the Dispenser of the Two Sacraments) prophesying and testifying during the same space of "1260 days," and smiting the unbelieving earth with divers plagues (chap. xi. 3—6). But *only* (be it remembered) so far as the Church realizes one emblem, can she realize the other. In order that she may be the real terrible Wonder-working Witness to God's truth, she must be the poor fugitive woman in the wilderness. She can only wield her supernatural powers in proportion as she is herself supernaturally sustained, and, living in the earth, has her conversation in Heaven.

Satan will evermore tempt her to prefer the "quails" or the very "stones" to the "Bread of God," and to exchange the *βρομαία* for the *μάχαιρα*: and appalling will be the success of his seductions.

We conceive then, that when Dr. Wordsworth sees in the "sword" and "famine" and "death" of this fourth Seal, the incursions of Huns, Goths, Vandals, and other Barbarian invaders, he quite misses the scope of the vision.

The vision reveals to us the last of God's four sore judgments. This final judgment is of a three-fold nature—*ἐν βρομαίᾳ, καὶ ἐν λιμῷ, καὶ ἐν θανάτῳ*; and it is brought about by means of certain terrestrial agencies—*ὑπὸ τῶν θηρίων τῆς γῆς*; these "Beasts of the earth" representing (according to the universal symbolical usage of the Book of Daniel and the Apocalypse) the various world-powers, the kings or kingdoms of the earth.

Where, then, do we see mention of some terrible destruction brought about through the agency of the "kings of the earth"—a threefold destruction, as indicating the wrath of the Blessed TRINITY; a destruction by death, and famine, and by the "Sword of the LORD?" We see it all in the overthrow of Babylon. There we see all the natural and supernatural elements of the judgment of the fourth Seal reproduced. There are the Beasts, or powers of the earth, who are the visible instruments of her ruin (chap. xvii. 12, 16). In the background there is the sword of the LORD—"Strong is the LORD which judgeth her:" and there are the *death* and the *famine* combined (xviii. 8.)<sup>1</sup>

IV. We pass on to the seventh chapter.

This presents to us two visions: first, there is the sealing of a definite number, 144,000, from one particular people—the children

<sup>1</sup> These are the only two instances in which *λῆμψ* occurs in the Apocalypse; and in both it is in conjunction with *θάνατος*. (vi. 8; xviii. 8.)

of Israel; and then we behold an *indefinite* number—"a great multitude which no man can number"—out of "*every* nation, and tribe, and people, and tongue." Now we cannot agree with Dr. Wordsworth that these two visions represent exactly the same thing, and that the last is merely an explanation of the first. This is a very unsatisfactory mode of interpretation.

Dean Alford thus distinguishes between these two episodaical visions which separate the sixth from the seventh Seal. The former he takes to represent the sealing of the elect on earth; the latter, the great final assemblage of the saints in heaven. So that, although the 144,000 are ultimately *included* in the great innumerable multitude from all nations and tribes, yet it cannot be said that the two represent exactly the *same* company. The former are the first fruits, the latter the great ingathering.

The two visions seem plainly designed to prepare the mind of the Apostle and of his readers for the sad revelations about to ensue respecting the visible Church and the world.

1. We are going to read of God's tremendous judgments yet to fall on the visible *Church*—the Israel of God. But ere we witness them, we are comforted by the assurance that "the LORD knoweth them that are His;" that in every section of His Church He has His own, and knows every individual of the "seven thousand who have not bowed the knee to the image of Baal." Some of the mystic candlesticks, it is true, are seen to have been judicially removed. Dan and Ephraim appear no more. But their places are supplied, and God's plans are not thereby thwarted. There is still the sacred signature, the twelve. For this chosen number—for this His true Church—for these, His "secret ones," who have the "white stone," whom He feeds with His "hidden Manna," who "follow the Lamb whithersoever He goeth," who "testify" for Him, who learn and know the melodies of Heaven, and though *on* earth are ever not *of* earth—for these, the judgments about to be let loose are not designed. These are "sealed." The rivers and fountains are about to be poisoned with "wormwood," yea, "turned into blood," (viii. 11; xvi. 4,) but if these "drink any deadly thing, it shall not hurt them." The scorpion-locusts are coming to plant their tormenting stings in the hearts of "them that have not the seal of God on their foreheads," (ix. 1—6;) but these "have power to tread on scorpions" and on all the might of the Enemy. When the Sun and Moon are darkened (viii. 12,) the LORD shall be to them a Light: when the blazing orb is commissioned to scorch men with its blood-red rays, (xvi. 8,) the LORD shall be to them a shadow. The pillar of cloud by day, and of fire by night, shall accompany them through all their journey. As God's Witnesses they may ("when they have finished their testimony"—not before;) be put to death by the Beast; but death is no death to them, for they cannot die. They are "sealed"—they are safe, for ever safe.

2. And a like lesson of comfort is read by the other preliminary vision. We are about to hear, not only of a degenerate *Church*—of God's "faithful city become a Harlot;" but also of a *world* become wholly abominable—of the "cities of the nations" all "fallen"—of all the earth worshipping the Beast—of God looking down from Heaven and seeing that "*all flesh* has corrupted its way."

Now what is the natural inference from all this, but that Christianity has proved a total failure? Such a conclusion, however, is checked at the very threshold of these disclosures. We have just seen a vision of God's sealed ones—His Church according to the Divine pattern—His true Israel—abiding throughout all time, and about to accomplish that exact work which He has foreordained that she should do. And then we are permitted to see the *result* of that work—to see that, through God's Israel, even yet shall "*all nations* of the earth be blessed." We see a "great multitude" gathered in, baffling all human computation, "from all nations, and tribes, and peoples, and tongues." We learn that Satan shall *not* eventually triumph; but that CHRIST shall assuredly see of the travail of His soul and be satisfied.<sup>1</sup>

V. In Dr. Wordsworth's exposition of the Trumpets, we find, as is always the case with him, very much that is striking, ingenious, and beautiful: but yet we constantly feel that we are with a guide in whom we cannot place entire confidence. He is too hasty an

<sup>1</sup> With regard to the somewhat difficult question as to the exact difference and relation between the definite sealed number and the indefinite and innumerable multitude, it may be remarked generally, that the sealed ones seem to represent the *foundation*, the "great multitude which no man could number," the *superstructure*.

S. Paul tells us that the "foundation" of God is impressed with a "*seal*"—the seal of God's election. (2 Tim. ii. 19.) This definite company of sealed ones, then, would appear to symbolize the firm, sealed foundation, the *στερεὰ θεμέλιος*, of the Mystic Temple;—the number itself ( $10^3 \times 12^3$ ) pointing at once to some Divine Pattern and Predestination, and also to the fact of the Sacred Building being reared upon the "Foundation (*θεμέλιος*) of the Apostles and Prophets"—the *δῶδεκα θεμελίους* to which S. John refers, (ch. xxi. 14.)

The superstructure, or edifice raised upon this Foundation (the innumerable living stones heaped thereon) comprises the infinite number "out of all nations, and kindreds, and peoples, and tongues." This last (in one sense) seems to represent what S. Paul terms the *ἐκκλησία* of the nations, (Rom. xi. 25,) i.e., that complement which is required to *make up* the whole Temple, and which has to be introduced in order to supply the *ἡττημα*, or deficiency, consequent upon the rejection of Israel. (Rom. xi. 12.)

But in its full and ultimate grasp, this latter Vision seems entirely to overpass the bounds of the present Dispensation, and also of the "thousand years," and to bring us to the great final Ingathering—the Great Feast of Tabernacles (indicated in the palm-branches)—the joy of the completed Harvest, when the whole produce of CHRIST's labour shall be brought in. In this, which we believe to be the true sense, the "144,000" will only include those who are gathered in *before* our LORD's second Advent. They are, in fact, those whose number we pray may be speedily "completed"—(God's "elect," His *ἐκκλησία* called *out* of the world)—in order that CHRIST may come to take His Bride and establish His Kingdom.

Thus the innumerable Company, as *distinct* from the 144,000, will correspond to the "*nations* who walk in the Light of the *Golden City*." They are the "Blessed Children" "who shall inherit the Kingdom;" the Blessed Subjects of the King and the glorified Bride.



interpreter, too positive, and (more than all) too prejudiced, ever to be a safe one.

Take, for example, the fifth Trumpet. At the sounding forth of its warning blast, the pit of the abyss is opened, and the earth is darkened by swarms of scorpion-locusts which thence emerge. They have a limited commission : they are to hurt neither the grass, nor the herbage, nor the trees, but "only the men who have not the seal of God on their foreheads." They are not absolutely to kill them, but to dart into them their envenomed sting, and torment them five months. So severe is this judgment to be, that men (we read,) shall "seek death" and shall "long to die;" but "death shall flee from them." We see a sort of parallel to this terrible visitation (though of somewhat intenser description) in the vision of the fifth vial, (xvi. 10, 11.) *There* is the same supernatural darkness : in the former case "the sun and the air were darkened from the smoke of the pit;" in the latter, the "kingdom of the Beast *became darkened.*" *There* also is the same (or some similar) tormenting sting, "they gnawed their tongues for pain."

Now the visitation of the fifth Trumpet Dr. Wordsworth identifies with the rise and spread of the Mohammedan power : and that this dreadful scourge may have been one of the precursive fulfilments of this judgment, and that it presents, in its general features many points of apparent similarity, we do not for a moment question. But when the attempt is made to press the absolute identity of these two plagues, and to explain away much of the strong and clearly defined language of S. John with a view to removing all obstacles to the proposed interpretation—against this we must enter our protest.

That Dr. Wordsworth can produce a goodly array of authorities for his interpretation, we well know. This does not make the interpretation itself more true or defensible.

What are the features of the Vision ?

Here is a dense *smoke* out of the Pit, "like the *smoke of a great Furnace;*" and here is mention also of an excruciating *torment*, under the agony of which men desire to die, but cannot. Now, can we fail to notice an intentional connexion between this dreadful "woe," and *another* "woe," more fearful, more intense, and of infinite duration ; when the *smoke* of their *torment* ascendeth up for ever and ever, and escape from that "deathless death" will be to all eternity impossible ?

How then does Dr. Wordsworth explain the *torment* here—a torment (be it remembered) of such intensity that "in those days men shall seek death, and shall not find it : and shall vehemently desire [*ἐπιθυμήσουσιν*] to die : and death fleeth from them ?"

"Mohammedanism (he says) did indeed tempt men by many allurements to adopt its own creed ; and this was a severe *torment*. It was, in the strict sense of the word, a *βασανισμός* : it was a *touchstone* [*βάσανος*] of their faith."—P. 202.

We need not stop to argue against this interpretation ; for we will not do Dr. Wordsworth the injustice to believe that he himself is satisfied with it.

Dean Alford writes :

"There is an endless Babel of allegorical and historical interpretations of these *locusts from the pit*. The most that we can say of their import is, that they belong to a series of judgments on the ungodly, which will immediately precede the Second Advent of our LORD ; that the various and mysterious particulars of the Vision will no doubt clear themselves up to the Church of GOD, when the time of its fulfilment arrives. But that no such clearing up has yet taken place, a very few hours' research among histories of Apocalyptic interpretation will serve to convince any reader, who is not himself the servant of a pre-conceived system."—P. 641.

Nevertheless, although we must ever earnestly protest against the custom of explaining away the characteristic details of the Apocalyptic Visions in order to reduce them into conformity with some supposed historical fulfilment : we cannot in this instance regard it as other than a true instinct, which has discerned in the Mohammedan Scourge, a strange, partial and preliminary, accomplishment of the "Woe" of this fifth Trumpet. The mysterious armament from the "pit of the abyss," combining in monstrous and horrid confusion elements of the man, the woman, the locust, the horse, the scorpion, the lion, (thus impressed in their very nature with the number *six* of Antichrist,) has never perhaps hitherto met with so signal a realization, as in the desolating ravages of the hosts of the Victor-Prophet, dealing out in their devastating career, not only temporal death, but also by means of their pestilential doctrines, the bitter woes of eternal death.

That the full and actual realization of this vision, however, is yet *future* ; that in these semi-human, semi-bestial, semi-diabolical armaments, we see symbolically depicted swarms of "seducing spirits," and of "evil men and seducers" their organs, industriously "preparing the way" before the Man of Sin, insinuating into men their envenomed scorpion-sting, and giving them a sharp foretaste of the gnawing torments of the undying worm—of this we cannot entertain any possible doubt.

We have referred to the fifth Trumpet, let us add a few words respecting the sixth.

And here we confess that Dr. Wordsworth's interpretation perfectly amazes us.

We have just been witnessing, in the fifth Trumpet, a fearful array of armed scorpion-locusts. The sixth Trumpet reveals to us an innumerable array of armed horsemen.

There are also many marks of similarity between the consecutive Visions. The armed array in the former Vision are "like horses prepared for war" (ix. 7) ; in the latter they consist of "myriads of horsemen" (ix. 16.) In the former, the horses have lions' *teeth*

(ver. 8); in the latter, lions' heads (ver. 17.) In the former, they have tails like *scorpions* (ver. 10); in the latter, tails like *serpents* (ver. 19.) Both armaments are protected with "breastplates;" the former "of iron," the latter of "fire and jacinth, and like unto brimstone" (ver. 9, 17.) The former have stings in their tails (ver. 10); the latter have heads in their tails (ver. 19.) In the tails of both is seated their "power to hurt."

Now will it be believed that, while in the former Vision Dr. Wordsworth describes Arabians and Saracens "with their long flowing hair plaited like women;" in the latter he sees the diffusion of the Scriptures by means of the Printing Press!

Yes, to the Holy Scriptures does Dr. Wordsworth in all sober seriousness apply such a verse as this, "Their power is in their mouth, and in their tails; for their tails are like serpents, and have heads, and with them they do hurt" (ix. 19)!

Dean Alford enlivens his note here with an allusion to what he designates "the culminating instance of incongruous interpretation,"—viz: Mr. Elliott's historical exposition of this Vision; who sees in these mystic horses with their serpent-tails reference to the "horse-tails borne as symbols of authority by the Turkish Pachas."—P. 644.

But we really think, notwithstanding all the learned ingenuity with which Dr. Wordsworth advocates his interpretation, that it far surpasses Mr. Elliott's in "incongruity" and absurdity.

It is very easy to see what suggested it.

The multitudinous hosts of darkness of the sixth Trumpet are suddenly let loose on the issuing of a Divine command to remove certain Providential restraints which had hitherto kept them in check: "Loose the four Angels which are bound at the Great River Euphrates." This at once sets Dr. Wordsworth off: for Euphrates is the River of Babylon: and Babylon is Rome: therefore what can the four Angels be but the Four Gospels, which have been kept in fetters by the Church of Rome, but which at the Reformation were released?

"God's Word has been bound. It was bound for a long time; it was not read to the people; it was chained in the fetters of a dead language; and so it remained, as it were, in prison for many centuries. And even to this day, in many countries, the Word of God is bound by some who profess themselves to be Chief Rulers in the Church of God! . . . .

"The vision has revealed also that the Holy Scriptures, though bound as captives for a time, would be loosed by the command of God, and that they would traverse the world like an innumerable Army. And although they are God's Army, and ministers of salvation to many, yet the vision has declared that the Holy Scriptures would be like instruments of punishment and death to the enemies of God . . . .

"Thus the four angels have been loosed which were bound at the

river Euphrates. The Word of God has been translated into all languages. By the aid of Printing, copies of the Scriptures have been multiplied innumerable. The Scriptures in swiftness and strength like an innumerable Army of Horsemen are now sweeping the world."—Pp. 205-6.

Into the details of this monstrous piece of exegesis, of which the above extract gives the general scope, we have neither space nor inclination to enter. Nor is there much necessity: as we feel tolerably certain that the Canon of Westminster will be left in solitary and undisturbed possession of his interpretation.

"This vision of the Sixth Trumpet," writes Mr. Isaac Williams, "seems connected with the completion and fulness of the last times; the last contest between infidelity and faith throughout the world. For it has been already shown that the number *six* is of Anti-Christ: and 'the *four Angels*' indicate the whole world; and the number of the army is as it were infinite; all powers of evil going forth arrayed for the conflict with the good. . . . The *fifth* Trumpet is expressly limited in its duration: but no termination is intimated of this array under the *sixth* Trumpet; but at the end of the description it is emphatically stated that there is no repentance. . . . Bede speaks of this sixth Angel as 'the preaching of the last contest which will lay open the frauds of Anti-Christ.' The innumerable army represents those spiritual forces which the Apostle describes, and against which he tells us to 'take the whole armour of God, that we may be able to withstand in the *evil day*;' i.e. preparing for that *day of trial* to which these horsemen are tending."—Pp. 161, 166.

That this vision of the sixth Trumpet is, in fact, the natural sequel to, and full development of, the woe temporarily let loose under the fifth, seems manifest.

In the former, however, some Restraining Force is still in operation, which has the effect of limiting and confining the visitation. In the latter this is removed.

That the mystic Babylon is in some mysterious way connected with this Withholding Power; that in the prolongation of her existence is secretly bound up the continuance of those Providential checks which hold back the myriad powers of the Enemy, seems indicated in many parts of this book.

The judicial removal of all these restraints is expressed in the command "Loose the four Angels bound at Euphrates." Instantly swarm forth from their lurking places all the unnumbered legions, the "200,000,000" warriors of the Fiend.

The obvious connexion, moreover, between this vision and that of the sixth vial will make it still more plain how senseless is the interpretation that would discern in these hosts of Satan and Anti-Christ, *copies of the Holy Scriptures*!

Thus, in both these visions, the sixth Trumpet and sixth Vial, we have special mention of "the Great River Euphrates." In both

we see preparations for some vast and awful armament. Both are impressed with the number *Six* of Antichrist. In both, we see the propagation of infidel *doctrines*, indicated in the emphatic mention of the *mouths* of the assailants:—and that these in the sixth Trumpet are *antichristian* “mouths,” is expressed in the fact of their being *lion-mouths* (ix. 17, 19); the lion-mouth being a characteristic feature of the “Beast from the sea.” (xiii. 2.) This is that proud “mouth which is stretched forth to the Heaven,” and which “goeth through the world,” and whereat “the people fall.” Moreover; alike in the sixth Trumpet and sixth Vial is there the same *three-fold* mention of this word *mouth*,—as though pointing to some blasphemous doctrines against the Holy Trinity (Cf. ch. ix. 17—19; xvi. 13). Out of the “mouths” in the former vision, proceed (ἐκπορεύεται) “fire and smoke and brimstone:” out of the “mouths” in the latter proceed (ἐκπορεύεται) “three unclean spirits—the spirits of demons, working miracles, which go forth unto the kings of the whole world to gather them to the battle of the Great Day of GOD ALMIGHTY.”

Further: of the mystic horses in the sixth Trumpet, we read, that their “power” was seated not only in their “mouth” (their lion-mouth—for “their heads are the heads of lions”) but also in their “tails” (their serpent-tails); and that “with them they do hurt.”

Now does not this mention of the *tails* confirm the conclusion arrived at respecting the general drift of the vision? Was it not the “tail” of the great Serpent that of old “drew down,” and is now ever drawing down, “the third part of the stars of Heaven,” and “casting them to the earth?”

And how does the Prophet Isaiah explain the symbolical meaning of this expression? “The LORD” (he says, ix. 14, 15,) “shall cut off from Israel head and tail—in one day. The ancient and honourable he is the head; and the *Prophet that teacheth lies* he is the tail.” (καὶ προφήτην διδάσκοντα ἄνομα, οὗτος ἡ οὐρά.)

In the serpent-tails, then, we evidently see allusion to those “false prophets that shall arise, showing signs and wonders,” and indoctrinating men with their poisonous *ἀνομία*; teaching them to deny “Him Who is come in His FATHER’S Name,” and to accept the Other who “shall come in his own name.”

We have dwelt perhaps at tedious length on the details of this vision. We referred to it chiefly as furnishing a characteristic instance of the random and far-fetched explanations which too often meet us in Dr. Wordsworth’s pages. We have already said that his notes contain a vast amount of really valuable matter; but on the whole they are very disappointing and unequal, and often betray a serious lack of sound judgment and true exegetical instinct. Some passages are treated at an inordinate length. Long extracts from sermons and other previous works of the Editor are introduced which are quite out of place, and too often have merely the effect

of bewildering both writer and reader, and of veiling the true meaning and difficulties of the text under a showy glitter of words. In other instances, real *crucis*, in which one would be glad of a few suggestive aids from a learned Commentator, are passed over almost without notice.

We have observed however with pleasure that Dr. Wordsworth has had the good sense to reconsider and abandon *some* of his former interpretations. We may specify his explanation of the "seven Thunders," and of the command given to S. John to "seal up" what they had uttered and *not* to write it;—which he originally expounded (if our memory fail us not) of the commission given to S. John to "seal up" the Canon of the New Testament by *writing* the Apocalypse! This wild specimen of exegesis is now abandoned, and its place occupied by some sensible and suggestive remarks on the general purport of the vision. We may instance also his explanation of the death and non-interment of the Witnesses; which he interpreted in the Cambridge University pulpit as signifying the slaughter of the Two Testaments at the hand of the Church of Rome, and the endeavour on the part of that Church to prevent their dead body being put into tombs—*i. e.* into monuments; *i. e.* "not to be committed to the immortal *monuments* of Editions, Translations, and Expositions."

"And wonderful it is," (so continued the preacher) "that not a single Edition of the Original Scriptures has ever been printed at Rome, that great city which calls herself the Mother and Mistress of Churches." Dean Alford in commenting on this "strange exposition" which he adduces "as showing how far men can be led, in forcing the sense in favour of a particular view," notices the unfortunate fact "that it is now to a *Roman* printing press that we owe our only edition of the oldest published Codex of the Greek Old and New Testaments."

Dr. Wordsworth, however in the present volume has considerably modified this ridiculous interpretation. He now only writes :

"*Something of the spirit described in this Vision* is seen in those of the Church of Rome, who, on the plea of obscurity in Holy Scripture, withhold it from the people, and so virtually *kill* it; and when they have done so, will not allow it to be committed to those enduring *monuments* of Literature, such as editions, and vernacular translations; by which its words may be engraven on the memory of man, 'in perpetuum rei memoriam.'"—P. 214.

Dr. Wordsworth has written wisely and well on the subject of the Inspiration of Holy Scripture. No living writer is more truly and tenderly jealous of its honour and supreme authority. We wonder if it never strikes him that the exegetical extravagancies in which he too frequently allows himself to indulge, are far more calculated to lessen men's reverent regard for this Holy Book—to

impress them with the idea that, after all, it is but a "nose of wax" capable of being turned and twisted any way according to the prepossessions and prejudices of its interpreter—than the most rationalistic criticisms of sceptical writers like Mr. Rowland Williams and Mr. Jowett.

We shall hope to conclude our examination of these "Notes" in a future number.

### PROFESSOR BLUNT'S ESSAYS.

*Essays contributed to the Quarterly Review.* By Rev. J. J. BLUNT, B.D., late Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street. 1860.

SUCH is the somewhat crude title which is prefixed to the sixth posthumous volume of the works of the late Professor Blunt. We say crude, because the fourteen papers of which this volume is composed will hardly rank among the *Essays* in our language: they are for the most part biographical reviews; and perhaps the term, "Contributions to the Quarterly Review," would have been sufficiently general to be more accurate than the title which the publisher has affixed to this book. The other little peculiarities which we notice are not shared by the other octavos to which this appears as a supplement (his *History of the Christian Church* and the *Lectures on the right use of the Early Fathers*;) they consist of the absence of the definite article before the clerical designation of Reverend; in the Margaret Professorship of Divinity being designated as "*at Cambridge*," while the ordinary formula is that employed in the *Church History*—"in the University of Cambridge." Of course these are mere trifles, but we learn much of character from trifles in manner and conversation. Yet verily it was not for the sake of mere criticism that we wished to call our readers' attention to this volume. The Author is now where "praise and blame fall on his ear alike," and these, his posthumous works, are the track which he has left of the orbit his spirit moved in, whilst he was with us, and memorials of the work, which he executed during his sojourn in the flesh. To us it seems singular indeed that, with the exception of his *Undesigned Coincidences*, and his "*History of the Reformation*," and his "*Hulsean Lectures*," the great bulk of his works should not have appeared until after his decease: these *Essays*—*The History of the Christian Church*—

Two Volumes of Plain Sermons—Lectures on the Duties of the Parish Priest,—and the great work of all, his Cambridge Lectures on the Early Fathers—are all posthumous. Out of his own University, Professor Blunt, like many great names which might be mentioned, has been more widely known in death than he was in life; for he being dead truly speaketh. Yet if it be true that the late Margaret Professor was little known out of his University, it is equally true that for twenty years, or more, no one has enjoyed a more extensive influence in it; the impress of his mind has extended itself to hundreds of our clergy, and many are the men now advancing in life, who, with deep gratitude, acknowledge themselves to have become better Christians and more consistent Churchmen through the lessons that they received so long ago from the Lectures of Mr. Blunt. Now if any moderate scholar were to open any of Mr. Blunt's later productions, without any predisposition towards the Author, he could scarcely fail of being very much struck by them. Hardly a page could be glanced at, in which there lacked some minute piece of criticism, almost microscopic, but very keen; or some casual remark that betrays in an instant that the writer had the power of moral analysis in a very high degree. We should say that there was nothing in Mr. Blunt very noble, or very great, or very eloquent, but there was in him a power of entering in a remarkable manner into all that was noble, great, and eloquent in others; and in himself, there dwelt such consummate judgment that his critical acumen, especially in the latter years of his life, became of the very first order. And then he stands so greatly distinguished for his mental independence; his education was not the result of a system, it was *self-education* in its highest phase. We know that Mr. Blunt was a low wrangler in the same year in which Jacob and Whewell went out; but this in no degree accounts for the Essays in the Quarterly or for the "Lectures on the Early Fathers." The Essays represent one of the early phases in Mr. Blunt's mental progress.—"The Lectures on the Fathers," the same mind at its zenith. He was not a quick man, but a very sure one; and his recognition of the great verities of the Christian Faith seems to follow the same law; from the study of our standard English divines, he proceeded to the study of the divines of the Catholic Church. He began with Hooker, Butler, and Paley; he ended with Origen and S. Clement of Alexandria: the "Stromata" was well read by him. Thirty years ago he spoke of the Monks as "God's ravens in the wilderness;" and four years ago of the middle ages in the Church History (p. 90) as a time by no means of "ecclesiastical anarchy and confusion," but as a time in which "the religious principle continued dominant," and "institutions based on this principle lived and prospered, and customs calculated to sustain it were cherished with care and affection;" so that anyone



reading the memorials which exist of the seventh to the thirteenth centuries must be "struck with the reflection" how steadily religion held its course throughout the whole of it; "how calmly its offices proceeded from generation to generation"—the Church had "her rites administered in the main after the same forms, her Liturgy essentially one, her hierarchy the same"—in fact the whole of this history is a most vigorous exposition of the divine institution and authenticity of all the salient points of the Catholic system. It was his love for our great English divines that led him to study the Reformation in all its bearings,—in which study how gladly would he have welcomed Mr. Blunt, the Author of the Articles on a kindred subject in this journal, as a coadjutor in this work.

To return to the book which heads our paper—which we regard as a kind of first-fruits of Mr. Blunt's literary labours. It consists of sundry reviews, which appeared in the Quarterly between the years 1827—1839; they treat of a past generation, they bid us prepare for coming struggles, the issues of which have been determined five-and-twenty years ago. Yet, for all this, much valuable thought, many judicious remarks are interwoven throughout these pages, and, above all, the fine, manly, Saxon English in which they are written, render them well worthy of being carefully read by our younger brethren. The subjects treated of are—The Church in India, Milton, Reformation in Italy, Paley, Dr. Parr, Bp. Butler (Works), Townson's Discourses, Cranmer, Robert Hall, Adam Clarke, Church Rates, Village Preaching, Village Schools, Bp. Butler (Memoirs). The Review of Todd's Life of Milton carries off the palm in the volume; then follow the papers upon Bp. Butler, upon Paley, and an admirable little brochure upon Village Schools.

The Paper on the Church in India is almost exclusively devoted to notices of the life and labours of Bp. Heber, and many of the remarks which were made in 1827, as to the prevalence of caste in India, may be viewed in the light of prophecies which have since received their fulfilment. Professor Blunt's remarks upon intolerance are worthy of being cited here.

"What prejudice of caste could be stronger than the principle of *religious intolerance* in our own country three centuries ago, when even Cranmer could sully his fair fame by one miserable, though no doubt most conscientious compliance with it: and what is perhaps more remarkable, when, in a subsequent age, and after the *tempest of the Reformation* had well nigh subsided, even the amiable Bishop Jewell could breathe the temper which spake in James and John at the Samaritan village, in one solitary sentence of his immortal Apology? But years rolled on, and the better spirit was silently prevailing. Through Hooker, who now appeared, its advance may be traced." (P. 5.) Of course we do not know, but we feel very strongly inclined to suspect that in later years our Professor

would have spoken of Jewell's bitter invective in terms more proportionate to its real merits than those which he uses in this place.

It was in the June of the same year that Mr. Blunt wrote his review of the *Poetry and Life of Milton*, which appeared also under the editorship of Mr. Todd. It is one of the most analytical dissections of Milton's character that has ever appeared. How clear a separation is made between the poet and the man in the following passage: "'Unusquisque valeat in arte sua.' Cicero was an admirable orator yet a very ordinary writer of verse; and Sir Isaac Newton is pronounced, by no mean authority, to have been out of his own province, but a common man. Whilst we bow therefore to Milton as the poet, in Milton as a divine or a statesman we can only see a visionary." (P. 48.) And when showing how partially Milton's character has been understood, he adds, "In him we now possess, filled up with all the accuracy of detail, a magnificent specimen of the Puritan in his least offensive form; the fervour, the devotion, the honest indignation, the moral fearlessness and uncompromising impetuosity, the fantastic imagination of the party, all conspicuous; unalloyed, however, by the hypocrisy, the vulgarity, the cant, the cunning and bad taste which have so generally made the name to stink in the nostrils of men." (P. 48.) Very pertinent too is his judgment of Neal's *History of the Puritans*: "With Neal we must even walk like Agag, when suspicious of danger, '*delicately*.' He may not always assert what is false, but he perpetually suppresses what is true. Where he has not the boldness to make a charge, he can imply a suspicion. Where a plain tale would set him or his party down he can be ambiguous as an oracle, prepared with one sense to mislead his reader, with another to save himself. It would be at least as fair to go to Hudibras, or Drunken Barnaby, for a picture of a Nonconformist, as to trust to Neal for that of a Churchman." (P. 49.) It is then very cleverly proved, from the disposition of Elizabeth, that had Puritan influence gained the day the cause of the Reformation would have been lost. "There wanted little but a Sampson or a Cartwright at the head of affairs, at this critical period, instead of a Parker or a Whitgift, to *put out the candle* that old Latimer had lighted, and to sacrifice the substantial interests of religion to a cope and surplice. Those truly were days when gnats were strained at and camels swallowed; and else it would seem strange indeed that persons, who could not tolerate a piece of innocent Irish linen because it had decorated the shoulders of a priest, should find no qualms at abandoning their congregations (which was often the alternative) to that very priest in disguise." It is not to be denied that the extreme care which the Puritans took of things, has been of incalculable benefit to the constitution, for they "were just patriots enough to struggle manfully for the possession of power, and to keep it carefully in their own

hands when they had got possession ;" yet, perhaps, the Independents were worse still, they were the "men who had been of all others the most clamorous for liberty, and most abusive of the Parliament for their cruelty to the King. And how do they act? Scarcely are they firm in their seats, before they publish their repentance of their former clemency ; cry God mercy for their kindness to a forlorn and fallen monarch, confess that they were under a temptation, deprive him of his chaplains, and cut off his head." (P. 51.) Some telling observations are then made as to the character of Cromwell, and the Presbyterians in general ; and although every act of King Charles could not be defended, still it is acknowledged that "his people were not in a condition to be satisfied or conciliated. He would have had as much chance of success as the Sicilians, when in terms the most insinuating they coax Mount *Ætna* to abstain from an eruption." (P. 53.) And again it is said, that the unhappy monarch's subjects "partook in a very remarkable degree of the taste of the horse-leech's daughters." The chief extravagances in Milton's "Christian Doctrine" are next prominently brought forward. The Republic, as delineated by Plato, does not contain greater inconsistencies than are to be found in Milton's wild schemes for the regeneration of Church and State, and the result of all this was, that Milton met with but little political advancement. "A man," continues the Reviewer, "who was all his life long dwelling in the third heaven, was not the material out of which Cromwell could fashion an adviser or a confidant. Time was, when the Protector had been living there himself, but he had thought better of it, and was now content to walk the earth. Accordingly Milton had not interest enough to procure for his friend Marvell a laborious appointment of two hundred pounds a year." (P. 61.) The really remarkable part of this Essay is where Mr. Blunt speaks of Milton's poetry, and brings his *minor poems* so prominently before us, describing the *Comus* as preserving the tale like a fly in amber, and his verse in general in these terms : "Nothing was ever so *unearthly* as his poetry. The most unpromising subject, after passing through his heated mind, comes out purged and purified and refined : the terrestrial body dissolves in the process, and we behold in its stead a glorified body." "The mind of Milton was perfect fairy land, and every thought which entered it, whether grave or gay, magnificent or mean, quickly partook of a fairy form." "He thought in romance, the daily occurrences of life were translated into romance almost before his mind could act upon them." "Milton was a visionary : he was so by constitution, he was so through the loss of sight, he was so through the form of religion which he had embraced." After he became blind, his images were supplied him by *reflection* more than by sense : they were, therefore, abstract, indistinct, undefined—the essentials present with him, the accidents, perhaps absent." "The eye of

flesh was wanting to Milton, and therefore he had to trust to that inward eye, before which, however he might desire it, all mist could not be purged and dispersed. His very colours in 'Paradise Lost' and 'Regained,' are recollections, they are either *golden* or *black*, all the intermediates are forgotten."

We have felt constrained to give these extracts from Mr. Blunt's Essay on Milton, for their beauty and their truth render them worthy of a long preservation. We wish also that space could be afforded us for more quotations, on such topics as the influence of Protestantism upon Poetry—the comparison of the *Divina Commedia* with the "Paradise Lost"—the affinity that Milton had with Tasso and Ariosto,—and lastly the internal indications that there are, that Greek literature had an infancy ere "the fulness of the stature of a perfect epic" was given in the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey." We cannot dismiss this essay without citing a few of its beautiful passages upon "Paradise Lost," in which Milton "could revel in a creation of his own," for "nothing like any part of it had ever been matter of human experience." "Milton's descriptions are broad, general, in the mass—Dante's sharp, dramatic, touched from the life." "Milton's digestion was admirable"—in allusion to Bentley's saying that Warburton had a great appetite for learning but a bad digestion—"whatever he borrowed from the ancients he made his own, in him it does not seem quotation but coincidence." "The catalogue of evil spirits in 'Paradise Lost' is perhaps the most masterly account of ancient idolatry, brief as it is, in the English language." "If there be one circumstance more than another which sets him above Virgil and Homer, it is this, that he takes more violent possession of the mind of his reader by crowding upon him a phalanx of thick-coming thoughts. The secret of using language with effect is to use it with a full mind." "No barbarous age has ever yet seen the birth of a great poem," and to support this some very truthful remarks are made as to the evidences of courtesy, delicacy and luxury in the manners of Homer; while of Milton's poetry it is said in conclusion that "ever will it remain a triumphant memorial that the lamp of genius shines with the brightest lustre when it is fed with the purest oil." (P. 88.)

On Professor Blunt's next essay, "Reformation in Italy," we must remark that in his early years indeed *reformations* in general seem to have found great favour in the eyes of our reviewer—greater favour most certainly than was confirmed by his maturer judgment. Here the beginning of religious reformations is coupled with the communications which existed between different nations in the middle ages, when a large body of the English youth were resident students in the University of Ferrara; and Luther is spoken of as he who "happened to be the first to put the world into the waters after the angel had sufficiently troubled them."

The bearings of national intercommunication upon language are next noticed. "We have often thought," says Mr. Blunt, "that it would be subject of curious and most interesting inquiry to trace the history of England, political, religious and domestic, in its *language*, and in its language *alone*." Our language would doubtless reveal, that we were more allied to Italy during the middle ages than many persons would be willing to admit. Mr. Blunt appears to be at this time much enamoured with the Italian poets, and he seeks to trace the influence of their poetry upon the Italian reformers. Then succeeded external influences to aid in this work. "The writings of Luther and Melancthon, of Zuingle and Bucer, continued to be circulated covertly throughout Italy and in translations and under fictitious titles, some of them made their way even into the Vatican." Modena, Florence, Bologna and Milan all took some part in the early reformation movement. Mr. Blunt is severe indeed on the Inquisition, which was established at Rome in 1543, although he allows that it restored the unity of the Church; he allows too the great power that persecution possesses, and so he is inclined to believe, that if Mary had reigned as long as Elizabeth and as warily "it is not impossible that the fate of the Reformation in England and Italy might have been the same." Thus is the Inquisition noticed. "For twenty years and more was this accursed engine in the utmost activity, and so well did it its work that all traces of Reformation at length disappeared; down it went, with a shriek, like a drowning man, and the waters close over him, and not a sign is left that he has ever been." (P. 118.) The leading outlines of the lives of the Italian reformers who fell as victims to their over zeal are generally known—Parentino Fannio and Aonio Paleario were amongst the most illustrious: a notice of the latter having recently appeared in our pages. Mr. Blunt takes the extreme Protestant view of the Waldenses and their sufferings in Calabria, and finally gives some five reasons why the western Church was able to sustain successfully in Italy the attacks made by the modern sects and heresies. The transition from Paganism to Christianity is beautifully sketched out, how "the people had been made to slide out of a Gentile into what stood for a Christian ritual:" the pagan gods seemed themselves almost to have been converted, and "this confusion of religious character strikes us in almost every page of the more ancient Italian writers: it is quite a feature in the early literature of Italy." Then again the Court of Rome was a kind of Court of Chancery for all other European kingdoms—and then strife burned fierce and strong in the breasts of these Italian liberalists—many of them fled on the sign of danger. And lastly the Inquisition aided in staying the hand of the innovator. This essay is the production of an educated and refined mind, but we are compelled to differ from Mr. Blunt as to his view and treatment of the whole subject.

In pleasing contrast to his remarks upon the Italian reformers stands Mr. Blunt's essay on "Paley." This was indeed a subject which afforded him scope to use his own special reading; for surely no man in his time had a better acquaintance with post-reformation theology than our reviewer had during the first fifteen years of his literary career; and few probably knew more about the ancient Fathers and Doctors than he did, during the latter years of his labours. Nor must we forget that these early essays correspond exactly with his early course of reading, and that the essay on the Ignatian Epistles commonly attributed to him represented equally well the studies of his latter years. The name of Paley implies under Mr. Blunt's treatment a notice not only of the times in which he lived, but a subtle analysis of the religious caste of thought in times before these, that the then existing state of things may be satisfactorily accounted for. With the different times the leading men are necessarily bound up, so that we have noticed Bishop Taylor, Barrow, South, Bull and Sanderson; Blair is compared with Hooker, as the first temple was to the second. Then in this "nation of Gallios," this "age of reason" is established the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge: and then too Bishop Butler writes his "immortal 'Analogy,' a work too thoughtful for the flippant taste of the sceptical school." Mr. Blunt was ever a warm supporter of Butler and his writings, two of the essays in this volume are endorsed with his name, and numberless allusions to his works are to be found elsewhere. He mentions it now in such terms as these: "It is not a short line that will fathom Butler. Let a hundred readers sit down in examination of the '*Analogy*' and however various the associations of thought excited in their minds by the perusal, they will find on examination that Butler has been beforehand with them all." (P. 187.) Again, "We have heard persons talk of the obscurity of Bishop Butler's style and lament that his book was not rewritten by some more luminous master of language. We have always suspected that such critics knew very little about the *Analogy*. We would have no sacrilegious hand touch it, it would be like officious meddling with a well-considered move at chess. We should change a word in it with the caution of men expounding hieroglyphics—it has a meaning, but we have not hit upon it—others may, or we ourselves may at another time. The *Analogy* is a work carefully closely packed up out of twenty years' hard thinking. It must have filled folios had its illustrious author taken less time to concoct it, for never was there a stronger instance of the truth of the observation that it requires far more time to make a small book than a large one." (P. 137.) From Butler the essay passes on to Warburton, "who smelled the battle afar off." "Little as the '*Divine Legation of Moses*' is now read, few works have ever produced a greater sensation on first coming out than this did. It smote Trojan and

Tyrian. It was a 'two-handed engine' ready to batter down infidel and orthodox alike if they ventured to oppose an obstacle to its autocratic progress." (P. 138.) It wanted to be purged and purified with a little more sobriety, care and reflection, and then it would have received its due merit as a book on Christian evidences, "and would not have lain unworthily neglected on the upper shelves of our libraries, condemned in the lump as a splendid paradox, by those who little know the happy illustrations it contains, gathered from every region under heaven; the prodigious magazine of learning it unfolds, the infinite ingenuity it displays in assimilating more or less the most unpromising substances to the matter in hand; the sarcasm, the invective, the jokes sacred and profane which are there found 'mingle, mingle, mingle,' as they are poured forth from the cauldron of that most capacious and turbulent mind." (P. 140.) With regard to the treatment of the subject directly in hand, Mr. Blunt gives a kind of condensed analysis of the "Evidences" and the "Natural Theology," and what is of more interest to us, is a summary of Paley's character as a politician, for the Reviewer tries hard to clear him from the charge of being a Whig, by ascribing to him a "Sabine simplicity" of mind. He took in his daily newspaper, "and made a vernacular comment or two upon the State questions that chanced to be uppermost at the club in the evening *between the deals*, much more concerned as to whether he should cut the king, than whether the king would cut him, and as little dreaming that he was a politician as Saganarelle, the fagot-maker, dreamed that he was a doctor of physic;" an incidental remark, which shows how the lower Church party of the last century were apt to recreate themselves. We extract one more passage from this essay, which seems strongly to corroborate Mr. Blunt's estimate of Paley's character, as "a single-hearted man, earnest in his calling, looking upon different stations as merely bringing out different types of man's nature." "When the idea of a King presented itself to Paley, it was merely that of an individual invested with great substantial power to be wielded for the benefit of his people. Crown and sceptre, beef-eaters, state-coaches, and guardsmen, the trappings in short of royalty did not enter in as elements." "He preaches before the judges and grand jury—wigs, trumpets, javelins, white wands, all vanish at once, and he sees nothing before him but a set of fallible men, called upon by their country to rule with diligence, and he suggests to them the true principle, and exhorts them faithfully with all his power. He delivers another sermon to the younger clergy—he is nothing moved by the gowns, cassocks, and clerical apparatus, which offer themselves to his eye: all he can find is an assembly of men of like passions as others, and with some temptations of their own, needing admonition, and admonition he gives them, with a hearty good will not to be mistaken."—P. 168.

The fifth contribution in his volume is a notice of the life and works of Dr. Parr—a man with “a mass of raw material in his mind which he never found the means of properly working up.” This essay is on the whole one of the best in the book, lively and heartily written. Dr. Parr’s life was, on the whole, very unsatisfactory, his real learning never received its proper acknowledgment. Mr. Blunt perhaps accounts for this: “His bells are continually jingling out of tune. His politics intrude on his theology, his learning on his politics, his metaphors on both. The good people at Hatton are lectured on the critical meaning of a Hebrew word, the Lord Mayor of London on the metaphysics of benevolence; Mr. Coke, of Norfolk, on Regeneration and the danger of fanaticism. Now all this was a misapplication of power.” (P. 174.) One of the most interesting episodes in Parr’s life was his discovery of Dr. White’s coadjutor in the composition of his celebrated Bampton Lectures—a Mr. Badcock, a dissenting teacher. “A meeting between the professor and doctor in the presence of witnesses takes place at Hatton, where the Bampton Lectures are spread out, and each seizes his own.” In one or two places Parr’s character is very cleverly drawn: “Parr’s hand was open as the day. Poverty had vexed, but had never contracted his spirit: money he despised, except as it gave him power—power to ride in his state coach, to throw wide his doors to hospitality, to load his table with plate, and his shelves with learning; power to adorn his church with chandeliers and painted windows; to make glad the cottages of his poor; to grant a loan to a tottering farmer, to rescue from want a forlorn patriot, or a thriftless scholar.” He was “one who has a word of praise for Archbishop Laud, and a word of praise for John Wesley; who would be put down in the number of latitudinarian divines, whilst perhaps their most leading characteristic was opposition to Popery; who felt very jealous for the honour of the Roman Catholic, and very jealous for the honour of the Unitarian; who proclaimed the praises of Dr. Priestly from the pulpit in a manner surely too unqualified and ambiguous, and defended Bishop Bull, ‘a man whom he most unfeignedly revered’ from Collyer’s accusation that the great polemic had not expressed an opinion on the consubstantiality of our Lord; who introduced the use of the Athanasian Creed into his church at Hatton, and was even an advocate for more than all the pomp and circumstance of the established form of worship, yet gave the sanction of his presence to a sermon of Dr. Priestly in a meeting-house at Warwick, and again, in a few days after, to the ordination of a minister in the same congregation.” (P. 241.) Never was a man so full of contradictions, of such brilliant powers of mind combined with so infinitesimal a portion of judgment. Parr’s reputation as a scholar will be a lasting one, for his “Greek reading was as boundless as his Latin. It is bursting its cerements in every letter and in every



note that he writes." "He desires to illustrate the sentiments of a sermon, or a pamphlet, and the philosophy, the oratory, the biography of Greece lie at his feet. As Attic Greek critics there were some superior to him—as universal Greek scholars none. Porson could not have produced the notes on the Spital Sermon, nor could Parr have written the Preface to the Hecuba. We mean nothing invidious in the comparison, *Arcades ambo*. Neither of them has left behind his fellow." (P. 246.)

The next essay which follows is devoted to Bishop Butler, and the "Analogy" is treated very much as Paley's "Evidences" were in a preceding review: the main features of the argument taken up and most skilfully condensed. The most original portion of the essay consists of a defence of Bishop Butler's views as to the extent of the fall. The *entire* corruption, or "the *total* moral ruin of man, or the alienation of his whole moral nature from God," is a doctrine which Butler did not hold. "To allow," says Mr. Blunt, "a '*moral sense*,' and yet to insist on a '*total moral ruin*,' appears to us as incongruous as to allow some sense of hearing and yet to insist on a total deafness."—P. 289.

We are barely able to do more than revert to the titles of the remaining essays, that, on "Townson's Discourses" contains some very careful strictures on the internal structure of the Gospels, remarks which have since appeared in other forms, but which are to the careful student of the Greek text of the Evangelists of lasting value. Of the review of "Cranmer" we cannot speak in high terms. It is a strong one-sided attempt, to justify Cranmer in actions which all history has pronounced to be unjustifiable. The opening line of argument is weak in the extreme; because Wolsey, Sir Thomas More, Cromwell Earl of Essex, Cardinal Pole, and Bishop Gardiner have been represented in various lights, therefore Cranmer has been much misrepresented too, that consequently the only just view of his character is that which makes him out all that was virtuous as a minister and a Bishop, and all that was noble and estimable as a man. Cranmer ever valued education, and he took Dean Colet as his model; at Cambridge he pursues his studies "with great severity and success." Wolsey invites him to his foundation of Christ-Church; Cranmer foreseeing the political downfall of the Cardinal, declines the invitation, and so he was *not ambitious*. "This one fact is enough to disprove it: for here was a man in the opening of life, with his fortune to make, a simple student, without a patron in the world, met more than half way by the great favourite of the great king: yet his advances he declines, content with what he has, and by so doing risks, and, as it is said, actually incurs his displeasure." Cranmer's acceptance of the Archbishopric, his reservation in the oath which he took to the Pope, his influence upon the occasions of Lambert's martyrdom for denying Transubstantiation, and of the burning of Joan of

Kent, are all topics on which Mr. Blunt is very lenient to the reforming prelate. Of the execution of Joan Bocher he writes, "Alas! that Cranmer, so wise and so humane a man, should even be suspected of having thus acted towards a poor fanatic, a woman too!" (P. 233.) Cranmer in his "Reformation of Ecclesiastical Laws," confines capital punishment to atheists, upon which our Reviewer says, "this was a step in the path of mercy, the day of small things must not be altogether despised." "In truth *moderation* was the key of Cranmer's character and conduct. It shows itself in great things and in small. He was not for pushing matters to extremities with More and Fisher; he would be satisfied with their oath to the succession, and waive the rest; having respect to their scruples, and wisely considering the weight of their example: to that effect he writes to Cromwell. He was winking at the *use of Mass* by the Princess Mary." In sober truth, on Mr. Blunt's hypothesis, Cranmer was a very moderate man indeed. The latter portion of this essay is somewhat curious, the writer seems carried away from "the principal founder of our Church" to the defence of the Church itself. But what does he defend?—not, strange to say, her Catholic doctrines and traditional authority, but the general connection of the Church with the State, and the conditions which such a connection entails.

We regret that want of space prevents us from giving a few extracts from the three essays upon "Church Rates," "Village Preaching," and "Village Schools." We have advanced in these two latter departments since Mr. Blunt wrote, but still several of his remarks are very valuable. The lives of Robert Hall, Adam Clarke, and Bishop Butler complete the volume.

We are very glad that these essays have been reprinted, and we trust that they may be now extensively read. They are not brilliant, nor are they marked by any great depth of learning, or by any strong feeling of attachment to the Catholic doctrines of our Church in England. But they are well written, the style and composition offer a safe and sterling model for imitation. The late Professor Blunt was ever a very *careful* man, and where he did not ride upon his Reformation hobby-horse, worthy of great trust. There is, however, much in this volume that could well be spared, and we should like to see a careful selection made from this mass of ephemeral literature, that so the wisdom of the late Lady Margaret's Professor at Cambridge might be handed down for many generations to come, and many of his more apt and striking illustrations and applications of Scripture, be graven upon our memories for ever.

## KINGSLEY'S INAUGURAL LECTURE.

*The Limits of Exact Science as applied to History.* An Inaugural Lecture, delivered before the University of Cambridge. By the Rev. CHARLES KINGSLEY, M.A., Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge. Macmillan and Co.

EACH period of a nation's history, like each period in man's life, seems to have its distinguishing mental characteristics. First is the age of simple wonder and unquestioning credulity. Nations passing through this phase of life accept every thing without doubt or investigation, suppose every difficulty invincible, and attribute every circumstance whose cause is not directly evident, to some supernatural influence. In the next age, the reasoning faculties are exercised, but only in deducing consequences from assumed postulates, and in making the first attempt at systematizing the phenomena of life and nature, by observing that, in general, they appear to follow laws, which however, at first, are supposed liable to frequent exceptions. By degrees this period passes into the last, in which each postulate is subjected to a searching examination, before it is accepted, and all operations of nature are supposed to be the consequences of laws.

In this period the idea of mystery is very much done away with : that which is unknown is no longer supposed to be of necessity supernatural, but only difficult. Few mysteries or none, are supposed to be hopelessly inscrutable. To take a metaphor from mathematics, the phenomena of life are held to be a set of problems, whose solutions are to be effected by the same principles, but which are in some cases more complex than in others. And as each of these periods has its virtues, so has it its vices. The chief danger of the first is superstition, of the second, bigotry, of the third, infidelity. Our own age appears to belong mainly to this latter period, and to be especially exposed to its peculiar peril. It is essentially a "regulative" age. The present facility of intercourse between distant countries, has caused an enormous development in those sciences, which depend for their existence and growth upon the results of extended observations. In astronomy, in natural history, in physiology, in geology, in statistics, facts are accumulated and results tabulated ; and as the circle of knowledge enlarges, everywhere the idea of order and law becomes more and more predominant. First there comes the dim, half-conjectured idea, then the enunciation of the law with the reservation of some apparent exceptions, and finally the convincing demonstration that these exceptions are but instances, hitherto unrecognized, of the law itself. The last fifty years has seen this

progression in most of the sciences that we have mentioned above. Some of them are now still in a state of transition. During the last few years several books have been published, which have attempted to explain the changes in the world of nature and of man, by the operation of fixed and unalterable laws. In these the usual error is visible, that of establishing a theory on insufficient data; there is still too much of the impetuosity of youth evident in those, who make it their boast that they are proceeding with the caution of manhood. Still, though many of the theories of these writers are utterly untenable, let us by no means hastily discard all.

Nothing can be more unworthy of a thoughtful man, than to reject indiscriminately all the conclusions of science, because some are insufficiently proved. Let the chaff indeed be scattered to the wind, but let the corn be preserved. There are no worse friends to the Church, than those who try to cry down under some party name or other, every idea which is either past their comprehension or contrary to their prejudices. Rome, perhaps, never gave her influence a severer shock in the minds of thoughtful men, than when she denounced Galileo. And we fear there are not wanting in the present day many, who would gladly see the Church of England adopt a similar course against all who differ from their teaching.

We welcome, therefore, with especial pleasure, this little book of Professor Kingsley, whose title we have quoted above. Its especial value to our mind is, that while it fearlessly recognises, nay, joyfully welcomes, all that is good and honest and true in the labours of men of science, it also lays down distinctly the limits beyond which they cannot hope to go, at least with their present knowledge, and refuses to believe that man is either a somewhat improved family of the monkey tribe, or else a mere puppet of the circumstances in which his lot chances to be cast. We will, however, quote Mr. Kingsley's words. After impressing upon his hearers, that if they would understand history, they must understand man, he goes on to say:

"Without doubt history obeys and always has obeyed, in the long run, certain laws. But those laws assert themselves, and are to be discovered, not in things but in persons; in the actions of human beings; and just in proportion as we understand human beings, shall we understand the laws which they have obeyed, or which have avenged themselves on their disobedience. This may seem a truism: if it be such, it is one which we cannot too often repeat to ourselves just now, when the rapid progress of science is tempting us to look at human beings rather as things than as persons, and at abstractions (under the name of laws) rather as persons than as things. Discovering to our just delight, order and law all around us, in a thousand events which seemed to our forefathers fortuitous and arbitrary, we are dazzled just now by

the magnificent prospect opening before us, and fall, too often, into more than one serious mistake."—P. 8.

The principal of these mistakes, he considers to be, "that students try too often to explain all the facts which they meet by the very few laws that they know, and especially moral phenomena by physical, or at least, economic laws," and class those facts which do not harmonize with their theories among "popular delusions, and mere outbursts of folly and madness." The first of these cautions we believe to be most important, and to strike at the root of nearly all the erroneous notions that prevail so widely at the present day. When, for example, we find men asserting that the miracles of Bible history are impossible, because contrary to experience, we cannot but wonder at the high value they set upon a thing so limited and so imperfect as man's experience.

No doubt (to use the Professor's words<sup>1</sup>) "much that was thought a few centuries ago to belong to the spiritual world, is now found to belong to the material; and the physician is consulted where the exorcist used to be called in." Still, it seems absurd to suppose, while our knowledge is day by day increasing, that we are in a position to dogmatise upon what is normal and what is not: we can indeed in many cases establish laws, but we can never be certain that these laws may not at times be overpowered by higher laws. There are many cases to be found, in which all the laws at present known are insufficient to explain what we see—nay, what is life itself, but a continual overruling of the ordinary laws that govern material bodies, by some mysterious agent which we call living force?

We cannot but think, that the more every man reflects upon the course of his own life, the more convinced he will become, that though much in his character, his circumstances, and actions, is due to the influences under which he has been brought up and to his bodily constitution; yet still there are not wanting traces of spiritual influences and motive powers of which our present knowledge can give no explanation. We cannot, then, conceive that the sole motive elements of the actions of mankind are "need and greed." Motives of great weight these are, no doubt, as Mr. Kingsley impresses upon his audience, but moral laws and spiritual agencies have also their share in the history of the human race. The part of his lecture which refers to that school which would make man the mere child of circumstances, appears to us very satisfactory.

He objects<sup>2</sup> to them that they attempt to explain history and progress by laws drawn from the average of mankind. This new science of little men, he considers to be no science at all,

"Because the average man is not the normal man, and never yet has been, because the great man is rather the true normal man, as coming

<sup>1</sup> Page 8.

<sup>2</sup> Page 49.

more nearly than his fellows to the true 'norma' and standard of a complete human character; and therefore to pass him by as a mere irregular sport of nature, an accidental giant with six fingers and six toes, and to turn to the mob for your theory of humanity, is about as wise as to ignore the Apollo and the Theseus, and to determine the proportions of the human figure from a crowd of dwarfs and cripples."

Though it be granted that climate, geographical position, the characteristics of a country, food, all produce an effect upon men, and tend very greatly to the formation of national character, yet still there does appear to be something more wanting. National history is sketched in its great men: they are the leading lines which give character to the picture, and we may fairly demand how it was, that the general laws, which produced the ordinary run of mankind, produced them. It is not so in the animal world. There are indeed there differences of degree, but not such differences as we see in the human race. The truth is, that in man there appears to be more than one principle ever contending for mastery. One of these we may call the animal, by which man would follow the impulses of his nature just like any other animal; so that if placed under certain natural influences, and fed with certain kinds of food, he would grow up to maturity in the possession of certain natural characteristics. If then we assert this to be the only principle, we place man in a far worse condition than we do animals; to them their natural instincts point always to that which is good for them, or at least harmless: in man, putting religion entirely out of the question, they certainly do not. This evil then is counteracted by another principle, be it called what it may, which cries out to man, warning him when to act, and when to forbear, which hinders him from following those natural instincts which would lure him to his hurt, and points the way by which a higher state of existence may be reached even in this life, to say nothing of the hope of that to come.

Professor Kingsley, indeed, seems to believe in the existence of a third principle, the account of whose operations we will give in his own words:—

"Let us look in detail at a few of these disturbances of anything like inevitable or irresistible movement. Shall we not at the very first glance confess—I am afraid only too soon—that there always have been fools therein; fools of whom no man could guess, or can yet, what they were going to do next, or why they were going to do it? And how, pray, can we talk of the inevitable, in the face of that one miserable fact of human folly, whether of ignorance or of passion, folly still?—Take one of the highest instances—the progress of the human intellect—I do not mean just now the spread of conscious science, but of that unconscious science which we call common sense. What hope have we of laying down exact laws for its growth, in a world wherein it has been ignored, insulted, crushed, a thousand times, by the stupidity, tyranny,

greed, caprice of a single ruler, or if not so, by the mere superstition, laziness, sensuality, anarchy of the mob. . . . And bear in mind that fools are not always merely imbecile and obstructive; they are at times ferocious, dangerous, mad. There is a human nature which Göthe used to call a demoniac element, defying all law and all inclination: and we can, I fear, from that one cause, as easily calculate the progress of the human race, as we can calculate that of the vines upon the slopes of *Ætna*, with the lava ready to boil up and overwhelm them at any and every moment."—P. 29.

We would gladly follow Professor Kingsley through the concluding part of his lecture, in which he enlarges upon the connection between national prosperity and national religion, upon the theories of progress and the education of man in history, but our space forbids, and there is the less need as the book is so small as to be within everyone's reach. We cannot, however, refrain from quoting the concluding sentences of his lecture, because they show the spirit in which Professor Kingsley addresses himself to his work.

"We shall talk of more than of an overruling Providence. That such exists will seem to us a patent fact. But it will seem to be somewhat Manichæan to believe that the world is ill-made, mankind a failure, and that all God has to do with them is to set them right here and there, when they go intolerably wrong. We shall believe not merely in an over-ruling Providence, but (if I may dare to coin a word) in an under-ruling one, which has fixed for mankind eternal laws of life, health, growth, both physical and spiritual; in an around-ruling Providence, likewise, by which circumstances, that which stands around a man, are perpetually arranged, it may be, fore-ordained, so that each law shall have at least an opportunity of taking effect on the right person, in the right time and place; and in an in-ruling Providence, too, from Whose inspiration comes all true thought, all right feeling; from Whom, we must believe, man alone of all living things known to us inherits, that mysterious faculty of perceiving the law beneath the phenomena, by virtue of which he is a *man*.

"But we can hold all this, surely, and equally hold all which natural science may teach us. Hold what natural science teaches? we shall not dare not to hold it. It will be sacred in our eyes. All light which science, political, economic, physiological, or other, can throw upon the past, will be welcomed by us as coming from the Author of all light. To ignore it, even to receive it suspiciously or grudgingly, we shall feel to be a sin against Him. We shall dread no 'inroads of materialism;' because we shall be standing upon that spiritual ground which underlies, ay, causes, the material. All discoveries of science, whether political or economic, whether of laws of health or laws of climate, will be accepted trustfully and cheerfully. And when we meet with such startling speculations as those on the influence of climate, soil, scenery, on national character, which have lately excited so much controversy, we shall welcome them at first sight, just because they give us hope of order, where we had only seen disorder, law where we fancied chance: we

shall verify them patiently, correct them if they need correction, and if possible, believe that they have worked, and still work, οὐκ ἄνευ Θεοῦ, as factors in the great method of Him Who has appointed to all nations their times, and the bounds of their habitation, if haply they might feel after Him and find Him: though He be not far from any one of them; for in Him we live, and move, and have our being, and are the offspring of God Himself."—P. 68.

We have never despaired of Mr. Kingsley, in spite of various aberrations. (His recent Sermon, "Why should we pray for fine weather?" certainly needs apology.) And one passage in his Lecture, in which he expresses a hope of being able to remove prejudices that have been felt against him, especially now leads us to hope that his views may be turning back again towards greater sobriety.

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### BENSON ON THE WORK OF CHRIST.

*Redemption: some of the aspects of the work of Christ considered in a course of Sermons.* By the Rev. R. M. BENSON, M.A., Student of Christ Church, and Perpetual Curate of Cowley, Oxon. London: Hayes. 1861.

THE doctrine of the Incarnation is avowedly the true centre of Christianity. Yet people even of religious minds, and who would not wilfully swerve from the orthodox faith, are content with very imperfect conceptions of the great work of Redemption. Some may experience a secret distrust that, by pursuing this subject to their utmost mental limits, they may be led into difficulties of which no solution will be found, or that their spiritual and intellectual capacities are too confined to permit the hope of attaining to any great definiteness in belief. Some again will maintain a position which is inadequate and erroneous. Thus we find men asserting that CHRIST's death was a mere moral act, or one of the steps in the moral progress of the world; that CHRIST's life and sufferings are chiefly efficacious as giving us an assurance that when we die there is a God to Whom we still live; that we are to found our confidence of the world being reconciled to God in CHRIST, not on the sacrifice, nor the ransom, nor the satisfaction, but on "the greatest moral act ever done in the world." Or again, the death of CHRIST is spoken of as a substitution, as the vicarious suffering of one man for another. GOD the FATHER is represented as possessing the special attribute of justice; GOD the SON as having that of love; and it is thence urged that the SON came upon earth to satisfy the requirements of the FATHER's wrath. All these and such like notions arise from two kindred errors, the first



of which regards the bare external manifestation and acts of redemption to the exclusion of any due appreciation of the Divine character of the Redeemer; and the second owes its origin to the absence of practical belief in the consubstantiality of the FATHER and the SON, to the want of a firm maintenance of the truth that the love, and justice, and will of the Blessed TRINITY are *one*. It is impossible with our finite capacities for us to grasp the whole economy of Redemption. This great work is beyond our powers adequately to comprehend. It is the work of God, and therefore must be illimitable and incomprehensible. But the most illiterate peasant, equally with the most highly gifted student, may know enough for his salvation, and can know no more. If they have learned WHO it is WHO died for them, how the new life is communicated to them, how they may appropriate the Redeemer's work; they have obtained saving truth, and may patiently wait for the full knowledge of divine mysteries.

The many perplexities which harass the minds of the uninstructed and the half-believer, when they begin to reflect upon the meaning of Redemption, really resolve themselves into the inquiry WHO and WHAT is the Redeemer. When men have arrived at firm faith in the divinity of CHRIST, and His consubstantiality with the FATHER and the HOLY GHOST, at the same time embracing His perfect humanity, they have laid aside the most fruitful cause of perplexities and doubts. It is not meant that all difficulties will then vanish. The stupendous work of Redemption must always on this side the grave be beyond man's intellectual comprehension. But the difficulties are only the ordinary ones which meet the faithful Christian whenever he piously attempts to fathom the depth of the ALMIGHTY's counsels, and far from causing hesitation or disbelief, they are directly conducive to faith, and become the occasion of its exercise.

It needs faith of course to realize the mystery of the Atonement: it is as absurd for men who want this spiritual sight to reason about this high doctrine, as it would be for a blind man to question the revelations of the microscope. But to one, who in a humble spirit searches the Bible, and seeks to understand it, not by the false glare of human intellect, but by the light of the Creeds of the Church and the Catholic belief of all ages, thus much will be plain: that CHRIST's Death and Passion are the reversal of Adam's fall; the first man's subjugation and disobedience, are remedied by the SAVIOUR's victory and sinless obedience; that CHRIST did really pay a price to redeem mankind from sin and its punishment, did really make a satisfaction, as GOD and man, for the transgression committed against GOD, and thereby brought about a reconciliation between GOD and man, by opening a communication between them; that to the sacrifice of CHRIST's death all oblations for sin looked forward, and that we plead it effectually

"till He come" in the sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist offered upon our Christian altars.

The true answer to the self-made difficulties of sciolists, and, as old writers called them, *theologasters*, is given in the very valuable volume of sermons, the title of which stands at the head of this notice. They were preached chiefly at the Church of S. Thomas the Martyr, Oxford, and are dedicated to the Rev. T. Chamberlain, its incumbent. Their object is to exhibit the Scriptural conception of the fundamental doctrine of Redemption; and though it was of course impossible in one small volume to embrace all the bearings of this momentous subject, yet the series, as far as it goes, is complete; and for depth of view, fulness of Scriptural illustration, and tender piety, it must take a high place among really theological works. The sermons are thirteen in number, and form a connected whole, written evidently upon an arranged plan. We propose here to give our readers an outline of the four first sermons on Sacrifice, sketching briefly the contents of the others, and introducing a few extracts in order to show the masterly manner in which Mr. Benson has treated his subject. This portion of our task is rendered easier of accomplishment by reason of a brief but accurate analysis being prefixed to the volume.

As CHRIST may be said to have died for us in a double sense, either for our advantage and eternal profit, or in our stead, taking our debt upon Himself, so He may be called our SAVIOUR and Redeemer in two ways, either by precept, counsel, and example, or by merit, by His work, by the efficacy of His Sacrifice.<sup>1</sup> Mr. Benson's sermons are chiefly concerned with the latter of these two senses, and are very full on the subject of Sacrifice. It is not enough to say that CHRIST died for our sins; there is a great and important cause why He thus offered Himself. "Sacrifice is really the act by which a holy creature acknowledges his dependence upon the Creator; and therefore, also, sacrifice is really the act of the Holy One and not of the sinner: it is the token of acceptance, not of estrangement, when God calls and permits any one to offer sacrifice to Himself." (P. 2.) Now there are four ends for which sacrifice was originally ordained, and these find their consummation and point of meeting in the Sacrifice of Calvary. The four ends are as follows:

1. The worship and praise of God.
2. Thanksgiving for mercies received.
3. Supplication for mercies required.
4. Propitiation for sin. (P. 5.)

1. Sacrifice was ordained for the worship and praise of God. Sacrifice of this nature is as old as creation. As soon as created beings were called into existence, the song of praise began; and it shall roll on in ever-increasing rapture for ever and ever. If we

<sup>1</sup> Liebernam, *Inst. Theol.* II. p. 265.

cannot now speak of sacrifice without a thought of suffering being connected with it, it is because, since the fall, man's will has been estranged from God, and the effort to sacrifice self is painful and arduous. Therefore we need a Redeemer; we require supernatural aid, to enable us to carry out this design of our creation. Through fallen man's hymn of worship there must run a strain of penitential sorrow. The very offering of external oblations, thenceforward permitted, was a token of the fall, and could only become acceptable when God Himself provided a means of cleansing the sinner. For this reason our LORD JESUS CHRIST came "to put away sin by the sacrifice of Himself." But the redemption of mankind was not the only, nor the chief, object of CHRIST's Incarnation. "The primary object is the glory of God; and it is only as identified with God's glory, that the redemption of mankind is effected by it." In His Incarnation He offered the sacrifice of joyous obedience; but over and above this, He offered another sacrifice of praise, by His oneness of nature with sinners, by bearing our griefs, and the contradiction of sinners against Himself, His anguish and sorrow for sin being intensified by the perfections of His divine nature. If then man would offer the sacrifice of praise acceptably, he must learn that the true end of his creation is to devote every act to God's glory. He is not to think how much or how little God requires of him, or how much or how little is necessary for securing salvation, but to live with one only care, how best he may praise God, and do Him true and laudable service. And this must further be a work of joy. It must be felt and realized to be a high privilege, which, once lost, is restored in CHRIST. By virtue of our redemption, we have a capacity for receiving this joy of God greater than that of any other created beings, and in proportion as we approach nearer to the ideal of the divine creation, so do we find abundant reward in every sacrifice however painful to the natural inclination. Yet as CHRIST suffered pain in His sacrifice of praise by reason of His oneness with man, so must we experience grief and difficulty in our worship, not only from our own personal sinfulness, but likewise from that genuine sympathy with our brethren which befits, and is the mark of, CHRIST's members. But with the thought of our own unworthiness arises the comforting remembrance that there is given to us the power of offering the only acceptable oblation which man can offer, which is CHRIST, Who Himself left us the Holy Eucharist as the great means of paying worthy praise and worship. The type of this oblation in the old law was the whole burnt-offering,

"and He Whom we offer to the FATHER, was consumed entirely not by earthly fire, but by the love of the Eternal SPIRIT.<sup>1</sup> Now Jewish sacrifices perished in being consumed. He Who is our sacrifice perishes

<sup>1</sup> S. John ii. 17; Heb. ix. 13.

not, by the very reason of that which consumes Him. He is made an eternal offering. In the fire of the divine love He renders Himself entirely to God, and in the fire of that divine love He is not a perishing but a glorified sacrifice. The sacrifice which perished in the fire could not be eaten of the worshipper. It was but an outward figure of divine homage, and it perished because it was not worthy of God's acceptance. That which God accepts cannot perish; for the unchangeableness of God's love, confers eternity of existence upon the objects of His love. The Body of CHRIST consumed in the glory of the divine love, is given back to us by God to be our spiritual food and sustenance . . . that the love of His dominion may burn within us to the praise of His glory, as it did burn in the heart of our adorable Victim."—Pp. 24, 25.

To participate in the acceptability which belongs to CHRIST, we must feed on the holy Offering, for it is only in union with Him that we can perform our Christian duties cheerfully, and learn the high and heavenly lesson of joy in sacrifice.

2. The second end of sacrifice is thanksgiving for God's special mercies, for those special acts of Providential care which we are too apt to regard as matters of course, but which we ought to view as interpositions of divine love. There is a distinction between worship and thanksgiving. There is more of an acknowledgment of love and fatherly tenderness in thanksgiving than in worship; there is more of the realisation of a personal loving God in the former; the latter speaks rather of the power and awfulness of a supreme, almighty Being. And thanksgiving is expressed by something more than words. Man has not only a material nature, but also a spiritual will, and the heart cannot pay worthy thanks, unless the hand co-operate. There always were certain covenanted actions by which man was permitted to show forth his gratitude, and there are such duties and privileges now. Earthly things are only rightly used when employed as the expression of thanksgiving to their Donor. "Every creature of God is good; and nothing to be refused if it be received with thanksgiving; for it is sanctified by the word of God and prayer." And as this is the highest use of God's gifts, so the highest act of thanksgiving is the Holy Eucharist, wherein we offer no type or figure, but CHRIST Himself, and in that oblation ourselves, bodies, souls, and spirits, a living sacrifice. We see this by observing the features of the sacrifice of thanksgiving in the Jewish ritual. It was to be a voluntary offering; so CHRIST made a free-will offering, laying down His life of Himself, and we continue His oblation. Again, this special Jewish sacrifice contained a meat offering of cakes and wafers, which accompanied the slaying of the victim; and when our LORD instituted the Holy Eucharist, breaking the bread, and saying, "This is My Body," He signified that the bread was the meat offering of that sacrifice which He was then beginning to

offer. (P. 51.) What meant the oil with which, under the former law, the cakes were mingled, but the power of the HOLY GHOST by which the Bread and Wine become the Communion of the Body and Blood of CHRIST? And why were some of the cakes to be unleavened, except to typify that the feast is to be kept without the leaven of the natural man? Why were some to be leavened, but to signify the new leaven of the humanity of CHRIST, which renews the faithful worshipper at the Christian altar? If the heave-offering was set apart for "the priest that sprinkleth the blood of the peace-offerings," it meant that CHRIST and His people being one, He eats of the sacrifice, whereon they feed, with and in them. If the sacrifice was to be wholly eaten on the first day, and none of it left until the morrow, it might well shadow forth the truth that the Holy Eucharist shall nourish souls during the day of grace, but that there shall be no more feeding upon CHRIST as Mediator in the day of glory, when if we have been filled with His fulness, our union shall want nothing for its completion. And lastly, the purity required of the Jewish worshipper, when he would eat the flesh of the sacrifice, is enforced with tenfold solemnity upon the Christian communicant.

3. The third end of Sacrifice is Prayer, supplication for mercies required. Prayer has no power, no efficacy without sacrifice, though it is only as possessing a covenanted relation with God, that we should ever presume to offer sacrifice, for the purpose of obtaining gifts from Him. Consider the peace-offerings of Prayer as ordained in the Jewish Law. First of all, purity in the worshipper was essential; and the Jew must depend, however unwittingly, on the mediation of CHRIST; and the Christian can only pray as being a member of CHRIST, Who alone can offer acceptable prayer, for that He alone is holy. The offerer partook of the sacrifice that thereby he might receive of the Divine fulness, and have his future needs supplied: when we present before God the sacrifice of our LORD JESUS CHRIST, we are admitted to feed upon His Body and Blood, "as a token of acceptance, a means of communicating His Divine Self, a pledge that He will give us all that we have prayed for." (P. 66.) In the peace-offering the sacrifice might be eaten on the day and on the morrow, but not on the third day, by which is signified that prayer has a two-fold answer,—here, and hereafter, and the hereafter is eternal. The victim itself was to be without blemish; our offerings can only be pure when united with the offering of CHRIST, which purifies all that is joined thereto in faith. The Jew had to make himself one with his offering by laying his hand upon the victim's head; if we would be accepted, we must not think to make our oblations a substitute for ourselves, but offer ourselves along with them. The victim was slain; and mortification is the strength of prayer. It was slain at the door of the tabernacle; and in dying unto the world

we look on to the life beyond the grave with CHRIST, Who is the Door. The blood was sprinkled by the priests upon the altar, and the sacrifice was burnt "upon the burnt sacrifice which is upon the wood that is on the fire;" prayer derives all its power from the sacrifice of CHRIST upon the Cross: it is the merit of this sacrifice which makes our offerings acceptable to God. Every form and class of sacrifice find their fulfilment in the great oblation of CHRIST. In Himself He combines the Peace-offering, the whole burnt-offering, the spotless victim, the sacrifice of sweet-smelling savour. His sacrifice is of real value before God, because of His creative power, by which He "made peace," and stored in heavenly granaries the exhaustless treasures of grace. As He received from the FATHER that life which He has in Himself, so He gives to the FATHER an equal and a corresponding gift, even the gift of His unspeakable merits. If we would be accepted we must use His Intercession, offer Him as our Oblation, identify ourselves with Him. At His altar we receive CHRIST, but we also offer CHRIST to God: we are not passive recipients of grace; we put forth CHRIST as our peace-offering, as our only claim to be heard of God. We must likewise present ourselves, our hearts, and wills to God, and offer our outward oblation in faithful remembrance of the eternal intercession made in the courts of heaven by our great High Priest.

4. The last end for which Sacrifice was instituted was propitiation for sin. Propitiation is the act by which God's anger towards sinners is appeased, yet in such a manner, that, while His mercy is displayed, His justice is also satisfied; and it contains two parts, the annihilation of sin, and the re-creation in holiness. Now the only offering which could be a compensation to the Divine displeasure is that which was offered by CHRIST; the only intercession which possesses a creative power is the advocacy of JESUS CHRIST. And the FATHER's joy in the love of the Incarnate SON was as glorious as His hatred of man's rebellion was intense. Before the Jew could offer a peace-offering, he must first be cleansed by the sin-offering. The former presupposed the latter. But with CHRIST it was not so. "His holy sacrifice of Himself in praise and thanksgiving with intercession finds itself consummated in the all-powerful propitiation," p. 92. And we have a sure warrant that God is propitiated in His triumphant ascension, which certified that the penalty was paid and the absolution granted. The merits of this propitiation are pleaded in the sacrifice of the Christian covenant; they are the strength of all the acts of the Christian ministry of reconciliation.

"When we handle the mysteries of redeeming love, whether in the celebration at the holy altar, or even in thought and speech, how little do we know of the results of what we do. The work of propitiation spreads through the whole spiritual world. While we do that which

CHRIST has commanded in remembrance of Him, we are, as it were, touching a spring of action which affects worlds of which we know nothing. It has pleased GOD 'by Him to reconcile all things unto Himself, whether they be things in earth, or things in heaven.'<sup>1</sup> Wherein then is the manifold wisdom of GOD made known by the Church to the principalities and powers in heavenly places? We are told of the better sacrifices by which the heavenly things are purified. What are they? Surely they are the perpetual pleadings of the death of CHRIST as our propitiatory offering which we bring before GOD as our bounden duty and service."—Pp. 97, 98.

In this heavenly propitiation there are three elements involved: redemption, purification, and satisfaction; 1. Mankind by reason of sin had fallen under the dominion of Satan. CHRIST became sin for us by emptying Himself of His glory and becoming subject to the dominion of the world which Satan governed; and so death could put forth a power upon Him which otherwise it could not have exercised. But by His death He destroyed that power. In the holiness of sanctified man He met the devil; and Satan could find no sin in Him by which to hold Him, and therefore in tyrannising over the person of CHRIST, he overthrew himself, and forfeited his sovereignty. And not only is Satan cast out, but CHRIST shall come again without sin unto salvation, and reign in glory. We can no more understand the mystery of the destruction of Satan's power than we can comprehend the existence of evil, or the abiding power of temptation. But we may use our knowledge of redemption, our consciousness of union with our Head, as a warning and an encouragement under all temptations. We may see in the humiliation of CHRIST's struggle with His own creature the law of our conflict with sin and Satan, and learn that in CHRIST alone can we hope for victory in the life-long battle.

2. There is a second mystery in propitiation, and that is purification. It was not enough that Hell's power was overthrown; the defilement of sin remained; the awful consequences of the fall, which we can little understand, must be done away. The unknown ruin of man's nature must be repaired. But how? by suffering, by the propitiatory sprinkling of the blood of CHRIST through Sacraments. Our restoration to GOD is not a mere renewal of the will, which might be effected by moral discipline, but a removal of inherent corruption, which demands the sanctifying influence of spiritual gifts in the Church. One result of the fall is seen in the evil of the material world; the restoring principle of this fallen creation is the redemption of CHRIST. It thereby recovers the capacity of acceptance with GOD, and things of earth are sanctified to be means of spiritual grace.

3. The third mystery of propitiation is CHRIST's satisfaction for sinners. By His sacrifice He has really satisfied the FATHER's

<sup>1</sup> Col. i. 20.

offended justice, has really paid the debt owed by fallen man to his outraged Creator, has really put away the guilt of past sin. The eternal sovereignty of God demanded the sacrifice of Himself. The whole act of atonement, with its display of infinite justice and infinite love, is the act of God. This reconciliation we cannot understand for two reasons. In the first place the very nature of God renders it impossible for us to conceive a reconciliation taking place in Him, or alternations of pleasure and displeasure passing in the Divine mind, though we know that such reconciliation has been made, and that such alternations do arise. And in the second place, we cannot fathom the act of CHRIST, because the Person of CHRIST and His acts are alike infinite; the satisfaction is as incomprehensible as is the Divine Person Who effected it.

Such is Mr. Benson's view of the character and end of sacrifice, and we have thought it right to give this brief analysis of the subject, as being in itself most important, and as too commonly ignored and misunderstood in popular theology. The rest of the volume, which contains some of the noblest and deepest sermons, is occupied with kindred matter. From the thought of the propitiation of CHRIST, the author passes on to regard Him as the LAMB of God, delineating His sufferings from the prophetic Scriptures, and showing why He is thus called and what we are to believe of Him in this character. Then follows the consideration of "The High Priest after the order of Melchisedec," and "the blood of sprinkling." Easter tells us of "the LORD our righteousness," and Mr. Benson takes occasion to treat of justification, showing that it is no mere pardon but a real resurrection, that it is a free gift to which man has no natural claim, that it is a law of life involving active responsibility, that it is a power of holiness, on the exercise of which the perfect justification of heaven depends. There is many a common error which will find its refutation in this valuable sermon. That semi-Pelagianism which, while denying the grace of Baptism, yet considers that there is no insuperable incapacity in human nature for justification, and that faith, or love, or some mental emotion, can move God for CHRIST's sake to treat men as righteous, is here exhibited in its true light as illogical and unscriptural. Justification is not merely the removal of the guilt of sin; it is the communication of the divine life and the righteousness of CHRIST; and therefore no mere outward change of life can avail to impart this heavenly gift, however it may tend to remove impediments in its way. Christians are not waiting to receive the gift of justification hereafter; they already possess a new life, wherein they are justified before God; their trial is whether they will keep this unto the end. Our author well asks,—

"Are we looking to be 'justified by faith,' as a mere acceptance of the Christian religion, which yet leaves us exactly where we were; or



do we realize that we are so 'justified by faith' as to 'have peace with God,'<sup>1</sup> being 'planted together in the likeness of CHRIST's death, that we may be also in the likeness of His resurrection';<sup>2</sup> taken out of the world of sight into the world of faith, that we may 'henceforth live not unto ourselves, but unto Him that died for us and rose again?'<sup>3</sup> Be assured of it, there is no such thing as a dead justification. Our justification is a communication of new life from the risen SAVIOUR, and in Him . . . man cannot be justified but by a new birth. It is as the sons of GOD, that we are justified before GOD. Our justification, and our sonship, is a real justification, and a real sonship, communicated to us by the sprinkling of the life-giving Blood of CHRIST. 'This is the record,' not that GOD will give, but 'that GOD hath given to us eternal life, and this life is in His SON.'<sup>4</sup> This life involves something more than mere duties, as an external obligation. It involves supernatural energies, as the inner constitutive law of its being. Have we realized this? Are we acting as those must act who do acknowledge this? Do we acknowledge CHRIST to be 'the LORD our righteousness,' as a substitute, or as the empowering original to us of a new life? We can have no righteousness, unless we are 'in Him.' Nor can He be our righteousness, unless He is 'in us.'—Pp. 236—238.

Again, with respect to the popular view of Protestants that our subsequent sanctification is an effort of gratitude or duty rather than the very law of our justification. Mr. Benson says:—

"Is it not practically too often thought, that almost every act of holiness a man can do, is really an act of supererogation? Do not men try to separate the life of holiness from the assurance of their justification, as if it were rather a decoration, than a necessity of life? And does it not follow hence, that while some neglect the care and study of holiness altogether, others fall secretly into an unconscious self-righteousness, feeling themselves to be doing more for GOD than their theological opinions allow them to regard as necessary to their salvation? Oh! we must acknowledge the risen life of CHRIST as the quickening principle of our own lives, the meritorious principle of our own efforts. We shall mourn then the more over the sins with which we have to struggle, because they keep us from the saintly joy of the life of the resurrection. Stained though we be with sin, we shall offer our works of faith to our heavenly FATHER, with a confidence that they will be pleasing to Him. We shall be 'careful to maintain good works,' knowing that as the Divine goodness of the FATHER accepts, so the Divine goodness of the Man CHRIST JESUS is found within them."—Pp. 247, 248.

"To hold back from any work of goodness to which the motion of CHRIST urges us on, is to shrink from the entire control which His risen Body should exercise over us, as partakers of His resurrection. It is a sin to check the impulse of CHRIST. It cannot, therefore, be superfluous for us to obey. If our justification before GOD were a mere substitution of the merits of one for the demerits of another, the mind would be tempted to strike a balance in the matter of the Divine re-

<sup>1</sup> Rom. v. 1.<sup>2</sup> Rom. vi. 5.<sup>3</sup> 2 Cor. v. 15.<sup>4</sup> 1 S. John v. 13.

quirements. But when we know our justification as enduing us with the life of the resurrection, we see that the merits of the Mediator avail, because they are supernaturally infused, so as to become a source of life, and there is no other Mediator but He, Who can thus give life to any. As well might a strong man, gazing upon a corpse, think to rouse it to energy by the exuberance of his own vigour, as the greatest saint think to make another share in the merits of the most entire devotion."—Pp. 246, 247.

Sermon IX. is occupied by showing how that the Christian is accepted in CHRIST, the oblation of ourselves to God being the necessary consequence of sharing in the oblation of CHRIST. This is followed by a discourse upon "The Good Shepherd" in His sacrificial life-giving death, and the power proceeding thence to shelter the sheep of His fold. To this succeeds a very careful exposition of the type of the Passover, wherein the moral and Christian application is fully and deeply worked out. A figure of our Christian pilgrimage is seen in "The ransomed people;" and the volume concludes with a noble sermon, preached last year at All Saints' church, Margaret Street, on "The Consummation of Worship," exhibiting the high end of all acts of worship, and the witness to our heavenly life afforded by material buildings erected for God's service.

With one or two further specimens of Mr. Benson's work we will finish our notice; observing by the way that the chief characteristic of the sermons is the wonderful knowledge of Holy Scripture exhibited herein—a knowledge not of the letter only, but more especially of the deep harmonies which lie beneath the surface, and which, in Old and New Testament alike, speak of CHRIST. Here is a comment upon a term in Holy Scripture often ill appreciated, "reasonable," *λογικὴν*, "I beseech you, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service." Rom. xii. 1.

"That which is translated 'reasonable,' is a word of special importance, and there is no word in our language by which its full meaning can be expressed. It occurs only once again in the New Testament, and that is in 1 S. Peter ii. 2, 'Desire the sincere milk of the Word, [*τὸ λογικὸν ἄδολον γάλα*] that ye may grow thereby.' The milk of the Word, and the worship of the Word,—and that is what our reasonable worship or service literally means—both of them refer to the Word which was made flesh. That is the Word of God, by which we are born again, the foundation of a new nature which abideth for ever, though all flesh is as grass. That Word, made flesh, is the sacrifice in virtue of which alone God can be honoured. The phrase 'our reasonable sacrifice,' or 'our sacrifice in union with the Word,' is applied in ancient Liturgies to our offering of CHRIST in the Holy Eucharist. It is as feeding on that holy sacrifice that we are able to offer our bodies also a reasonable sacrifice, a sacrifice in union with the Word."—P. 274.

The following is a valuable passage concerning the Passover:—

"I think the first question which suggests itself to the mind in considering the Paschal sacrifice is this. Was this Passover a sin-offering? By some persons it has been maintained that it was so. It is conceded that it was very different from the sin-offering of the law, because the offerer was to eat of the sacrifice—a token of communion with God,—whereas the sin-offering was intended to restore the capacity for communion, not to convey the benefits of the Covenant. The Paschal sacrifice, however, has been supposed to form an exceptional kind of sin-offering. Let us see wherein its difference from the proper sin-offering really consisted . . . . We may assume that an idea of propitiation underlay every bleeding sacrifice. No satisfactory account can be given of the taking away of animal life, unless it be a recognition that the life of the offerer was itself forfeited. The general idea then of propitiation underlay the Paschal offering. Yet the offering itself was not for the sake of removing sin, but of claiming the privilege of a promise already given. It, therefore, was itself rather a peace-offering. It was Eucharistic. The Holy Eucharist of the Christian Church is its great anti-type. It typified the offering of CHRIST, not as 'the propitiation for the sins of the whole world,' but as 'the Advocate with the FATHER,'<sup>1</sup> on behalf of 'the Church which He has purchased with His own Blood.'<sup>2</sup> If then we would enter into the moral teaching designed for us by this offering, we must consider both the ransom implied and the covenant by which it was claimed. We are expressly told by S. Stephen, that 'God sent Moses to be a ruler and deliverer [λυτρωτήν] by the hand of the angel which appeared to him in the bush.'<sup>3</sup> The ransom by which Moses redeemed Israel must have been the Paschal Lamb. How then was it a ransom? It was a type setting forth before God the hope of Israel, the promised Messiah. As Moses in his own person symbolized the personal triumphant Majesty of the coming Messiah, so did the Paschal Lamb symbolize and exhibit . . . . the humiliation and passion attendant upon His redeeming work . . . . The Passover, inasmuch as it was a sacrifice, implied that the redemption of the coming Messiah should be an atonement for sin, and itself was based upon that atonement . . . . We keep our Passover not with the typical death of a powerless victim, but with the intercessory life of a Victim triumphant over death. He has effected by His death, once for all, a propitiation for all sin. The death of the Paschal Lamb foreshadowed that propitiation, and applied it to the deliverance of the Israelites from their immediate bondage. In our Holy Eucharist the same propitiation is applied to the souls of the faithful. We have here the Blood not of a perishing lamb, but of the living SAVIOUR, poured out before God. We feed here, not on the dead body of a lamb chosen by men, but on the living Body of the LAMB fore-ordained of God."—Pp. 311—315.

Numerous other passages press for quotation, but here we must stop, with the repetition of our very warm thanks to the writer for his able volume.

<sup>1</sup> 1 S. John ii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Acts xx. 28.

<sup>3</sup> Acts vii. 35.

## POSTSCRIPT TO THE ARTICLE ON "WHAT HAVE THIRTY YEARS OF CHURCH REVIVAL DONE?"

WE contemplated originally a continuation of this Article in our present Number. But upon consideration the points omitted are so largely connected with the inward life of the Church, that they would seem scarcely to harmonize with the more popular line attempted in the Article. We have resolved, therefore, to content ourselves with enumerating some of them; and in the reprint of the Article, as a separate Pamphlet, which will speedily take place, they will appear under their proper heads. They are these:—

1. The recovery of the true doctrine of Confirmation, which had been quite lost.

2. The revival of spiritual discipline as a means of holy living.

3. The better organization of the Church's Missions, by means of an extended Colonial Episcopate, and still more by the specific training of those who are to be sent forth.

4. The introduction of Hymns, in harmony with the general teaching of the Church and the order of the Seasons.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

*Missionary Pupils : How to obtain more Men for our Mission Fields.*

By J. E. PHILLIPS, M.A., Vicar of Warminster. Rivingtons.

WE have been prevented by an accident from noticing this pamphlet before. It records the working of one of those local efforts which we conceive are among the most hopeful signs of the times. The writer has set himself to look out in his own deanery for promising lads, who may be fit eventually for S. Augustine's College; and he has made arrangements in his own parish for their reception and education in the meantime.

The success of the plan at Warminster will of course depend on the wisdom and discretion with which it is carried out; but as regards the general principle, we are in no doubt soever that it is absolutely the essential that the Church should systematically endeavour to recruit her ministerial staff more largely than she has formerly done from the lower middle classes of society. There is a good deal of talent that might in this way be secured to the Church, if we cared to seek it out; and the Clergy are wronging their own flocks if they do not try to develop and train such talent, whenever they meet with it, in a right direction.

We noticed with great commendation the *Cottage Commentary* on the Gospel of S. Matthew. This has been followed by a Commentary on S. John's Gospel, which brings out still more strongly the devo-

tional temper of the writer. For purposes of religion, we do not see that it could be improved. At the same time it appears to us that an apparatus giving the main scope of the Gospel, and an analysis of it, would have been an important addition, and would have helped very much to increase the usefulness of the book.

*The Exposition of the Book of Genesis*, (Masters,) while professing only to comment on the leading events of the history, is so arranged as to give just that general subsidiary information which the reader requires. We know of no book in the English language which supplies what is here given in a very short compass.

In the line which he proposes to himself, it must be admitted that Mr. How has achieved a great success. The first series of his *Plain Words* has been very widely circulated, and a second series now appears, with the name of an unknown publisher, (Morgan, Paternoster Row,) and follows very closely on the heels of a Commentary on the Fifty-first Psalm. It is not, we presume, as a theologian that Mr. How desires to be known, or we might take exception to the want of simplicity in some of his statements. Thus, for example, he cannot speak of Justification without cautioning his readers not to confound it with Sanctification. We ask, Why should they? In the light of mere practical reading, however, we are glad to be able to approve these "Words" unreservedly. For the writer himself, however, we would venture to recommend a fuller study of dogmatic theology.

We have to thank Mr. HUBBARD for an excellent letter to his constituents on *The Church and Church Rate*, (Ridgway,) which we are glad to see is in a second edition.

Mr. G. F. LEE's and Mr. BAIRD's *Sermons for Lent* reached us too late for any useful commendation.

A most thoroughly successful little work has just appeared, under the editorship of Mr. NEALE, entitled *Text Emblems*, (Hayes.) It consists of twelve original and very spirited designs, illustrating, after the mediæval manner, the spiritual meaning of as many passages of Holy Scripture. The eighth, which gives a mystical interpretation to the sin of Judah, is to us no exception; and we are thankful to know of any such way of regarding an incident so unpleasant to contemplate. At the same time it certainly renders the book unfit for circulation among the young; and we should strongly advise the publisher to cancel it.

*Milly Wheeler; or, a Daughter's Love*, (Masters,) is just the book which we should like to put into the hands of parish school-children; and persons of a riper age may derive much benefit from so life-like a description of the growth of grace in a poor uneducated child.

We have been much pleased with a simple form of *Self-examination and Devotions preparatory to the Holy Communion*, arranged by the Rev. HENRY AINSLIE for his poorer parishioners, (Masters.) The want of such a publication has often been felt, and is now very successfully met.

The first Libellus of a Delectus of the Hymns of the Church in their original Latin has appeared, forming part of a proposed *Bibliotheca Sacra Parvulorum* (Rivingtons), and very cordially do we wish it success. It is intended to give portions of the Greek and Latin Fathers, and also Hymns and Offices from the Eastern Church.

## MACDONALD ON THE PENTATEUCH.

*Introduction to the Pentateuch : an Inquiry, critical and doctrinal, into the genuineness, authority, and design of the Mosaic Writings.* By the Rev. DONALD MACDONALD, M.A., Author of "Creation and the Fall." 2 vols. Edinburgh ; T. and T. Clark. London ; Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

THIS is one of the most important works which have issued from the firm of Messrs. Clark for some time ; and that is no light praise. We believe that the author is a Scotch Presbyterian minister ; but his book is singularly free from anything which an English Churchman could object to. The author has thoroughly mastered the literature of his subject, and has given us the result of a very extensive reading in a calm, thoughtful, scholarly, and well-arranged book, which will soon win for itself the rank of a standard work on the Pentateuch. Mr. Macdonald's book is particularly opportune at the present time, not only because it supplies direct and solid answers to the wild irrational criticism of such rationalists as Dr. Rowland Williams and some of his brother essayists, but also because it shows that the "Essays and Reviews" are, in great part, a mere hash-up in an English dress of German theories which have already become obsolete in the land of their birth. Germany is eminently the land of critics, and it may be said with truth of her scholars generally, that they have for years held the torch from which the critics of other lands have, for the most part, been content to receive their flame. But when the subject belongs to the domain of sacred literature, nothing is so characteristic of German criticism as the instability of its theories. Like the maidens of Eastern climes, they are old and withered ere they have passed their teens. As soon as the German philosopher comes in contact with the Bible his brain directly becomes a hothouse in which all kinds of exotics shoot forth their stalks and leaves and blossoms with a tropical luxuriance ; but, alas ! no sooner do they come out into the cold air and allow themselves to be touched, than they immediately droop and die. So true is it that "not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called, but God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise." After giving a sketchy review of the principal impugnors of the Pentateuch in all ages, Mr. Macdonald may well remark, that

"if there be anything more obvious than another in the preceding brief notice of the various questions raised on this subject, it is the evi-

VOL. XXIII.—JUNE, 1861.

2 I

dence afforded of their ever-varying character—the arguments and objections of to-day almost invariably giving place to those of to-morrow, notwithstanding the confidence with which they were originally proposed, and the laboured criticisms by which they were recommended. This circumstance, of itself, offers much encouragement to the friends and defenders of the cause assailed ; but it at the same time imposes on them the necessity of preparing for every new attack. The apologies for the Bible of an older date, however able, will, in general, now no longer suffice. New arguments have been found for assailing its earlier portions more particularly, and these must be met by adequate replies. There is one hopeful consideration, fully borne out by the experience of the past, that, in all similar emergencies, such replies are not long wanting, and it may be confidently affirmed, that if in the present day, more than any preceding period, there is a necessity for new defences, never were there such ample materials provided for their construction, and gathered too from the most unexpected quarters, even such as seemed for a time, especially in the estimation of the opponents themselves, utterly to discredit the Mosaic records. The better informed believer, however, was sustained under the most trying circumstances, by a confidence as to the issue of those very appeals to history and science from which the enemies of revelation predicted such success ; and the results hitherto attained, it may be safely averred, show that such confidence was, to say the very least, not unwarranted.”  
—Page 47.

The first direct attack on the authenticity of the Pentateuch dates from the end of the second century. The author quotes a passage from S. John Damascene to show that the Nazarenes rejected the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. However that may be, there can be no doubt that the Ebionites proper, to whom the author of the Clementines belonged, impugned the authenticity of the Pentateuch, and on much the same grounds which German rationalists have urged, and which English rationalists have lately proclaimed with a flourish of trumpets, as if they were new discoveries.

The author of the Clementines is not known. The name is given to two treatises called the “Recognitions” and “Homilies” of Clement. They are essentially sceptical. They reduce, or rather degrade, the doctrine of inspiration to the level of mere human sagacity or insight. The prophet, in this sense of the word, discerns truth, not by being brought supernaturally in contact with powers higher than his own, but simply by the exercise of his own faculties ; not by revelation from without, but by intuition from within. Hence it followed that there could be no predictions properly so called, no foretelling of future events ; and thus the prophet’s knowledge was always coextensive with his prophecy. This is precisely Mr. Jowett’s theory ; and had he lived sixteen centuries ago, there can be little doubt in what company his name would have come down to us.

The Clementines do not reject the Pentateuch absolutely. On the contrary, they extol it highly, and exalt it above the rest of the Old Testament. Yet at the same time they anticipate the arbitrary and thoroughly groundless theories of Germany, and maintain that the Pentateuch did not attain its present form till a long time after Moses, "having been re-written many times over, in the course of which many foreign elements had been added which corrupted the original Mosaic doctrines." The Clementines are exactly the kind of work which we should imagine Dr. Rowland Williams introducing as a text-book to the students (if there are any) of Lampeter College.

Ptolemy, a Valentinian Gnostic of the third century, was the next conspicuous opponent of the genuineness of the Pentateuch. According to him the religious polity of Moses consisted of three parts,—that which proceeded from the Demiurge; that of which Moses was the direct author; and later additions made to the Mosaic Laws from oral tradition. From S. Matt. xix. 6, he argued that CHRIST distinguished the law of Moses from the law of the Demiurge. At the same time Ptolemy, like modern sceptics, professed a very high respect for Moses, took him kindly under his patronage, and undertook to show that there were no *essential* contradictions between Moses and the Demiurge; Moses sanctioned a laxer law than the Demiurge, not because he himself approved of a lower standard abstractedly, but because it was necessary to make concessions to the imperfect knowledge and moral weakness of the people. Moses thus became an ordinary legislator, like Solon or Lycurgus, and his code becomes, of course, a legitimate matter of criticism, and may be amended by the more enlightened views of other times. The Pentateuch, however, still holds its own, unamended, though fulfilled by Him "of whom Moses in the Law and the Prophets did speak;" but among the millions who acknowledge Moses as an inspired prophet how many have ever heard of Ptolemy the Gnostic? And so it will soon be with our English Gnostics. The Church will push her assailants aside, or crush them as a railway engine might a pebble, and go on in her unchecked and irresistible career to fulfil her heavenly mission.

After noticing Ptolemy, the author passes over "the Manichæans and other heretical sects, whose attitude to the Old Testament, or indeed to the New, is of no account, inasmuch as they pronounced everything adverse to their own views to be errors subsequently mixed up with the original truth."

Jerome is sometimes quoted by Rationalists as an impugner of the genuineness of the Pentateuch. The passage on which they found their accusation is as follows: "Sive Mosen dicere volueris auctorem Pentateuchi, sive Esram ejusdem instauratorem operis, non recuso." But, as Mr. Macdonald remarks,



"Jerome is here evidently referring to the Jewish tradition of the restoration or revival of the sacred books by Ezra, after the return from captivity, and which had obtained considerable acceptance with the Fathers; for Tertullian also remarks, 'Omne instrumentum Judaicæ literaturæ per Esdram constat restauratum;' and hence the terms of recognition in which Jerome alludes to it, although discerning its doubtfulness. But, in truth, this tradition did not question the genuineness of the Pentateuch, in representing Ezra *under Divine guidance* restoring the text to its original purity."

Of these early assailants of the Pentateuch Mr. Macdonald truly says, that from their position as enemies outside the pale of the Church, their hostility "cannot be held as greatly affecting the ecclesiastical unanimity in favour of these works, which may be properly said to have remained undisturbed till certain rabbinical authors of the Middle Ages put forth opposite views." And so strong was the weight of authority in favour of the Pentateuch, and the inspiration of the Bible generally, that these rabbinical writers felt themselves compelled to clothe their scepticism in obscure and ambiguous language—a characteristic which some of their followers in this age and country have faithfully copied. Beyond an occasional passing notice, however, these rabbinical "Essays" on the Pentateuch had no influence in their own day; they have only recently been disinterred from the dust of ages, and veneered with thin slices of orthodoxy, to fit them for modern drawing-rooms.

The first formal and avowed assailant of the Pentateuch in England was Hobbes of Malmesbury. In his "*Leviathan*," published in 1679, he says, "It is sufficiently evident that the five books of Moses were written after his time." About the same time a continental deistical writer, Isaac Peyreri, broached the Preadamite theory, and held that only fragments and extracts from the genuine writings of Moses remain. Modern sceptics have stolen no small amount of their munitions from the above two writers; but their largest debt is due to Spinoza, who in his *Tractatus Theologico-Politicus*, (published in 1670,) held that Ezra was the author of the five books ascribed to Moses. These attacks called forth refutations, on the continent, from Heidegger, Witsius, and Carpzov; and, in England, from Bishop Kidder. At the same time appeared Le Clerc's Commentary on Genesis, professedly in its defence; but its principles and tendency are such that Kidder is justified in remarking of Le Clerc, that "he concludes as if he had been retained against Moses." The same period also produced an attack on the Pentateuch by Richard Lemoir, a Priest of the Oratory, another by Le Clerc, who, in this (his second) attack, maintained that the Pentateuch was written by the priest whom the Assyrian king had sent to teach the Assyrian settlers in Palestine, "the manner of the God of the land." At a later period Le Clerc recanted these

views, and admitted that there was no reason why Moses should not be acknowledged as the author of the Pentateuch.

We quite agree with the remarks which our author makes on the infidel tendency of the low, cold, barren apologies which the deistical controversy called forth in the eighteenth century, and towards the end of the seventeenth :

"It is to be observed, however, that the Pentateuch received far greater injury at the hand of professed friends than of avowed enemies ; and in this several English writers may be said to have taken the lead. The low and erroneous views of the Hebrew ritual, maintained towards the close of the seventeenth century by Barrow, Tillotson, and others, were fully and systematically carried out, and withal commended with great learning by Dr. John Spencer, who, though far from entertaining, or at least expressing, any doubt as to the authenticity and genuineness of the Mosaic writings, yet indirectly exerted the most pernicious influences with respect to their character, from the manner in which he represented the Mosaic economy, and the purposes he ascribed to its various ordinances. Spencer's great work, '*De Legibus Hebræorum Ritualibus et eorum Rationibus*,' was avowedly undertaken in defence of the Hebrew ritualism ; nevertheless, as Magee remarks, it 'has always been resorted to by infidel writers in order to wing their shafts more effectively against the Mosaic revelation.' Its author's object was to show that the primary design of the Hebrew ritual was to counteract the idolatrous tastes which the people had acquired in Egypt. For this purpose it was necessary, he alleges, to occupy the minds of a people, so rude and lawless as the Israelites were at the time of the Exodus, with a constant round of rites and ceremonies of a harmless character, borrowed from the Egyptians and neighbouring nations, and with which they had been already familiar. These ordinances, in the view of Spencer, had 'no agreement with the Nature of God ;' nor were they 'needful for the cultivation of piety ;' while some of them indeed he holds were of a more reprehensible character, but necessarily tolerated because the law must yield to the disposition which it cannot altogether check. Of this view it need only be remarked at present, that if it be a correct representation of the object and character of the Jewish ceremonial law, nothing can be conceived more derogatory to its claims to Divine origin, and to the character of Moses, who represents it as given by God. This view of the Mosaic economy, so far from presenting it, as it did to Warburton, as 'an institution of the most beautiful and sublime contrivance,' seems rather to argue the utmost impotency and want of contrivance on the part of the Lawgiver in attempting, as Bolingbroke sarcastically remarked of this theory, 'to destroy idolatry by indulgence to the very superstitious out of which it grew.'"—Pp. 17, 18.

Spencer's work attracted great attention both in this country and on the continent, and the rationalistic principles, on which some of its main positions were based, elicited replies from Witsius and other learned men abroad. These replies, however, were only par-

tially successful; for while the writers were forced to admit the resemblance which existed between many of the Jewish and Egyptian rites, instead of inquiring into the true causes of this resemblance, they committed themselves to the untenable theory, that the Egyptians borrowed their religious observances from the Hebrews. This flaw enabled Warburton and others to throw discredit on an argument which was otherwise sound. Among others Le Clerc took part in the controversy. It has been observed already, that he retracted his sceptical views as to the authorship of the Pentateuch. But this availed little; for his belief in the Mosaic authorship was vitiated by opinions which virtually denied the Divine origin of the Pentateuch. He eliminated the Supernatural element altogether, and reduced miracles to the level of natural occurrences; or where this could not be done, explained them away. Le Clerc, in fact, gave the premises which have logically evaporated in the mythical theory of Strauss.

"The scepticism and religious frivolity of the latter part of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries eagerly rushed forward in the paths thus opened up. The Mosaic writings in particular were assailed by every sort of weapon, not the least common of which were sarcasm and ridicule. Some of the English and French infidel writers showed a special predilection for the latter species of argument; while the Teutonic opponents chose the higher field of criticism and antiquarian research."—P. 19.

These attacks, of course, called forth numerous defenders, a few able, but most of them, as Mr. Macdonald justly observes, "so imbued with the spirit of the age that their defences proved no less detrimental to the character of the Sacred Scriptures than the attacks which they undertook to repulse. They abandoned to the enemy all that was worth contending for." "The principal writers in the Deistical Controversy, on either side of it," says Mr. Pattison very truly, "have expiated the attention they once engrossed by as universal an oblivion."<sup>1</sup>

Eminent among the apologists, whose advocacy has proved more injurious to their cause than the open hostility of their opponents, were Warburton and Michaelis. The former's "Divine Legation" is simply a brilliant paradox. The argument, which the Bishop elaborates with so much learning and ingenuity, and, it must also be added, with so much fallacious reasoning and recklessness of statement, is briefly this: a religious belief in a future state of rewards and punishments is essential to the well-being of society; this is proved by the fact that all civil society from the beginning of the world is more or less founded on such a belief; but this necessary bond of society is utterly wanting in the Mosaic dispensation; therefore the Jewish polity must have been Divine in

<sup>1</sup> *Essays and Reviews*, p. 266.

its origin, and maintained by a supernatural agency. Warburton had a great following in his day ; but any one, who reads his book at this distance from the dust of the controversy, will own that while the Bishop is able to produce much in support of his minor proposition, he is also compelled partly to ignore and partly to torture much that tells against him. Mr. Pattison characterises him as "displaying at once his disdain and his ignorance of Catholic theology ;"<sup>1</sup> and with respect to the fundamental position of the "Divine Legation," Mr. Macdonald says, with much point, that "matters must have come to a singular conjuncture with the Hebrew legislator, when no better proof could be advanced of his divine legation than the more outward and earthly character, as compared with the legislation of the other nations of antiquity, which marked his views and enactments."<sup>2</sup>

If the reasoning of Michaelis's book on the Mosaic Rites is well founded, Moses must have been "fully conversant," as Mr. Macdonald pertinently observes, "with the most approved Machiavelian principles." According to this author, the Law of Moses was a gigantic "pious fraud." The religious element in the Pentateuch was a mere state instrument, which enabled Moses, with "splendid legislative sagacity," to impregnate the Hebrew nation with sound political and social principles. In short, the Mosaic economy was merely a civil institution, and its religious sanctions are only specimens of dexterous statesmanship !

The close of the eighteenth century was marked by the inauguration of a new era in historical criticism. Wolf, who introduced the system, contended that the art of writing (except perhaps in a rudimentary form) dates from a time long posterior to some of the old models of classical literature, and that therefore the Homeric poems were the productions of different authors, which were artificially fitted together so as to form a whole. This hypothesis was seized with avidity by a host of critics, who applied the theory of Wolf in other cases, and pushed his premises in directions and to extremes which probably he himself had not contemplated. The authenticity and genuineness of the books of Holy Scripture were, of course, tested and measured by these new canons of criticism ; and it is obvious that, in passing through the ordeal, they laboured under a disadvantage which the Greek and Latin classics had not to contend with : the critics came to examine them with a foregone conclusion ; their judges had already made up their minds against them, and, indeed, pronounced judgment ; they examined them, not with a view to an unprejudiced and impartial decision, but in order to discover arguments to justify a sentence already passed. The critics of Germany in particular revelled in a maze of theories, all directed against the Pentateuch, and each destructive of the other. What the Rev. H. J. Rose once said pungently of German

<sup>1</sup> P. 268.

<sup>2</sup> Introduction, p. 22.

theories about the Gospels is equally applicable to German theories about the Pentateuch :—

“Hypothesis here has been knocked down by hypothesis, till the Gospels must begin to feel themselves in a very awkward condition. If they were not written independently,—and that is flatly denied; if one was not copied from another,—and that is almost given up; if they were not derived from a single common document,—and that is growing out of fashion; if oral tradition does not account for their coincidences,—and we are assured that it cannot; at least we may flatter ourselves that they have not many further chances to escape. The method of exhaustion has almost done its work. The last hypothesis, which we think neither the Gospels nor our readers can possibly avoid, will be, that, in spite of *some* evidence from our senses, they were never written at all. This conclusion will be a most valuable adjunct to certain other great discoveries of the day, and will show in a most striking manner the march of intellect, and our incalculable superiority to our gross and ignorant forefathers.”

The critics of the rationalistic school in Germany all unite in pronouncing the Pentateuch to be an assemblage of heterogeneous fragments, the works of various authors and ages; yet no two of them agree as to the nature of those fragments or the manner of their combination into the form which they now possess. “Some suppose that the Pentateuch is the production of two, or at the most three writers; while others, with equal confidence, quadruple the larger of these numbers; some, again, hold that the various documents or fragments have been connected by the merest accident, or the caprice of the collector; while others, and only more recently, discern in the compilation evidences of a most skilful literary operation.” The Christian apologist, indeed, might be excused if he declined even to entertain the question, till such time as the motley crew who assail the Pentateuch have agreed among themselves as to the point or points at issue. Like “the Midianites, and the Amalekites, and the children of the East,” they are “gathered together” against the LORD’s host; but the God of Israel, as of old, has “set every man’s sword against his fellow, even throughout all the host.” There is something inexpressibly absurd in the cool request of the Essayists and Reviewers, that we should give up doctrines and principles which have comforted the hearts and guided the conduct of millions of our race for ages; which, their enemies being witnesses, have purified and invigorated mankind; and which, moreover, have been submitted to every conceivable test, and “have passed through fire and water,” with undiminished strength and untarnished lustre; and that, in the place of these doctrines and principles, we should embrace theories which are but of yesterday; which have passed through no ordeal that could test their moral power over the hearts of those who hold them; and which, above all, chase each other in rapid succession

like the billows of the sea, and break and scatter in froth and foam the moment they touch the solid ground of truth. It is very easy to sit down in one's study, and write a startling book; but we should like to know which of all the Essayists would be willing to embrace poverty, and shame, and torture, and death, in defence of his theory. Many a man has died in defence of a dogma, but the history of the world does not afford an example of a man becoming a martyr to an intellectual conclusion. Men will say many extraordinary things, *δέσιν διαφυλάττων*, as the "Essays and Reviews" abundantly show; but they invariably stop short of action. They can "sit at home at ease," surrounded by ardent and admiring spirits, and talk grandly of "the love of truth;" they can complacently apply to their own case, with the affectation of martyrs, texts which pronounce a woe on those of whom "all men speak well;" they can represent themselves as objects of persecution and martyrs to "intellectual toil," who hope to find the reward of their self-sacrificing labours in a haven "somewhere beyond the waves of time;" and all this, no doubt, reads well and sounds fine on paper, but, after all, it is only the seed planted on a rock, which has no moisture to nourish it, and no depth to sustain it, and which in time of temptation will inevitably betray those who put their trust in it. Indeed one of the Essayists themselves acknowledges the moral and spiritual impotency of his own conclusions, when he tells us that he would "drown himself" to escape "a storm of ridicule." This simple confession is the exaggerated expression of a real truth, and it supplies a sufficient confutation of the "Essays and Reviews." A religion which is not proof against "a storm of ridicule" may do very well in fine weather; but what becomes of him who relies on it when the storm beats against him? He must "drown himself in the Neckar,"<sup>1</sup> says the Vice-Principal of Lempeter.

The theory, which, in a great variety of forms, the later critics of Germany applied to the interpretation of the Pentateuch, is variously styled the "Document-hypothesis," or "Fragment-hypothesis."

"This hypothesis, as applied to the Pentateuch, is so named from the assumption that this portion of Scripture, though usually ascribed to Moses, is, in fact, a collection or combination of various original, more or less independent documents or memoirs, the literary character and the relative ages of which it is the object of this scheme critically to determine. At first, this theory was limited to the Book of Genesis; and while so limited by Vitranga, who was the first to raise the question as to the nature of the sources of Moses's information on matters which long preceded his own time, and subsequently by Astruc, who, giving the subject a fuller consideration, sought to define the number and character of the memoirs to which hitherto only a

<sup>1</sup> Essays and Reviews, p. 70.

general reference had been made, it excited but little interest, for such a use of earlier documents was perfectly reconcileable with a belief in the Mosaic authorship and inspired authority, as well of Genesis as of the rest of the Pentateuch, with the transactions of which Moses was otherwise acquainted. . . . Eichorn, while fully admitting that nothing was more difficult than the attempt to effect the separation of documents which had been so interwoven, as those which entered into the composition of Genesis, and that such an operation required the utmost discrimination and tact, courageously set himself to the task of marking off the various portions, larger and smaller, sometimes extending only to single verses, which belonged respectively to the two original writers; and further, to distinguish the interpolations of the compiler, for to that were now reduced the *tex* supplementary memoirs of Astruc. And not only so, but Eichorn undertook, in addition, the correction of the clerical and other errors of the original autograph which were due to the inadvertence of the compiler, as well as those mistakes of his transcribers discoverable from the versions and other critical helps. That part of Eichorn's undertaking which specially concerned the emendation of the original text, and which, but from the fact that it was the Sacred Scriptures that were subjected to such treatment, might be viewed, on account of its very presumption, as a matter of critical pleasantry, was indeed carried to a far greater length by some of his followers, as by thus bringing the text into conformity with the theory, there was in every case of emergency a simple mode of escape from all perplexities. . . . The separation of the documents was effected chiefly by means of the recurrence of the terms 'Elohim' and 'Jehovah,' designations of God which were assumed to be characteristic of two distinct writers, whose productions have accordingly, on that account, been styled in critical phraseology, since the time of Astruc, 'the Elohim' and 'Jehovah-documents' respectively."—Pp. 138, 139.

"In Germany there has been a pathway streaming with light, from Eichorn to Ewald," says Dr. Rowland Williams.<sup>1</sup> We have already given our readers some idea of Eichorn's theory. The writers who occupy the intervening space between Eichorn and Ewald are more arbitrary in their assumptions and more extravagant in their conclusions than Eichorn himself; and Ewald, in whose theory this "pathway of light" is supposed to have coruscated, simply discards all the ordinary laws of criticism, and "does what is right in his own eyes." "So exceedingly whimsical is this scheme," Mr. Macdonald truly remarks, "and so utterly destitute of even the semblance of proof, for the author, with all the dignity of criticism, disdains arguments, and advances only bare assertions, that it is not strange that it has found no favour even among his paradox-loving countrymen." So singularly grotesque indeed is Ewald's theory, that at first sight it impresses one with the idea that the author really intended it as a *reductio ad absurdum* of the Biblical criticism of Germany. And yet it is this caricature, half ghastly

<sup>1</sup> P. 66.

half ludicrous, which the writers of the "Essays and Reviews" offer us in place of that old Catholic Faith to which we owe all that is great and good in Christendom! Dr. Rowland Williams, if he is so minded, may go rejoicing along his "pathway streaming with light;" he will find it in the end an *ignis-fatuus* which is luring him into the quagmire. And we beg to ask him and his fellow-Essayists whether they have duly weighed the responsibility they have incurred in doing their best to shake the faith of a generation in old and eternal principles, and then leaving them, without landmark or causeway, to struggle, as they best may, across the morass? "The love of truth" is a grand thing, no doubt; but it ceases to be "love of truth," and becomes will-worship, when pursued in forbidden paths. "To obey is better than sacrifice."

In our next number we hope to give our readers some idea of the way in which Mr. Macdonald meets the sceptical theories, the nature of which we have indicated above.

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## THE EASTERN CHURCH.

*Lectures on the History of the Eastern Church.* By A. P. STANLEY, D.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford, and Canon of Christchurch. London: Murray.

MANY of our readers will doubtless remember the little room in the Clarendon, in which the late Professor Hussey was accustomed to deliver his lectures. The number of his auditors was usually small, but amongst them were found the most diligent of students in divinity. There was little in his lectures to attract the rest, but these found the Ecclesiastical History course amongst the most useful in the divinity curriculum. They were not dressed out in brilliant language, nor was there anything in the manner of their delivery which imparted to them any other interest than that which their subjects demanded. Their value consisted in the patient and laborious investigation to which things which lay below the surface were subjected, and habits of inquiry were thus formed in the minds of Mr. Hussey's pupils which could be applied with advantage in after years to all kindred subjects. A foundation was laid deep beneath the soil. The flowers were not seen perhaps when the seed was sown, but they were destined to bloom when he who sowed the seed had departed to his rest.

Such lectures as Mr. Robert Hussey's, whatever they might want in brilliancy, better fulfil, in our judgment, the intention with which the Ecclesiastical History chair was founded, than the pic-



turesque sketches which have been published by his successor, under the title, of "Lectures on the Eastern Church." Much was expected from Arnold's biographer, and when his inaugural lectures were delivered, so large an auditory flocked to hear them, that the little room in the Clarendon had to be exchanged for the more spacious Theatre. These inaugural lectures were published at the time, and as we noticed them then, we need not speak of them at any great length now. They are republished in the present volume, but if we remember rightly, some expressions, too hastily written, are softened down and altered. Dr. Stanley spoke, for instance, of the saying, "Ubi tres laici, ibi est ecclesia," as the universal dictum of the ancient Church, but since then he has apparently discovered that these were only the words of Tertullian after he became a Montanist. We happily miss, also, the monstrous figment that the Anathemas of the Nicene Council are attributable to the inclement climate of the Black Sea. Dr. Stanley was wise to prune his work when he found that the luxuriance of his style had led him into expressions which were untenable and absurd.

The secret of Dr. Stanley's success is that which is his greatest snare, and which must prevent anything he ever writes being of permanent value as a contribution to the literature of his country. He is always brilliant and picturesque, but the luxuriance of his imagination unfits him to be a candid or trustworthy historian. Moreover he seems to forget the dignity which belongs to his Professorial chair, and to come before the public as a popular lecturer. His lectures appear to us to be better suited for a mechanic's institute than for the lecture-room of a learned university. Doubtless also the reward he desires is obtained, and he is satisfied with the applause of the public, who care not to look beneath the surface, and for this he would willingly sacrifice his claim to such a tribute from some future professor, as he has the generosity most gracefully to pay to the memory of his predecessor. If we were asked for a parallel in profane history to Dr. Stanley's work, we should have no difficulty in pointing to Mr. Thackeray's Lectures on the Four Georges.

It seems ungrateful to find fault with a book from the perusal of which we have derived so much pleasure, but yet this pleasure has not been unmingled with pain, and the pain with which we read it was the greater, when we reflected that it would be unfelt by the majority of readers by whom its cause would be unperceived. The style carried us on at a fair rate from page to page, but we had sometimes to stop and ask whether Dr. Stanley was writing facts which he believed, or recording legends which he thought pleasant and poetic. At times the history of the Church is written much in the style in which Dr. Arnold delineated the early legendary history of Rome. There are touches which show

the master's hand reproduced in his pupil, but though the treatment may be picturesque and permissible in dealing with the early history of a people whose antiquities are but dimly seen in the far distance of past ages, we cannot but think that, when applied to portions of Church history which may be distinctly traced, the writer is dealing with a subject which he believes to be unreal, or at least not too sacred to be trifled with, or treated with a concealed sneer.

A fair instance of what we mean will be found in the history of the Council of Nicæa, on which perhaps Dr. Stanley has bestowed more labour than on any other part of his work. Like Sir Walter Scott, he visited the spot which he was to describe, that his impressions of the scenery might be reproduced in his description. Like Mr. Holman Hunt, he studied the effects of light and shade as they played upon the scenes which were to form the background of his pictures, and we do not accuse him of any failure in the artistic effect which he intended to produce. The moonlight of a May morning on the wooded steeps of one of the mountain ranges of Bithynia may help an artist to paint such a series of pictures of the Council, as those with which the Russian Christians love to adorn their churches, but it is of little assistance to the historian or the divine whose business lies not so much with the outer scenes, as with the inner minds of those who filled them. Yet with these outward pictures Dr. Stanley is content, or at least the pains bestowed on the external part is disproportionably great compared with that with which he has studied the causes and effects of the Church's first and greatest Council.

The scene is so graphically described that little power of imagination is required for its realization. The roads by which the Bishops and confessors travelled, the hostels in which they reposed on their journey, their appearance when they arrived at Nice, the theatre in which their first meeting was held, are all brought up to our minds. We can almost see the beaming countenance of the man, small in stature, who was hereafter to be known throughout the world as the great Athanasius; Alexander comes with the shadows of death already on his brow; Arius is present with a rigid ascetic countenance which, united with a sweet voice and mild demeanour, constitutes the fascinating charm of his influence. Then we see the Coptic hermits Potammon and Paphnutius, bearing in their persons the signs of a good confession, and a multitude of Bishops and Confessors who flock together from the East and from the West. But Dr. Stanley thinks the picture incomplete without relating some of the miracles which were ascribed to these illustrious men, and as these are told in the same strain as the description of the men themselves, it is not easy to mark the boundary between legend and history. Some writers might have done the same, and yet in their simplicity we should not have suspected a sneer, but

when Dr. Stanley tells us of Jacob, Bishop of Nisibis, turning the washerwoman's hair white, and of Spyridion of Cyprus, when the Arians had cut off his horse's heads, replacing them by miracle, and yet from the darkness of the morning not perceiving the proper heads which belonged to each horse, and therefore placing white heads on black horses, and black heads on white, we cannot but conclude that he is treating the whole subject with a levity which is unbecoming and undignified. And yet at times a better light gleams upon the pathway of Dr. Stanley's history. He can see in the tradition, that the number of the Bishops when counted was always one more than when they answered to their names, a symbol of the presence of the HOLY GHOST, Who guided and assisted their deliberations. Whether this is merely legendary, or something more, we will not now decide, although it appears as easy to believe as the appearance of a fourth human form in the fiery furnace with Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, and the occasion most surely was "*tanto vindice dignum*." At all events it is something that Dr. Stanley could admit that there was a deep and holy signification in the legend.

Following the sketch of the Council of Nicæa, from which little is concluded, for such was not the Professor's plan, we find graphic portraits of the chief combatants on the arena of controversy which called it forth. A whole lecture is devoted to Constantine, another to Athanasius, whilst Arius appears in the background of each picture; and, on the whole, we think that the portraiture of these illustrious men has been fairly drawn. Constantine's character is one difficult to depict on account of the inconsistencies which appear in the story of his life. The secular side of the great Emperor has been better drawn by no one than by Gibbon. A great Emperor he certainly was, both in the conception of his ideas and in working out the details of his plan. An exact theologian we should scarcely expect to find in one who had been bred in camps, and this was probably the reason why he wavered between opposing factions and favoured the Orthodox and the Arians in turn; but yet, throughout his life, we may see in him an instrument raised up by God for the accomplishment of His own designs, irrespective of the Emperor's personal character. Thus it was that he appeared at Nicæa as the champion of the Faith once delivered to the Saints; and thus again, for God can bring good out of evil, that he was permitted to persecute the faithful servants of the LORD that they might learn the meekness and submission of their Master. It was a great thing for the Church to find in Kings and Queens nursing fathers and nursing mothers; but the transition from depression to supremacy would have been a time of greater peril than it was, if the troubles which disturbed the peace of the Church at this period had never been permitted to arise. It was a great thing that the Orthodox Faith was established at Nicæa, and that the Emperor should stand

forth as its champion ; but orthodoxy was not everything. Besides a true faith a sanctified heart was needed, and the ascendant party might have been too much elated, and their purity of spirit injured, if they had not soon been called to pass through the waters of tribulation. Constantine's private character could no more interfere with God's work than the personal history of Cyrus had done in a former age. There were glaring inconsistencies indeed ; but then we must remember that his baptism was delayed to his last hours, and therefore we can scarcely judge him as one possessing the baptismal gifts of grace would be judged. "*He believed in Christianity,*" no doubt ; but what is belief without grace ? The singularly ill-judged epitaph, which Bishop Hurd wrote for Warburton, which is still to be seen in the nave of Gloucester Cathedral, might have applied to the Emperor with better taste than to the Christian Bishop. Thus his domestic crimes may be accounted for, and we may see in him the man who seeks the better way without the power of finding it.

That Constantine should have been eulogized by Christians, and that the title "*Isapostolos*" should not have been denied him, was but natural, when we remember the munificent donations which he had made to the Church, the churches which he had founded and restored, and the prosperity which his rule bestowed on those who had never known peace before. The Bishops of that and of the succeeding age would scarcely have been men, if they had not gratefully eulogized his memory. Impartial judgment must of necessity be left for generations which were yet unborn ; and even now, since we cannot divest his memory from that of the benefits which, under God's Providence, he bestowed upon the Church, nor measure his private character by the rule of that system in which he had been early educated, it is safer to leave the decision to Him Who alone judgeth righteous judgment. But such conclusions seem to be beside the purpose of Dr. Stanley's Lectures : he contents himself with drawing a picture, and leaves his pupils to form what estimate they please ; and this we take to be a dereliction of duty when we consider the responsibilities of the Professor's office.

"The royal-hearted Athanasius" is a character which, in spite of his unswerving orthodoxy, Dr. Stanley can appreciate. The strength and greatness of his character, not embittered, but rather sweetened by persecution, coupled with his moderation towards the Semi-Arians, could not but be attractive even to one of that school to which the Professor of Ecclesiastical History belongs. His humorous wit, moreover, shown specially in the scene at the Council of Tyre, when he produced Arsenius, whom he was accused of having murdered, and when he threw his pursuers off their scent by telling them from the deck of his Nile boat that Athanasius was not very far off, is a salient point which seizes on Dr. Stanley's fancy. But when the Professor speaks of him as a Theologian we find expressions

against which we must seriously and solemnly protest, however much we may expect to find them from one of Dr. Stanley's school.

"He was," says the Professor, "the founder of Orthodoxy. Before his time, and before the settlement of the Nicene Creed, in which he took so large a part, it might be said that the idea of an orthodox doctrine, in the modern sense of the word, was almost unknown. Opinions were too fluctuating, too simple, too mixed to admit of it. It is a word even to this day of doubtful repute. No one likes to be called heretical; but neither is it a term of universal eulogy to be called orthodox. It is a term which implies, to a certain extent, narrowness, hardness, perhaps even harshness of intellect and deadness of feeling, at times rancorous animosity. In these respects its great founder cannot be said to be altogether free from the reproach cast upon his followers in the same line."

This language we hold to be at once flippant and untrue. The SAVIOUR, and not Athanasius, was the Founder of Orthodoxy. S. Paul was a champion for the faith, and each charge brought against Athanasius might with equal justice have been brought against him. What did S. Jude mean by contending for the faith once delivered to the saints, but the holding with fixedness of purpose a belief which was bounded by the narrowness of truth? Dr. Stanley speaks as if the doctrine of the Ante-Nicene Christians was as vague and fluctuating as those of the Nonconformists of our own day, and as if the Nicene Council first settled the faith. The proceedings of the Nicene Fathers, however, is a sufficient answer to the assertion. They appealed to antiquity, and inquired into the Creeds which had been used and the doctrines which had been taught by the Churches whose representatives were there assembled. The very basis of the Nicene Creed, as Dr. Stanley himself acknowledges, was one produced by Eusebius of Cæsarea as no new thing, but as that which he had learned in his childhood, and which his predecessors had taught before. That which the Council of Nice did was not to invent any new system of Orthodoxy, but to give general expression and explicit consent to that which had been held from the beginning. The sneer at orthodoxy extends to all ages. There may indeed be a cold and formal orthodoxy without love or zeal, but can this apply to Athanasius, or even to the most orthodox of English Prelates? Did it produce harshness of intellect and deadness of feeling in Lancelot Andrewes, Jeremy Taylor, George Herbert, or Thomas Ken; and did it produce rancorous<sup>1</sup> animosity in Bull and Wilson? Surely the treatment of the Semi-Arians by Athanasius proved the largeness of his heart and his desire for peace and concord, provided it was not purchased at the price of

<sup>1</sup> If Dr. Stanley desired to see rancour mingled with unorthodoxy, we would refer him to Dr. Arnold's well-known Article in the *Edinburgh Review*, entitled "*Oxford Malignants*."

truth. Did he not show himself willing to abandon his own expressions, dearly as he loved them, if he could only obtain an acquiescence in the truth which they expressed? If he expressed himself in stronger language than we are accustomed to, should we not remember that he lived in days different from our own, when the refinements of society circumscribed in less degree than now the strength of language which expressed the truth. If S. Paul called the Cretians "slow bellies," and spoke of some as "earthly, sensual, devilish," Athanasius may be excused for calling the Arians beetles and leeches.

When Dr. Stanley brings this charge of narrowness of intellect and deadness of feeling against Athanasius, he seems to forget that only a few pages before he had spoken in a very different strain. He was then alluding to the lines in the "*Lyra Apostolica* :—

" The Royal-hearted Athanasæ  
With Paul's own mantle blest."

On which he remarks, "Whatever may have been the intention of this comparison, it is certain that there was a resemblance between the flexibility of Athanasius and the many-sided character of the Apostle, whose boast it was to have made himself all things to all men." Dr. Stanley's estimate of character can scarcely be of much value, when within a few pages he so plainly contradicts himself.

Arius had too much of the ascetic in the composition of his character to win the sympathy of Dr. Stanley. Although a heretic he was too much wedded to positive expressions of that which he believed to be true, to have much in common with the vague theology of a broad Churchman. The chief thing to be noticed in the account of him before us, is the manner in which his death is treated. Alexander had prayed, "Let me or Arius die before to-morrow." The crisis was one of vast importance, and the supremacy of orthodoxy or heresy depended on the result. If ever there were a case, even according to the poet's rule,—

" Nec Deus intersit, nisi dignus vindice nodus  
Inciderit,"

when the interference of God's Providence might be expected, surely it was on such an occasion as when Arius was about to enter Constantinople in triumph. To deny God's power to interfere manifests an utter disbelief in His Providence, and yet Dr. Stanley says of it,

"It is one of the few occasions in history when a difficult crisis has been solved by an unexpected death. That the sudden illness and death of the aged Arius was a Divine judgment in behalf of the doctrine he had opposed, will now be held by no one who has any regard to

the warnings of CHRIST Himself against any such inference. That it was the effect of poison is contradicted by the actual circumstance of his end. Like most ecclesiastical wonders of this kind it was neither a miracle nor a crime; it was a natural coincidence and no more."

Such language is painful to read, especially when written by a Regius Professor in one of our own Universities. It amounts to nothing less than denial of God's Providence, and of His interference in temporal judgments, as well as unbelief in the efficacy of prayer. On the same principle the death of Ananias and Sapphira might be treated as a natural coincidence. Indeed the words which we have quoted equal some of the worst passages in Buckle's "History of Civilization," and remind us of the principle laid down in Mr. Kingsley's recent apology for not praying for fine weather. The SAVIOUR's warning is surely nothing to the point, since it was not intended to deny the occasional exhibitions of God's judgments, but to point the lesson home to the hearts of all who witnessed them, who were cautioned to consider whether they did not also deserve as great a punishment.

The subject which Dr. Stanley chose was the Eastern Church. This was a tract of Church history so little trodden, that we were disappointed to find that after all little light was thrown on the subject of which these lectures professed to treat. The Nicene Council belongs to the West as well as to the East, and so do the principal characters whose portraits are here depicted. The parts relating to the rise of Mahometanism, and the history of the Russian Church, are the only lectures which fulfil the promise of their title. In vain we look for anything like historical sketches of the Coptic, Armenian, or Nestorian Churches. We might have thought that during his residence in the East, Dr. Stanley would have collected some information respecting them; but all that he gives us is confined to a few points of character which mark divergence from the Western Church. With that inconsistency which we have elsewhere had occasion to notice, whilst he regards the Eastern Church as less progressive and more stationary than the Western, he desires that our ritual should be reformed after the model of the Eastern Offices. This is a singular desire in one who regards the state of religion in the world as progressive, resulting from the advanced stage of education which Dr. Temple's gigantic man has reached. We doubt whether Dr. Stanley is sincere, and whether the ritual of the Irvingites, which has been largely borrowed from Eastern sources, would be quite satisfactory to him; but probably he was misled into this general expression by his wish to see the passages relating to Absolution in the Ordination and Visitation Services, which are of Western origin, abolished, and the Athanasian Creed disused. To defend these we are not at the present time concerned; but if our Offices were remodelled

after the fashion of the Eastern Church, we think that the consent of those who object to our language as savouring too much of "sacerdotalism," would hardly be obtained.

The accuracy with which Dr. Stanley points out the differences between the genius of the Eastern and Western Churches, will be exemplified by one instance. "In the West," he says, "even in Unitarian liturgies, it is deemed almost essential that every prayer should be closed '*through JESUS CHRIST.*' In the East such a close is rarely if ever found. One vestige of this Oriental practice is retained by the English Prayer Book in the Collect attributed to S. Chrysostom." Now if the Professor of Ecclesiastical History would condescend to examine some village school, and should ask the question, "Why the prayer of S. Chrysostom concludes differently from other prayers?" he would probably be told that it is addressed to the Mediator Himself; and if he further inquired for the proof, he would hear that it is found in the reference to our LORD's own promise, "that where two or three are gathered together in Thy Name, Thou wilt grant their requests." So far, therefore, from this being a vestige of Oriental practice, it is manifest that if it had been differently expressed, the absurdity would have been involved of offering up a prayer to the Mediator through His own mediation. The difference between the practice of the Eastern and Western Church in this respect is no real difference; for if prayers addressed to the FATHER through the SON are more rare in the East, direct addresses to the Mediator are more frequent, and thus though the expression may vary the doctrine is the same.

But though there are points in the Eastern Church which Dr. Stanley thinks more to be commended than in the Western, he seems to regard it as a region from which the Spirit of life has departed in its transit to the West. "Eastern Christianity must be considered," he says, "but as the temporary halting place of the great spiritual migration, which from the day that Abraham turned his face away from the rising of the sun has been stepping steadily westward." This reminds us of some lines in George Herbert's *Church Militant*.

"Religion, like a pilgrim westward bent,  
Knocking at all doors, ever as she went:  
Yet as the sun, though forward be his flight,  
Listens behind him and allows some light  
Till all depart: so went the Church her way,  
Letting, while one foot stepped, the other stay  
Among the Eastern nations for a time,  
Till both removed to the Western clime."

The venerable poet, however, carried on the idea further than Dr. Stanley has done. Lamenting the evil that he saw around, it seemed to him that



“ Religion stands on tiptoe in our land  
Ready to pass to the American strand.”

If Dr. Stanley had followed out to the end the flight of Herbert's poetic fancy, he would look for the present halting-place of the Church's life amongst the prairies of the Western States, on the banks of the Missouri, or beside the Salt Lake. Mr. Cleveland Coxe, on the other hand, seems to look eastward to England as the home of everything that is beautiful and devout, a fancy which we fear his visit to England must materially have tended to dispel. The truth is we believe that, although the rise of Mahometanism may have driven the Spirit of Christianity westward and depressed the energies of the oriental Church, the very nature of the Church Catholic requires (with all due reverence for the sweet singer of Bemerton), that she should not be as a pilgrim departing from one land to be present in another, but that the HOLY SPIRIT should be everywhere diffused wheresoever the faith in CHRIST is believed and the Sacraments administered to the people. When the reign of Mahometanism shall cease, and her doom appears to be already near, we believe that the Eastern Churches will rise again from their depression and take their part in the evangelization of the people who have sat so long in darkness.

Perhaps the most interesting portion of Dr. Stanley's volume is that which treats of the history of the Russian Church. Just as a strongly-marked outline of countenance is a happy subject for a portrait painter, so are there in the principal characters which meet us in Russian Ecclesiastical History some striking features which are very effective in such pictures as Dr. Stanley loves to paint. Vladimir, Ivan the Terrible, Peter the Great, and Nikon, have all something singularly grotesque about them, and in dealing with these the Professor shows himself equal to his art.

The account of the Russian Church commences with its early legends, not because these add to the value of the history, but because they contribute to the picturesqueness of the sketch. Antony cast into the Tiber with a millstone round his neck, floating down the river and through the ocean till he reaches the Neva is a picture too marvellous to be omitted. From this legendary introduction Dr. Stanley passes on to the introduction of Christianity into Russia at the close of the tenth century. The Slavonic tribes are now united in a monarchy and Vladimir is their king. He must have known something of Christianity since Olga his grandmother was a Christian. He seems to have been in search of a religion which he might impose on his subjects, and his inquiries appear to have been known to the surrounding nations, since messengers came from the Bulgarian Mussulmans, from the Western Christians of Rome, and from the Jews. Next arrived a philosopher from Greece. Mahometanism would not do, because it proscribed intemperance, the darling sin of the Russ; Western

Christianity was equally unsatisfactory. Judaism was rejected because it did not lead to prosperity, as the dispersed condition of the children of Abraham testified too well. The philosopher from Greece then explained the mysteries of the Christian faith, and at the conclusion of his discourse produced a picture which represented the scene of the last Judgment. The picture made great impression on the king who exclaimed "Happy are those who are on the right; woe to the sinners who are on the left." Vladimir rejected for the present the advice which the philosopher gave him that he should be baptized, but the impression produced on his mind by the picture was never effaced. Next year, A.D. 987, by the advice of his nobles, the king sent deputies into the countries round.

The Mussulmans were not addicted to cleanliness, and this the Russians did not like. The German and the Roman churches were unadorned, and the Russians were fond of show. Arriving at Constantinople, when Basil Porphyrogenitus sat upon the throne, a magnificent reception was prepared for the ambassadors. In the church of S. Sophia, gorgeous with gold and mosaics, a splendid service was performed. The patriarch was decked in his festal robes; the accessories of incense and lighted candles lent all their charm to the spectacle. "The Russians were struck," says Nestor, the Russian chronicler, "by the multitude of lights and the chanting of the hymns, but what most filled them with astonishment was the appearance of the deacons and subdeacons issuing from the sanctuary with torches in their hands. Fraud is attributed by Dr. Stanley to the Constantinopolitan Christians on authority borrowed from Baron Bunsen. The deacons "had white linen wings on their shoulders," he says, "but the Russians were persuaded that they were angels." Gibbon, on the authority of an anonymous fragment published by Bandusi, the weight of which is unknown, speaks of the same fact, but makes no mention of the wings. "It was not difficult," he says, "to persuade the Russian messengers that a choir of angels descended each day from heaven to join in the devotion of the Christians." It is not wonderful that Gibbon should not have understood the Christians believed as a veritable truth that angels were present at their service, but it is strange that Dr. Stanley should suggest the idea of fraud on evidence so slight.

The messengers returned to Vladimir with the report of what they had seen. According to Dr. Stanley, who follows Gibbon, policy rather than æstheticism, or conviction, soon determined the creed of the Russian monarch. He was at this time engaged in the siege of Cherson in the Crimea, and had vowed that, if he succeeded, he would be baptized. He sent to demand in marriage the hand of Ann, the emperor's sister, who sacrificed herself to avert the threatened evil from her land, and to accomplish the conversion

of Russia. Vladimir was immediately baptized at Cherson, and ordered his nobles to follow his example at Kieff. In accordance with the principle of unhesitating obedience which is peculiar to the Russians, they all submitted to Christianity, and celebrated the day of their baptism by the degradation of their idol Peroun, which was dragged over the hills at a horse's tail, mercilessly scourged, and cast into the Dnieper.

The condition of the Russian Church during its medieval period is described at some length by Dr. Stanley, who makes extensive use of the journal of Sir Jerome Horsey, who was employed as ambassador between Ivan the Terrible and Queen Elizabeth. Some curious particulars respecting this extraordinary prince will well repay perusal of the tenth lecture. The very terror his atrocities inspired seems to have cemented all the more firmly the allegiance of his subjects to their Czar. A strange compound of barbarity and piety was mingled in his character. His devotions were so intense that he would rise at three o'clock in the morning to ring the matin bell, and for seven hours in a monastery, to which he was accustomed to retire, he would read, and chant, and pray with such fervour, that the marks of his prostrations remained imprinted on his forehead, and then he would descend to the dungeons beneath this very monastery, to see with his own eyes the tortures which were inflicted on his prisoners, and from this spectacle, it was observed, he always returned with a face beaming with delight. There are some features in which Ivan the Terrible reminds us of our own Henry VIII. His brutality is not the only one, for he, like Henry, attempted the reformation of the monasteries into which signs of corruption appear to have entered. "*Seven rebellious big fat priors*" were seen by Horsey exposed to a wild boar, who tore them to pieces in his presence. Ivan's genius however was not one which persevered in any one work, and that which he had commenced, remained for the patriarch Nikon to accomplish.

Nikon was a strong-minded and sturdy reformer, who might well find favour with the school of muscular Christianity. He bears a sort of family resemblance to Dunstan, Thomas à Becket and Wolsey, and there are chapters in his history which remind us of corresponding ones in theirs. His influence over the Czar Alexis was unbounded, his magnificence immense, and his zeal in the prosecution of his schemes unwearied, but there was a sort of moroseness with which he fulfilled his task which is peculiarly Russian. His Janissaries were perpetually going round the city, and when they found any priest or monk in a state of intoxication, they would carry him to prison, strip and scourge him. The deserts of Siberia were filled with dissolute clergy who were banished thither with their wives and children. The most characteristic

feature in Dr. Stanley's sketch is one which represents him surrounded by thirty Kalmuc chiefs, who were cannibals. The Patriarch, after making inquiries respecting the process of eating a man, desirous perhaps further to satisfy his curiosity by actual sight, told them that he had a man who deserved death, for whom he would send, that they might eat him. The intended victim was no less a person than the Metropolitan of Mira, and the crime with which he was charged was no other than that of *smoking tobacco*. We do not suppose that the Bishop of Rochester would proceed to such a length in the reformation of his diocese, but fortunately for the Archbishop he was nowhere to be found.

It is not wonderful that so sturdy a reformer as Nikon should have raised up enemies for himself, against whom even the influence of the Czar could not at length protect him. He was degraded by a Council, and exiled to a distant monastery. Alexis on his death-bed sent to entreat the pardon of Nikon, and after his decease Theodore II. decreed the restoration of the exiled Patriarch. He died, however, on his homeward journey, and his body was laid in the New Jerusalem, which he and Alexis had together designed after the model of the veritable church of the Holy Sepulchre. !

The portrait of the last reformer of the Russian Church, Peter the Great, is drawn, we think, with feebler pen than some others we have noticed. His personal history is too well known to need enlargement, but as a reformer, we must remember that he was the Czar who imparted to the Russian Church the most perfect system of Erastianism which exists in any Church in the world. He abolished the Patriarchate, and substituted in its stead a synod of Prelates, presided over by the Emperor or his secretary. His reforms, like those of Nikon, were confined to manners and customs, but the conservative party who had resisted Nikon, separated themselves from the established Church in consequence of the innovations of Peter. Nikon had made a change in the form of benediction, in the manner of pronouncing the SAVIOUR'S Name, in the course of processions, and in some other matters of a similar kind ; but Peter went further : he introduced from Italy pictures painted after the models of Corregio and Raphael, which were abominations to the Starovers, who could not brook the slightest change, and who, we suppose, were genuine "Pre-Raphaelites." The chants introduced by Nikon from Greece, by Peter from Germany, and by Catherine II. from Italy, were regarded with like abhorrence. The Calendar was altered by Peter, and the years which hitherto had dated from the creation of the world, now followed the course of the Christian era. Moreover Peter obliged his subjects to shave their beards, a thing which had been forbidden by a former council of Moscow. In this last reform even Peter was unable to perse-

vere. The peasants, when compelled to shave, kept their beards to be buried with them, fearing that, bereft of these appendages, they would not be recognized at the gates of Heaven. At length a tax was substituted as the price of a permission to remain unshorn. From these reforms arose the separation of the Starovers, who still remain the non-jurors of the Russian Church. The seceding clergy died out with their generation, but of late years a succession has been obtained from the Metropolitan of the orthodox Greeks in Hungary, and more recently a priest of the Established Church has been allowed them, who is permitted to conform to their archaic usages. Still, in their church the ancient Russian music may be heard and the old pictures seen ; but there is a body of extreme Starovers, known by the name of Bezpopofchins, "those without clergy," who will not receive the indulgence which is offered them. Their service is conducted by laymen, for they still adhere so strictly to ancient custom, that they recognize no clergy but such as are episcopally ordained. Their only link with the national Church consists in their retention of a few particles of consecrated oil and of consecrated elements preserved by constant dilution. The position of these sectarians is curious, and would have given Dr. Stanley scope for a dissertation on the general principle of Erastianism, but he seems to regard Peter as a wise reformer, and has neither pity for, nor sympathy with, the conservatism of the old believers.

And now we have fulfilled our task, and in conclusion have only space to remark that Dr. Stanley's promise of conducting us with Christian, the pilgrim, to the Palace Beautiful, and showing us the records of antiquity which were there preserved, is scarcely fulfilled. He has taken us into the picture-gallery of the Church, it is true, and shown us the portraits of men of renown, but we must remember that the painting is his own, and the colouring peculiar to that school of artists to which he professes to belong.

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# RECENT ANNOTATORS ON THE APOCALYPSE : WORDSWORTH AND ALFORD.

(Continued from page 210.)

IN continuing our remarks upon Dr. Wordsworth's and Dean Alford's Apocalyptic Notes, it will be necessary for us to go over ground which has been partially traversed in these pages before ; although we will endeavour to do this as little as possible.

Dr. Wordsworth, in his present work, in the most solemn and emphatic manner, reiterates the conclusions adopted by himself some years ago as to the interpretation of the Beast, the Harlot, the false Prophet, &c. ; insisting that all these prophetic symbols meet with their fulfilment in Rome and the Church of Rome. He affirms, with regard to the various arguments which from time to time have been brought to bear against this interpretation, that they are idle and unsubstantial, and have but served to convince him of the absolute impregnability of his own conclusions.

But he shall speak for himself. The italics are his own.

"After a careful meditation, for many years, upon these prophecies concerning the Apocalyptic Babylon, the present writer here solemnly, in the presence of the Omniscient Searcher of hearts, Who dictated these awful predictions, records this as his deliberate judgment upon them, probably for the last time. He has endeavoured seriously to examine all the *objections* which have been urged against this interpretation. He has found that these objections, as far as they have any validity, affect some minor incidents and subordinate details in the *mode* in which that interpretation is sometimes stated ; but do not in the least affect the *principle*, or in any way impair the soundness of that interpretation itself. And when he has proceeded to examine other *different* interpretations of these Prophecies—such, for instance, as that interpretation which applies these Prophecies to *Heathen Rome*, or to some *Infidel Power*—he has found all those other interpretations to be so vain and futile, and so inconsistent and irreconcilable with the general scope and language of these Prophecies themselves, that even on this account he has been confirmed in the conviction that the Interpretation adopted in these notes, is the *true, and only true* Interpretation."—P. 246.

Now let us fully admit, that convictions thus firmly and conscientiously maintained, thus (as the writer assures us) carefully weighed and tested, and thus solemnly and religiously expressed, are entitled to all grave consideration. We trust and pray, therefore, that they may meet from ourselves with nought but a candid and respectful attention.

But ere we examine Dr. Wordsworth's interpretation of that

portion of the Apocalypse to which we have now arrived—the allegory of the Woman and the Beasts—let us first ascertain what are the principal conclusions to which that interpretation conducts him. The chief debateable points are, the meanings (so far as ascertainable) of the Beast, the false Prophet, the Harlot Babylon, the Image of the Beast, its Mark and Number.

Now the conclusions on these several heads to which Dr. Wordsworth's long protracted investigations have led him are as follows: that the Beast symbolises the Papacy or Papal kingdom; the false Prophet or second Beast, the Roman Hierarchy; the Image of the Beast, the Pope; the Harlot, the city and Church of Rome: that the Name of the Beast is *Lateinos*; his Mark or *χάραγμα*, the *Cross Keys*!

Let us then proceed to inquire how this scheme of interpretation, defended as it is with all learned gravity and earnestness, will bear the test of impartial examination. We undertake this task not with the slightest hope of convincing Dr. Wordsworth himself. He appears to us far too confident in the absolute certainty of the truth of his interpretation to be even capable of impartially weighing the objections with which others see it to be beset. But some there may be, who have been staggered by the solemnly reiterated asseverations of the Canon of Westminster, who may be glad to see the subject a little further discussed.

Let us, then, by way of testing the general soundness of the system of interpretation, glance at one or two of its leading results. And first (to fix on a single particular by way of example) let us turn our eyes to the characteristic symbol, the "Image of the Beast." Now this Image, as Dr. Wordsworth teaches (and so far correctly enough), is obviously the *impersonation* of the Beast—its individual embodiment or representative. But the Beast, argues our Author, is the Papacy: hence we arrive at the necessary result, that the "Image of the Beast" is the individual *Pope* for the time being.

What, then, does the HOLY SPIRIT, by the mouth of S. John, teach us respecting this Image? He tells us that—inspired and called into being through the agency of the "Beast from the Earth" or false Prophet—so absolute and so universal will be the homage that he will exact and *receive* from the world, that he will "cause *all* who will not worship him to be *killed*:" and further, that so real and binding will be his demands upon the allegiance of all the inhabitants of the earth, that "*all*, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond," will be compelled to "receive a mark on their right hand and on their forehead," so "that no one may buy or sell, save he that hath the mark—the name of the Beast, or the number of his name." Now, seriously to affirm that all this is true of the Pope, we hold to be nothing short of an insult to the understanding of reasonable men. In fact, we feel

convinced, that if this interpretation be correct, we may as well close our Bibles at once. Dr. Wordsworth may load his notes as he will with fitting extracts to show the general iniquity of Popes, and their accomplishment of these inspired predictions concerning them ; but until his readers will consent to part with every vestige of common sense, he will never succeed in persuading them that the Bishop of Rome is he of whom the Prophet here speaks. If the Pope “causes *all* who will not worship him to be *killed*,” how comes it to pass that the Canon of Westminster is yet (as God grant he may long continue to be!) in comfortable possession of his life, his liberty, and his stall?

And this is but a solitary instance of the absolute futility of the attempt to force this monstrous interpretation upon the words of S. John.

Take another example.

What says the HOLY GHOST respecting the Beast itself? Not only that “power was *given* unto him over *every* tribe, and people, and tongue, and nation ;” but also that “*all* who dwell upon earth, whose names are not written in the Lamb’s Book of Life, shall worship him :” in connection with which, the following terrible announcement meets us : “If any man worshippeth the Beast and his image, and receiveth his mark, he also shall drink of the wine of the wrath of God ; and *he shall be tormented with fire and brimstone : and the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever* : and they have no rest day and night who worship the Beast and his Image, and whosoever receiveth the mark of his name.” (xiv. 9—11.)

And yet we are to believe that the Beast is the Papacy, and his Image the Pope ! Now we must be permitted to say that a system of interpretation which makes such demands upon the credence of sober people—not to say upon the feelings of Christians in one Branch of the Catholic Church towards their brethren in another Branch—is deserving of no indulgence whatever : it merits nought save earnest and heartfelt reprobation !

Conceive for a moment what this miserable theory really involves. “*All who dwell on the earth, whose names are not written in the Book of Life, shall worship the Beast.*” So that we are called upon seriously to believe that the “reprobate” and the “worshippers of the Papacy” are convertible expressions, that eternal perdition is the inevitable consequence of obedience to the Pope, that devotion to the See of Rome is the one terrible condition of exclusion from the Kingdom of Heaven !

But Dr. Wordsworth shall give his own explanation of the crucial and decisive statement of S. John, that “all who dwell on the earth whose names are not in the Book of Life shall worship the Beast.” “All who dwell on the earth,” writes our author, “that is, *the great body of worldly-minded persons, will worship him !*”



So that the great characteristic of worldly-mindedness is devotion to the Papacy!

This interpretation, of course, at once presents the two following questions:—

First, is the suggested gloss—which makes the expression, “all who dwell on the earth whose names are not written in the Book of Life,” signify no more than “the great body of worldly-minded people,” (where “great body” is used in a vague, unreal, sense, so as to have no definite meaning whatever)—is this a true and adequate explanation of, or a miserable and mischievous attempt to explain away, the terribly emphatic words of S. John; an attempt which few writers would resist more resolutely than Dr. Wordsworth, did the gloss present itself for acceptance under any different circumstances?

And secondly; is it a *fact*? has it ever been the fact? or is it not notoriously opposed to fact—that the “great body” of worldly people have been those peculiarly characterised by devotion to the see of Rome? Is not the statement itself as baseless as the interpretation on which it is founded is fallacious and unworthy?

But we will turn to another of S. John’s symbolical personages, the Harlot. What does the Inspired Seer tell us with respect to her? That “in her was found the blood of ALL that have been slain on the earth.” How then does Dr. Wordsworth attempt to reduce this critical statement into conformity with his assertion that the Harlot is the city and Church of Rome? In this instance he simply evades the difficulty. He does not even attempt a solution; but, instead of fairly meeting and combating the objection, he favours us with two or three columns of an “occasional sermon.”

In reply, then, to our author’s assurance that he has endeavoured seriously to examine all the objections against his interpretation, and that “he has found them vain and futile,” we must venture to express our opinion that objections of the very gravest character, and so far as we can see quite insurmountable, have been (unwittingly, we doubt not,) ignored and left wholly unnoticed by him; and that it is only by keeping these objections in the background that his theory assumes any colour of probability.

It appears to us that the homiletic (not to add the strongly controversial) tone which pervades a large portion of these notes, has been a great snare to the writer, as it is a constant and wearisome distraction to the reader; and that had Dr. Wordsworth confined himself more strictly to the legitimate work of the annotator, than to that of the preacher, orator, polemic, and not been so anxious to convert the pages of his Greek Testament into a sort of receptacle for all the brilliant anti-papal passages of which he has delivered himself in earlier days—he would have arrived at very different conclusions on many most important points, and produced a work infinitely more useful and serviceable to the Church.

But it is time that we endeavoured to show *wherein* we conceive Dr. Wordsworth to have missed the true meaning of the symbols now under notice. We must briefly state how far we agree with him, and at what point our lines of interpretation diverge.

Now the two leading *personæ* of the Sacred Drama are, as has been frequently noticed, the Woman and the Beast. And upon an accurate and clearly defined understanding as to the essential nature of these two, does the interpretation of this entire section of the Apocalypse in a great measure depend.

We hold it then to be an all but demonstrable truth, that these two symbols, the one human, the other bestial, represent respectively, in their abstract universality, the Church and the World. The former—whether pure or corrupt, whether typified by Philadelphia or Laodicea, whether the Woman fleeing from the dragon and supernaturally fed in the wilderness, or the Harlot ‘decked in gold and pearls, and costly array’—still the *Church*: the latter—whether tamed or ferocious, whether wounded to death or restored to a more terrible vitality—still the *world*.

But we will glance at each of these symbols separately.

I. And here, in the first place, we conceive that our author is indisputably right in insisting that the Harlot Babylon represents no heathen city—no merely worldly power—but a corrupt *spiritual* power. His error consists in his arbitrarily confining an oecumenical symbol to one particular Branch of the Church, and in his referring to present times and circumstances, predictions whose special fulfilment plainly appertains to the times of the ‘latter days.’ With regard to the attempt of Dr. Wordsworth and others to identify the Harlot with the modern Church of Rome—it is sufficient to say that S. John’s whole language is a continuous and emphatic protest against any such local limitation of the symbol.

The figure is simply “the faithful City become a Harlot,” God’s Jerusalem carried captive to Babylon, corrupted by Babylon and finally *become* Babylon.

Two mystical women are presented to us (or rather *one*, under sadly different aspects): each of these is likened to a city. Now does Dr. Wordsworth for a moment maintain that the one woman is the local city Jerusalem? just as unreasonable is it to insist that the other woman is the local Babylon or Rome. We have whole pages full of notes to inform us that Rome is a seven-hilled city. But what has this to do with the distinctive symbolism of the Apocalypse. Are the seven Thunders, or Epistles, or Trumpets, or Vials, or Heads, literal heads, or trumpets, or thunders? Is the “great and high mountain,” on which the holy city Jerusalem stands, a literal mountain? No; then just as little are the seven mountains whereon Babylon is reared literal mountains. Such an exposition is utterly inconsistent with the mystical language of the book. The Church’s “foundations are upon the Holy Hills.” Mount

Sion is "God's Hill in which it pleaseth Him to dwell." But the faithless Church has established herself upon the high places of the earth—upon the Seven Hills of Babylon—upon the eminences of worldly supremacy. As Rome was in the Apostles' time the centre of the world-power, of course there may be a passing allusion to her, as the then representative of earthly dominion; but nothing further.

We are glad to fortify ourselves on this point by a quotation from one of the most thoughtful and consistent of all modern writers on the Apocalypse, Professor Auberlen:

"The seven hills (he writes) may contain an allusion to the seven hills of Rome in which the world-power was concentrated in the days of S. John: yet this is at most a passing allusion which *ought not to be looked upon as the proper meaning of the passage*. Such a trivial geographical notice could scarcely follow the introductory remark of the angel, 'Here is the mind which hath wisdom' (xvii. 9); which words demand expressly the mystical exposition. Besides, it would be against all analogy to understand by the heads of the beast, mountains in the concrete sense."—P. 269, Clark's edit.

And again, in a passage which we shall be compelled slightly to abbreviate for want of room—

"The Harlot is identical with the Woman; who, we saw in ch. xii., is a symbolical representation of the Church of God in the world. This Woman has become a Harlot. The Harlot is consequently *not* the City of Rome—such a view is totally at variance with the spirit of this thoroughly symbolical book—but *Christendom*; Christendom, called after the name of the world city, Babylon, Rome; because she has forsaken CHRIST, and given her love to this present world." (Page 274-5) . . . "The Harlot is not only a church here and a church there, but Christendom *as a whole*; even as Israel *as a whole* had become a Harlot. . . . This universal character of the Harlot is indicated by the expressions 'She sitteth upon many waters,' and she corrupted the *earth* with her fornication (xvii. 1, 15; xiv. 8; xviii. 3; xix. 2.) This external extensiveness over the whole world, and internal conformity to the world, is symbolized by the name of the world-city Babylon. The woman, in influencing the whole world, permits herself at the same time to be influenced by it, thus committing adultery. The deeper the Church penetrated into heathenism the more she herself became heathenish. She then no longer overcame the world, but suffered the world to overcome her."—P. 291.

In the words of John Michael Hahn—

"The Harlot is not the city of Rome alone, neither is it the Roman Catholic Church to the exclusion of another; but all Churches and every Church, ours included, viz. all Christendom that is without the Spirit and Life of our LORD JESUS. It is called Babylon, that is, Confusion; for false Christendom divided into very many churches and

sects, is truly and strictly a confuser. However in all churches of Christendom, the true JESUS Congregation, the Woman clothed with the Sun, lives and is hidden."—*Ib.* p. 293.<sup>1</sup>

Had Dr. Wordsworth, instead of passing over without a syllable of comment (we presume as being hopelessly incompatible with his own interpretation), the decisive and emphatic words of S. John respecting the Harlot—"In her was found the blood of Prophets and of Saints, and of *all* that have been slain on the earth"—words which absolutely forbid the limited and merely local application of this prophecy; had he seriously weighed them, and compared them with our LORD's parallel, saying with regard to her, that of old "killed the prophets and stoned them that were sent unto her," "*It cannot be that a Prophet perish out of Jerusalem;*" he could not have failed to perceive that the subject of these two fearful statements is one and the same—that the modern Babylon is essentially identical with the ancient Jerusalem—that the one is but the continuation of the other; the inheritor of the blessings no less than the terrible denunciations pronounced over her elder sister. If Rome, and Rome exclusively, be the Catholic Church, then may Dr. Wordsworth's interpretation hold good: otherwise it must fall to the ground.

We have been glad to notice that, although Dean Alford finds it hard practically to disencumber himself of the old Protestant tradition that the Harlot is exclusively Rome and the Roman Church, yet in one passage he rises above this narrow exposition.

After stating (what we cannot admit but in a very secondary and subordinate sense) that the Harlot represents the city of Rome, he adds:

"But she is also a *μωρῆριον*. She is herself a harlot, an apostate, and faithless Church; but she is also a *mother*. From her spring, of her nature partake, with her shall be destroyed, all the fornications and abominations of the earth, though they be not in Rome, though they be not called by her name, though in outward semblance they quarrel with and oppose her."—P. 704.

We wish we could add that all Dean Alford's notes on these mysterious prophecies manifested an equal practical recognition of the true character of this and other symbols.

We must again repeat, that no consistent advance can possibly be

<sup>1</sup> "The invisible Church is contained *within* the visible." . . . "The Woman is the Kernel, Beast and Harlot serve as shell, as scaffolding for the Temple of the LORD. But whenever the kernel is mature, whenever the edifice is complete, the shell is thrown off, the scaffolding destroyed; and what does not belong to the Temple must perish amid the falling ruins. Thus, when judgment will come upon Babylon, a voice from Heaven will say, 'Come out of her, My people,' (Rev. xvii. 4). Thus it was that out of the ruins of Israel and Jerusalem came forth the first congregation of Christians, when the Old Testament people of God were judged. (Matt. xxiv. 18.)" *Auberlen*, p. 284.

made in the interpretation of this important portion of the Revelation of S. John, unless there is a clear preliminary recognition of the essential nature of the two great Personæ whose mystical history is here recounted. We are introduced to the two ancient foes the Dragon and the Woman, and we see symbolically portrayed the various processes and instruments whereby the Old Serpent succeeds in 'beguiling' the Second "Eve by his subtlety."

The Dragon is the secret, invisible 'God of this world:' the Beast is his visible representative and vicegerent; the false Prophet, his priest. They together constitute the Diabolic counterpart of the Holy Trinity.

Thus we have two great Powers before us, one temporal, the other spiritual; one from beneath, the other from above; the former, the visible representative of Satan in this world, the latter the professed representative of CHRIST. And we find a succession of images introduced, wherein are depicted the various influences mutually brought to bear by the one Power on the other. They all tell the same sad tale; all alike reveal the same appalling result, so mysterious, so hard to be realized, of the Heavenly Power succumbing before the earthly; of Satan again visibly triumphing, and achieving for a while a tremendous success—even although the victory be but the precursor to his own more tremendous defeat and judicial incarceration in the bottomless pit. Well may the Apostle have exclaimed, after partaking of the little book which disclosed this portentous intelligence respecting God's Church, and making its unpalatable contents his own—"when I had eaten, my belly was bitter:" well may he, when beholding the second Eve at a still future stage of her career, have "wondered with great admiration."

The point to be noticed is this, that the defeat of the spiritual Power is brought about after, and by *means* of, a long and apparently successful career of victory. The triumph is the very cause of the ultimate ruin; not being a legitimate triumph, and thus becoming a secret source of weakness. The spiritual Power overcomes visibly, by being itself secretly overcome; and achieves a conquest over its foe by means which ensure and entail its own ultimate downfall.

The images which picture these two conflicting Powers are both animate and inanimate.

One while we have the terrestrial Power likened simply to a great tract of earth, to a vast wilderness expanse. Then the celestial Power is likened to a mighty City reared upon its seven eminences, towering apparently above the earth, ruling and subduing it, but really supported by and founded upon earth, and at last destroyed by it through the earthquake and fire.

Another while, we have the temporal Power figured by a huge seven-headed monster. Here then is a corresponding change in

the symbolism of the spiritual Power. She is now no longer a city, but a *woman*, seated upon and controlling the Beast. It had been given her, "strong in the LORD and in the power of His might," to have slain him with the sword, (for he is "covered with blasphemy," to have "trampled him under her foot," to have "broken the heads of Leviathan in pieces." But she has not done this. True, she has achieved a signal and manifest success: to a certain extent she has vanquished her foe: the head whereon she is seated is "wounded to death." But she does not follow up her victory; she does not, like David with Goliath, "cut off his head:" nay, she makes *use* of the prostrate monster, she employs him as her beast of burden; and for a while he tamely carries her. But the deadly wound is at last healed; and with seven-fold vitality does the revived Beast, energized anew from beneath, fall upon his helpless and confiding Rider, and with ravenous ferocity tear her to pieces.

Again, the terrestrial Power is described simply as an aggregation of this world's potentates—"the kings of the earth." And here we find the spiritual Power still represented as a woman, but now as a harlot; subduing the temporal Power, but only by subjugating herself to it; reigning over the 'kings of the earth,' but only by committing adultery with them. For a time she succeeds; but her charms at last lose their force. She has demoralized them, and drugged them, and driven them frenzied, only that they may at last, in a paroxysm of hate and loathing, fall upon her and burn her with fire.

And other images there are which foreshadow the same unwelcome truths, viz., that the false church will subdue the world by conforming to the world, and becoming herself worldly. Thus, she is now represented as a great enchantress influencing and over-coming all the nations; but by "bewitching them with sorceries," poisoning them with potions from her chalice of subtle, refined, religious worldliness.

And once more, she appears as the "temple of the LORD," and drawing all people to her sacred courts; but how? Not as being the "house of prayer," but the "house of merchandise for all nations."

These and other images, each conveying its own lesson, and contributing its part to the general whole, we find blended together in S. John's mystical description of the mutual relationships between the visible Church and the world-power; the whole combining in preparing us for the reception of the mournful result shadowed forth in our LORD's words—that the mystic "Salt" designed by God to keep the world from putrefaction and decay, should itself lose its power of seasoning, and arresting corruption, and should at last become good for nothing, save to be "cast out, and to be trodden under foot of men."

It is almost needless to add that these dire predictions have not

yet been fully realised; that such images as the Harlot and the Beast describe the *final* stages of these two Powers, and the ultimate *result* arrived at after a long preliminary inworking of the hidden "mystery of lawlessness." Thus, while merely glancing at former periods in their respective careers, the Inspired Seer specially introduces them to us at that critical epoch when the pseudo-Christianity of the professing Church, and the anti-Christianity of the world have reached their full development; when judgment is just about to be let fall, 'beginning at the household of God'—or rather, at what once *was* the House of God, but is so no longer, and by the heavenly Voice, "Come out of her, My people," has been given over to utter destruction.

When, therefore, Dr. Wordsworth and others interpret the Harlot as the present Church of Rome, and the command, "Come out of her, My people," as a call to the members of that communion to become Protestants, they are simply wresting Holy Scripture from its Divine meaning, to subserve unworthy party purposes; converting into the 'Word of God' what are the mere baseless traditions of men; and asserting, "the LORD hath said," of that which "the LORD hath *not* said."

We add this, not with any view of extenuating the errors of the Church of Rome, or of relieving her from any portion of that full and mysterious share in these woeful predictions which must under any circumstances appertain to her, but simply as guarding the integrity of the holy written Word of God.

II. Having examined Dr. Wordsworth's interpretation of the Harlot, it is time that we turned our attention more particularly, as we proposed, for a few moments, to the second principal Actor in this Sacred Drama—the Beast.

Now, if any one thing is certain in the domain of sacred symbolism, we hold it to be this—that the Beast represents the godless power of the *world*. The 'Beast,' in S. John's Revelation, corresponds exactly with the 'world' in S. John's Epistles. It "lieth in the Wicked One," and embraceth all who are "not of the FATHER," all whose names are not in the Book of Life. The love of it is incompatible with the "love of the FATHER." It is the great visible antagonist of the FATHER; it is that great Power which, under some form or other, usurps the allegiance of all who are not 'of God'; it is "the world which is passing away," which is doomed to destruction; to the sphere of which appertain "the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life;" it is the world which loveth its own, and which, however speciously submissive and obsequious, does ever secretly hate all who are of God, and are not really of the world. It is called a *Beast* as being destitute of that Divine Image which is the essential mark of man.

It is needful that we apprehend the precise being and nature of

this important emblem, 'the Beast;' otherwise we shall inevitably fail, as both our present annotators do, in assigning its true meaning to the derivative and dependent emblem, the "*Image* of the Beast."

By Dean Alford, the true signification of the original symbol appears to be throughout correctly apprehended.

"The Beast," he says, "is not Rome, nor the Roman empire, but a general symbol of the secular Anti-Christian Power."

Both he and Dr. Wordsworth seem to recognize in this symbol a combined representation of the four great Beasts, or World-powers of Daniel, and therefore an embodiment of the godless mundane Power in its totality. But so anxious is Dr. Wordsworth to be at the Pope, that he no sooner touches on the true interpretation, than he at once abandons it; and through the whole of his exposition, practically treats the Beast as nothing more nor less than the Papacy and the Papal kingdom.

We gladly notice that he has had the good sense to abandon one very foolish piece of interpretation originally adopted by himself, which explains the heads of the Beast to be the successive forms of government of Rome, kings, consuls, &c.; and that he now expounds these, in company with every other respectable commentator, as figuring the successive phases or evolutions of the world-kingdom; although he regards them, not in their relation to the history of the Church of God, or to that of the world-power itself, but merely in their assumed relation to Rome, as being the kingdoms which were ultimately absorbed into the Roman Empire and were thus transformed into the 'Beast proper' or Papal Kingdom.

With respect to the question of the identification of the successive heads, although differing slightly in their account of the five fallen kings, both Dr. Wordsworth and Dean Alford agree in regarding the sixth head or king as the power of Rome. In the seventh head Dr. Wordsworth sees the imperial power of Germany, and Dean Alford (with Auberlen) "the Christian Empire beginning with Constantine."

The eighth king, or resuscitated Beast, or 'Beast proper,' is of course regarded by Dr. Wordsworth as the Papacy. Dean Alford, on the other hand, truly writes:—

"There can be little doubt in the mind of the student of Prophecy *who* is thus described; that it is the ultimate Anti-Christian power prefigured by the little horn of Daniel, and expressly announced by S. Paul. 2 Thess. ii. 3."—P. 706.

But the one important question that at this point arrests us, is the following:—What does the deadly wound, or temporary non-existence of the Beast signify?

Because the monster, we find, is first alive; then to all appear-



ance dies; and lastly, shortly before its final consignment to perdition, arises from the Abyss with new diabolical powers. And in this its final revived manifestation does the entire interest of its godless career ultimately centre. It is the Beast that 'died and rose again,' which is the universal object of the world's worship, xvii. 8; xiii. 3, 8, 12; the 'Resurrection from the dead' being the great crucial doctrine of Anti-Christianity, no less than of Christianity.

Now Dr. Wordsworth tells us that the death of the Beast took place in the year 476, when Romulus Augustulus abdicated the imperial dignity; and that its resuscitation was coincident with the rise of the Papacy.

Whether the Monster was alive or dead during the sprouting forth and continuance of its seventh, or Germanic, head—which intervenes *between* its death and resurrection—our author does not inform us.

But the point to which we beg serious attention is this: that we have here a Christian writer gravely representing the *Christian* kingdom, i.e., Rome Papal, as something infinitely more awful and godless and Anti-Christian, than even *heathen* Rome!

The Beast, we must remember, is represented as dying, and then coming to life in some far more terrible and devilish state; rising, not from the 'sea' as before, but from the "bottomless pit" or "Abyss," suffused with blasphemy, abjuring the Name of God; the very visible embodiment of the God-hating dominion of Hell. And this Power it is which Dr. Wordsworth identifies with the Papacy—a Power so far worse than Rome heathen as the "bottomless pit" is deeper than the "sea," and as the "seven spirits" (according to the parable which distinctly foreshadows this subject,) are "more wicked" and terrible than the "unclean spirit" which originally held the man in bondage.

This learned writer may strive as he will to defend this conclusion, he may bring the whole of his ingenuity into exercise in order to fasten on that great Branch of CHRIST's Holy Church—which, however fallen from her pristine state, and committed to grave errors, is yet owned by God, and used by Him as an organ of His Holy Spirit, and a means, and the only means, of bringing the souls of thousands and tens of thousands to CHRIST—all the emblems and attributes which the Sacred Scriptures affix to mere devilish God-repudiating Anti-Christianity: for our part, we can but say, that we regard his attempt with horror; and that it is only our strong conviction that the Christian sense of all thoughtful and devout sons of the Church of England will instinctively reject such a perverse misapplication of God's Holy Word, which qualifies our profound feeling of the mischief likely to ensue from the dissemination of such fearful interpretations.

Dean Alford, we are glad to observe, has seized what is unques-

tionably the true view of the "deadly wound." He regards (with Auberlen) the wounded condition of the Beast to be synchronous with the external Christianization of the world-power, and to continue throughout the whole period of the Christian kingdom, during which time, "the Beast in his proper essence, in his fulness of opposition to God and His saints, ceases to be."—P. 706.

This abnormal state of the Beast is expressed in two ways: He is said to have *ceased to exist*; and he is said to have been mortally *wounded*. Three times we are told, absolutely and without qualification, that the Beast "*is not*." (xvii. 8, 11.) And this state of non-existence is predicated of him even while his sixth head is still in being.

And three times again, he is said to have received a '*wound*.' It is a '*deadly wound*,' (xiii. 3); it is a '*wound with a sword*,' (ver. 14); it is inflicted on '*one of his heads*,' (ver. 3); but it affects his whole self, (ver. 14).

Now, in reference to the former expression ('*he is not*'), his future manifestation is described in the words, "He shall be present," (*παρεσται*<sup>1</sup>) and, "he shall ascend out of the Abyss and go to perdition."

In reference to the latter expression, (the mortal '*wound*'), his future state is spoken of as a *healing* of the deadly stroke, and a restoration of *life*.

We learn from the whole, that the Beast for a time loses its bestial vitality, and ceases to be a Beast. But the two sets of expressions seem to us to deal with two distinct aspects of this change. The first tells of the Beast's invisible, the second of its visible defeat. The former we take to refer, chiefly, to the actual death which passed upon it, when the world and its Prince were vanquished on Calvary. Just as Adam *died* in the day when he ate the forbidden fruit, so the Beast really died when JESUS "by His Death destroyed him who had the power of death." Thus the expression, "he is not," is deeply and absolutely true, even although the final terrible death struggle has not yet been actually realized. The '*world*' is now ever '*passing away*.' But this its essential non-existence is not as yet manifested: it is a secret realized only by God's people: it is a mystery communicated by the angel to S. John.

The other expression, however, which speaks of the deadly *wound* recounts something which is obvious and manifest: it tells of the *visible* victory achieved by the Church over the world; of the *visible* defeat sustained by the Beast, when ancient heathenism was wounded to death by Christianity (from which wound it shall yet triumphantly recover, to the '*astonishment*' of '*all the world*'). Our Blessed LORD Himself potentially slays and vanquishes the

<sup>1</sup> This word reminds us of the *παρουσία* of Anti-Christ, of which S. Paul writes. (2 Thess. ii. 9.) In like manner the expression, "he shall go to perdition," (*ἀπώλεια*) connects the prophecy with S. Paul's *ὁ υἱὸς τῆς ἀπωλείας*.

Beast: but He leaves it to His Church to carry this victory into full effect—to “trample the young lion and the dragon under her feet.” As in the parallel case of Holy Baptism, the old Adam in us dies, and is thenceforth potentially slain, and yet we have ourselves laboriously to kill it; else it will destroy us; so does our LORD essentially, and once for all, destroy the Beast; and yet commissions His Church, for herself, to vanquish and destroy him—to “overcome the world.”

He bequeaths to her “the Faith:” with this she is to gain her victory. “The weapons of her warfare are not to be carnal,” but spiritual; the only weapons which are really “mighty to the pulling down” of the world’s “strong holds.” Power was given her to say to the world’s seven mountains, “Be ye removed, and be ye cast into the sea.” Power was given her to “bruise the serpent’s heads;” yea, to “break them in pieces.” But no: she established herself upon the mountains; she seated herself upon the heads. True, in the fervour of her early faith she made a noble attack upon her enemy. The “great mountain rolling down into the depths of the ocean” (ix. 8), and the “head wounded to death,” tell of a hopeful career of victory begun. But alas! it was not resolutely pursued. The contents of Heaven’s Armoury did not satisfy her; she wished for more speedy and manifest results than could be obtained by means of her celestial ammunition. Hence to the “sword of the LORD” (the *βομφαία*) she added the earthly weapon also (the *μάχαιρα*);<sup>1</sup> and with this she attempted to subdue the world: with the world’s own appliances she sought to obtain that “Victory over the world” which could only be achieved by “the Faith.” For a while she succeeded. But the success is only partial: it is not a real triumph: “the deadly wound shall yet be healed;” and “all the world shall wonder” and rejoice.

We conceive, then, that in the “deadly wound,” or “stroke with the sword,” we see depicted the *visible* defeat sustained by the world-power in its sixth or Roman Head (the varied expression hinting at the admixture of earthly elements in the warfare). We see foreshadowed, not only the temporal destruction of the old empire by the northern barbarians (for this seems included), but a still greater victory also, viz., the subjugation to CHRIST and His Church of the ancient heathen kingdom—this subjugation having been previously rendered possible by the secret victory obtained by CHRIST. But we see, lastly, a mournful but plain hint that this present visible subjection of the world-power to the Church shall

<sup>1</sup> We noticed the Apocalyptic distinction between these two words above, p. 200. It is only in conformity with the *lex talionis* enunciated by our LORD to S. Peter, (S. Matt. xxvi. 52,) and repeated (Rev. xiii. 10) that they who have unauthorised recourse to the earthly weapons of warfare, must themselves fall therewith. The very expression, “the stroke with a sword,” seems itself to contain a hint that in so far as the wound was inflicted with a *sword* it would not be permanent in its effect.

not be final, but shall be ultimately succeeded by a terrible reverse.

We cannot see our way to the acceptance of Auberlen's and Dean Alford's view, that the "*Christian Empire*" is the "seventh head of the Beast."

It appears to ourselves that the sixth kingdom (the "*one*" which "*is*") is supposed to continue during the whole period of the non-existence of the Beast; and that when the Beast rises from death, it is in its *seventh*, ten-horned Anti-Christian phase. For the Angel tells us that the seventh king (corresponding to the seventh head) "*is not yet* (*οὐκ ἔτι*) come," and that "when he cometh he must continue a *short space*." And similarly of the "ten kings" (corresponding to the "ten horns") he says that they have *not yet* (*οὐκ ἔτι*) received a kingdom, but that "they shall receive power as kings *one hour*" with the Beast—where the "one hour" of the ten horns' dominion seems to correspond with the "short space" of the seventh head's continuance.<sup>1</sup>

Hence, the seventh kingdom appears to be the divided Anti-Christian kingdom of the ten kings, with whom the Harlot consummates her impurities, and by whom she is destroyed. From amongst these arises, on the overthrow of the Harlot, the fully developed despotism of the "Man of Sin." It is first an eleventh or "little horn" growing out of the seventh head; it uproots three of the "ten," becoming an *eighth*, and at last develops itself into an absolute recapitulation of the entire Beast, and in a form so much more awful than that of any of the old heathen empires, as blasphemy against the HOLY GHOST is a sin of infinitely deeper malignity than any sin possible in the ancient world.

It remains for us to ask, Who, or what, is the Image of the Beast?

What can he be, save the individual *head* of the Anti-Christian kingdom, the visible personification of the entire Beast; not of this phase or that phase (as Dr. Wordsworth would have it), not of this or that particular head, but of the *whole* Monster, in its full plenitude of power, and God-defying CHRIST-denying impiety? He is that one human being, "the last foe of the flock," who will emphatically "gain the whole world and lose his own soul"—of whose future coming the whole Church, in all ages and countries, has given united testimony; to whom Satan shall give, what he once offered to CHRIST, "all the kingdoms of the world and their glory," claiming in return the worship of himself. He shall be the manifested Prince and God of the world, of whom all former world-kings and Anti-Christ's have been feeble types—the very embodiment of worldliness in its inmost essence, the exact image and *beau*

<sup>1</sup> Dean Alford seems to think that the *ὁλίγον αὐτὸν δεῖ μέναι* contains a hint of the possible continuance of this head for a considerable period; the stress being, not on the *ὁλίγον*, but on the *δεῖ μέναι*. We cannot agree with him. It certainly appears to us that the *ὁλίγον* is emphatic.

*ideal* of the world's own conception of greatness and nobility ; in whom the world shall see and worship itself. He shall "come in his own name," and "him the world will receive."<sup>1</sup> He shall be surrounded by all the pomp and solemn circumstance of religion, but of a religion of which himself is the centre and sole object ;—himself the human organ of the Fiend, the very incarnation (so to speak) of Satan. His high Priest, the false Prophet, in whom we see summed up, in one ideal (possibly one actual) head, all the swarms of false prophets foretold by our LORD, "showing great signs and wonders, so as to deceive if possible the very elect"—shall prepare his way before him, shall work for him, shall call him into being.

The *time* when this "Beast from the earth," or false Prophet, comes into full and matured existence, is clearly marked : it is on the "healing of the deadly wound" of the first Beast (xiii. 12) ;<sup>2</sup> when Christianity is fast disappearing from the earth before the irresistible course of reviving heathenism, and when this diabolical "resurrection from the dead" may be confidently appealed to, as a crucial test of the truth and rational certainty of Anti-Christianity, of the failure and folly of Christianity.

The false Prophet (the impersonation of the world's *wisdom*, as the Beast is of its *power*,—he) and his wretched crew, the "predicadores Anti-Christi," these emissaries from the bottomless pit, shall have been the great means of indoctrinating men with the poisonous *ἀνομία* of the latter days—for which the teaching of the Harlot has previously prepared them—and thus of gradually re-awakening the world to a restored heathen, or rather a new Anti-Christian life. Mighty and terrible will be their success. For they are aided not only by all the powers of Hell, but even by Heaven itself ; God in dire judgment sending upon men 'a strong delusion,' so that *all*—the *entire* inhabitants of the once Christian earth, save only the 'little flock' of the elect—will receive and embrace them. The time for half-Christianity is past. It must be either CHRIST or Anti-Christ ; death with CHRIST, or worldly joy with His enemies.

At an early stage of the movement, the Harlot or false Church which has pandered to the advancing tide of opinion, has served as the religious ally of the world ; it may be, as the State Establishment of the ten confederate kings—some specious visible reunion of Christendom, on an Anti-Christian basis, having possibly been effected. Her intolerance, cruelty, and self-assertion increase with

<sup>1</sup> We have said that S. John represents the FATHER and the World as the two great secret Objects of worship. Each has a visible representative or Image. There is the *εἰκών* of the FATHER (2 Cor. iv. 4 ; Col. i. 15) ; and the *εἰκών* of the World : The CHRIST and the Anti-Christ.

<sup>2</sup> The "false Prophet" appears to discharge towards the Anti-Christian world the same functions which the Harlot of old discharged towards the Christian world. He is the official successor of the Harlot ; though possibly for a time they may be practically one and the same.

her corruption; until the *ἀποστασία* predicted by S. Paul, 2 Thess. ii. 3, reaches such a head, that the Majesty of Heaven is outraged past endurance. God's people are warned in unambiguous accents to renounce her communion; the SPIRIT of Life deserts her, and she becomes the loathsome carcase, spoken of by our LORD, whom the eagles of vengeance scent out to devour. Alas, she little knows that her hour has come! Meanwhile, onward sweeps the resistless tide of infidel opinion. And now, *no* form of Christianity, however corrupt, will satisfy the quickened demands of the intellects of the men of the day. The very name of Christianity has become odious and intolerable. The growing Apostasy of the ten kings of Christendom receives a diabolic stimulus from some new Power suddenly arising, by means of which fresh elements of Anti-Christianity are infused into the fevered mind of the world; and in a frenzied paroxysm of hate, every vestige of Christianity and the Christian name is obliterated; the Harlot is torn to pieces and burnt with fire, and false Babylon becomes a habitation of devils. While the Head of this new Power which fast fills all the earth, and which speedily subdues or absorbs all other kingdoms, is solemnly proposed to the world, and deliberately accepted, enthroned, crowned as its sole King and God. Here is the end of the world and its *wisdom*!

What shall be the secret cipher, the 'number,' or 'mark,' whereby the last dread Enemy shall be recognised by the 'wise,' (a mystic key to which, intelligible at the time, S. John has bequeathed to the then faithful remnant,) it seems presumption seriously to inquire. Of Dr. Wordsworth's solution of the enigma we will not speak further than to say, that it pains us to see a learned Christian man committing himself to such transparent folly.<sup>1</sup>

But what is to succeed this terrible triumph of Anti-Christianity?

Our LORD and His Saints suddenly appear from the opened

<sup>1</sup> One trifling point of detail we may just notice in passing.

Dr. Wordsworth, as is known, contrives by some ingenious process (we doubt not satisfactory to himself) to discover in the arrangement of the Keys on the Papal coin the "following letters, X H Z T." Now, counting these, he tells us, we get X=600, H=60, and Z T (=σ τ =5) =6. Now admitting, for the sake of argument, (which we do not) that these capital letters have any numerical value whatever,—with the exception of X, which represents 1000—we affirm that the combination of letters χ ξ σ τ, so far from being equivalent to 666, really amounts to 1190, and nothing else.

Dr. Wordsworth's assertion that the σ τ =5=6 is a complete mistake. The 5 (=σ τ) and the episemon 5' (=6) have no connection whatever, in respect to their numerical equivalence. The latter was the regular symbol in S. John's time for the number 6, borrowed, as Bishop Beveridge maintains (*Arithm. Chronol.*, lib. i. c. 7.) from the sixth letter of the Samaritan alphabet inversely written. The former, though similar in appearance, bears no possible relation to it, and is merely a modern stenographical contraction introduced in the 12th or 13th century. So that to take no higher ground, this absurd explanation of the "mark of the Beast" is, on this account alone, seen to be utterly baseless and visionary.

Heavens, in the midst of the world's short-lived jubilee, to destroy His impious foes, and "with the Breath of His lips to slay the wicked;" to hurl the old Dragon into the Abyss, to seal and chain him, and to consign the Anti-Christian confederation, secular and sacred, to the everlasting torments of the Burning Lake."

But what is to ensue? Is the Church never to have *her* visible time of triumph upon this earth? Is the earth to be then destroyed, as we are now usually taught, and all the Old Testament Prophecies which tell of the Church's future glories to fail of accomplishment? Is Christianity to exhibit itself last in the world as a failure? are CHRIST and His Saints never visibly to assert their rights as the real Lords and Kings of the earth?

The 20th chapter of this book emphatically negatives such an idea. It affirms distinctly that the three and a half years, which shall see the long inworking "Mystery of Iniquity" at its head, and the triumph of Satan and Antichrist, shall be succeeded by "a thousand years" of *manifested* victory.

Dr. Wordsworth adopts the common, but most unsatisfying interpretation, which spiritualizes away the Prophecy, and dislocates the inspired sequence of events; placing the thousand years of triumph *before* the three years and a half of distress and defeat, and regarding the thousand years as now continuing.

Dean Alford adopts, in the main, what we are more and more convinced is the alone admissible interpretation of the chapter.

"I cannot (he writes) consent to distort the words of this passage from their plain sense and chronological place in the prophecy, on account of any considerations of difficulty, or any risk of abuses which the doctrine of the Millennium may bring with it. Those who lived next to the Apostles, and the whole Church for three hundred years, understood them in the plain literal sense. . . . As regards the text itself, no legitimate treatment of it will extort what is known as the spiritual interpretation now in fashion."—P. 726.

As we recently devoted an entire paper to the subject of "the thousand years reign"<sup>1</sup> we must refer such of our readers as take an interest in that very interesting and important question, to the remarks we then offered.

We regret the length of the present Paper. But we have omitted much which we wished to say, and possibly what may be needful to guard us against misconception.

It has been our misfortune to disagree with many of the conclusions to which Dr. Wordsworth has arrived, in his interpretation of this mysterious book; and we have felt bound to state our disagreement unreservedly. Any feeling of disrespect towards this esteemed writer we entirely disclaim. But it grieves us, in the present instance, to see a really valuable work, like the Greek Testament now

<sup>1</sup> *Ecclesiastic*, March, 1860.

under review, disfigured by blemishes so serious ; to find a learned, devout, and Catholic-minded writer lending all his energies to the hopeless task of upsetting a tradition of the Holy universal Church, handed down from Apostolic times, and drawn from Holy Scripture itself ; and substituting in its place a modern perversion of God's Inspired Word, not more false and unsubstantial in itself, than it is mischievous in its results, and derogatory to the Divine Author of Scripture.

The present Volume is a sad anti-climax to Dr. Wordsworth's work, as a whole. His Commentary on the Gospels was sound and devotional, and, excepting where the writer touched on the Church of Rome, left little to be desired.

The Volume on the Acts of the Apostles was not quite equal to its predecessor. In the next Dr. Wordsworth seemed frequently to miss the sense of S. Paul ; and in reviewing it, we were obliged to say that a Commentary on S. Paul was still a desideratum in the English Church. The last Volume contains the Commentary on the Apocalypse !

## MISS BREMER'S TWO YEARS IN SWITZERLAND.

*Two Years in Switzerland and Italy.* By FREDRIKA BREMER.  
Translated by MARY HOWITT. 2 Vols. London : Hurst and Blackett. 1861.

ITALY is now, both to the statesman and to the churchman, one of the most interesting subjects of thought even in this age of wonders. To the former it offers the spectacle of a nation formerly divided, dismembered, and oppressed, bursting its fetters and once more uniting its people under one head. To the latter it shows the working of a great movement, in reality religious, though as yet partially concealed by a political disguise. Three years ago, when the authoress of the book we mention above was recording her impressions of Italian life, Austria ruled in Lombardy, her creatures occupied the Duchies, the prisons of Naples were secure, and the Pope had as much peace at Rome as his French friends would give him. Now, Victor Emmanuel is king of Italy, and any day may announce that the French have abandoned the Pope to his fate. And when this happens, what will be the progress of the Italian reformation ? Is it to be one which shall place her church on a purer and sounder basis, shall again restore the faith which was held by those who worshipped in her catacombs, and sealed the truth with their blood, or one that after a brief period of



fanaticism and excitement shall leave the nation split into a hundred sects, to fall away into heresy and infidelity; or, lastly, will things, after a season of turmoil, fall back again into their present position?

We think then that a notice of this book may not be uninteresting to our readers. We cannot but be interested in anything which concerns the religious state of Switzerland or Italy. In these countries there are so many phases of belief, the most extreme often being in close juxtaposition, that we may see, at one glance both the dangers we have escaped by having joined in the reformation movement, and also those to which its principles lead if they are pushed too far. But we think that this book is more worthy of notice as being the work of one who is a foreigner, and not a member of our own Church. It is well to see a subject from more points of view than one. In books of travel written by Englishmen all things are looked on from an English point of view. True it is that we shall find great difference in the works of our countrymen, who have travelled through Switzerland and Italy, for the special theology of an author wonderfully affects his vision, but still to all there is the common ground of nationality, which Miss Bremer does not share with us, and being a foreigner, her manners and mode of life would be less alien to those of whom she was writing, than those of our nation are.

The chief interest indeed of the book lies in the view it affords of the religious aspect of society. As a book of travels it contains nothing more interesting (except perhaps a somewhat romantic love story in the second volume) than the note-book of any other lady who has made the ordinary tour through these countries. Miss Bremer is no explorer who sets at nought difficulty and danger. She visited no unfrequented nooks or scarce accessible summits; she did but travel quietly through the countries, halting from time to time at the places of greatest social interest, and availing herself of the passport to society which her literary fame supplied, to learn all that she could of the state of religion in the places where she was sojourning.

We must, however, express our surprise at several blunders which occur in the descriptive part of the book. Mistakes in names are excusable in a tourist who is travelling for the first time in an unexplored region, but in a country so well known as Switzerland, a topographical blunder is as unpardonable as it would be in a journal of a tour through England. Thus, a glance at her map would have told Miss Bremer, that the mountain seen from near S. Nicholas, up the Nikolai Thal, is not Monte Rosa, but the Breithorn,<sup>1</sup> or that the River Reuss cannot lie on both sides of the watershed of the Furca, as she makes it do;<sup>2</sup> confusing apparently one of the affluents of the Rhone on the west side of the watershed,

<sup>1</sup> Vol. I., p. 307.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. I., p. 97.

with the river Reuss on the east. There are blunders also in the orthography of names, which, if due originally to the author, the translator ought not to have left uncorrected, such as *Fru* for *Frau*, (vol. i. p. 10,) *Glacis* for *Glarus*, (138,) *Crina* for *Cima*, (308,) and many others. That part of the book which treats of the mountains is the least successful. Miss Bremer has no real love for them: in fact, she confesses that they chill and overpower her. She can appreciate their snowy heads as they rise far away over the cultivated low lands, but lacks that element in her soul which can respond to their grandeur.

Miss Bremer herself is a Lutheran, at least in name; but she does not seem to be satisfied thoroughly with Lutheranism, or indeed with any society or church that she has as yet met with. Though a Protestant, she has as keen eyes for the imperfections of her party. For instance, speaking of the Reformation, she says:—

“And now the new disciples stood forward, each with the Holy Scriptures in his hand, but none understood and explained them as the others. The architects of the church could not agree about the building; each one would build it in his own way. Thus a variety of churches and sects arose, which, even when they were agreed on the chief topic, yet acknowledged differences sufficiently great to make them then, and still at this day, quarrel with one another like enemies. The Romish Church exclaimed triumphantly, ‘Where is now your Church? Where is your unity, where your cementing cardinal point?’ and it exclaims so to this day. Protestantism replies, as we have already said, but has an internal conviction that the answer is not satisfactory, and asks for one of greater completeness, looking around for its higher unity, certain that it will be found; but, am I wrong when I say, that as yet it has neither found it nor comprehended it?”—Vol. I., p. 73.

The Church she seems to desire is one comprehensive in its fullest sense, “one in which,” to use her own words, “Fenelon and Channing, François de Sales and Herman Franke, Hildebrand and Luther, Washington and Vinet, S. Brigitta and Elizabeth Fry may offer prayer and sing praises together.”

From such a declaration as this we should expect a kindly and loving view of all parties, and we are not disappointed. Once only does she speak strongly against the professors of any doctrine,—that is, when she has been studying the writings of one of the leading Calvinists of Geneva.

“After I had read his work, I declined the meeting with him (the author). I can, for many good reasons, excuse a person who holds narrow views on certain subjects, but I cannot forgive any one who rejoices in a doctrine which makes God the most unjust of all Fathers, and mankind as His blind heartless instruments.”—Vol. I., p. 256.

But we pass from the authoress to the account she gives us of the Swiss Protestants. Her first journey was to acquaint herself with the

state of the Free Church of the Canton Vaud. The origin of this body was as follows :—In the revolution of 1845 the self-constituted government which had come into power, required the ministers of the churches to read a proclamation from the pulpit, in vindication of the new government. This they refused to do, because the new government had established itself by violence, and their canons forbade them to introduce political questions into the pulpit. They were then compelled to choose between resignation and obedience. Some eight hundred of them gave up their cures, sooner than do wrong to their consciences.<sup>1</sup> Many of the congregations seceded with them, and a Free Church was formed, which after some petty persecution, succeeded in establishing itself, and is now thoroughly organized.

The picture drawn of it by Miss Bremer shows that, even according to her views the state of the Free Church was not satisfactory. "I missed the Liturgy and the public confession of faith." "The Church spoke merely of the salvation of the individual soul; it turned away from science, and from the largeness of general life, as if it did not concern 'our city.'"

Miss Bremer spent some time in the higher valleys that run into the Rhone Valley, where the Free Church (like that of the Waldenses) is said to flourish best. Her description of a "camp meeting" is interesting, but too long for extraction. It reminds us much of what we have witnessed in Wales. There is one remark of hers, however, which we cannot pass by unnoticed. It is a common remark among travellers, and endorsed by "Murray,"<sup>2</sup> that the superiority of the Protestant over the Roman Catholic Cantons in civilization and prosperity is most remarkable. For our own parts we have never been able to see it; although there are few parts of the country that we have not passed over. Miss Bremer says, "I did not find it so; on the contrary, wherever I turn my eyes, I cannot but admire the excellent and respectable appearance of everything that belongs to the country (sc. the Forest or Roman Catholic cantons) and its people." We are ourselves inclined to suspect that the Protestant districts are those which by natural situation are most capable of commercial and agricultural prosperity, whose cities indeed were not unknown before the Reformation; but that the greater part of Roman Catholic Switzerland from its situation, inaccessibility, and climate, is incapable of rapid or great progress. Therefore when defects are seen, they ought rather to be set down to the fault of nature than the forms of faith. No

<sup>1</sup> We have been informed, by a member of the "Free Church," that so large a proportion resigned that the Government was on the point of yielding, through inability to provide for the great numbers of vacant cures. But just before they did so, one man recalled his resignation. They now held on, hoping that others would do the same. A few more did—and the remaining vacancies were filled up by men collected together from all parts, and often very unfit for their office.

<sup>2</sup> Murray's Handbook for Switzerland, page 169 (1846.)

one can of course deny that in many cases, as in Italy, the Papal government has much retarded the progress of a nation—but these examples will not here apply; for Roman Catholic Switzerland is by no means ultramontane in its tendencies, the freedom of its political life having also extended to its religion.

After quitting Switzerland, Miss Bremer visited the Waldenses of the valleys at the foot of Monte Viso. She expatiates, as well she might, on the beauties of the valleys; but her aspirations after a perfect church were destined again to be disappointed. While she bears grateful testimony to the purity of life, and fervent piety of many of them, she still complains of the endless confusion which the absence of definite formulæ of faith gives rise to, and the party spirit which is caused thereby. In fact she states, (asserting that some of the best among the Waldenses hold the same opinion) that, before they can venture to talk of evangelizing Italy, they must evangelize themselves. We fully believe it. Protestantism,<sup>1</sup> we feel convinced will never succeed in Italy. We doubt indeed whether it will ultimately meet with much success anywhere in the world; but be that as it may, it will not do for Italy.

Having no firm basis on which to rest, no *church*, no compacting system, it must always be rather an aggregation of vitalized atoms, than a living and energetic body. In its successes there is no security. Its faith is rather negative than positive, its course destructive rather than constructive; having no sound forms of doctrine, dissensions and divisions may at any moment arise. It provides not for the natural wants of human nature, so that when lapse of time blunts the edge of the excitement of spiritualism, which gives it at first success, the influence unfortunately dies out. Hence, as has happened in England, in Scotland, in Switzerland, in Germany, the professors of Protestantism become cold and apathetic, or seek for excitement in speculation and mysticism. Thus, too, we may explain the continual thirst after excitement which distinguishes its more sincere members, thronging revival-meetings, popular preachers, anti-Papal or anti-Tractarian meetings, or anything which may for the nonce supply the vacuum that weighs so heavily on their spirits: objectivity is absent altogether from its worship. The Catholic, on the other hand, finds relief for his natural feelings in the realities of his religious services and in the awful solemnity of Eucharistic adoration, and he will not give this up for a mere abstraction.

We trust then that those in England who long for the regeneration of Italy will not be over hasty in their crusade against Romish errors. Bad enough, alas, some of them are, but they may not be so bad as a form of religion utterly unsuited to the wants of the nation, substituted incautiously and hastily; for bad government

<sup>1</sup> We use the word in its "Exeter Hall" sense, as implying a mere negation of Roman Catholicism.

may be better than no government at all, and despotism may be preferable to anarchy in religion as well as in temporal affairs.

The second volume is occupied with Miss Bremer's account of her travels in Central and Southern Italy, and with her comments upon men and manners there. She spent about four months in Rome, and spared no pains to gain a thorough knowledge of its condition, and of the principles of the Roman Catholic faith. We find this by far the most interesting portion of the book. She witnessed all the great festivals from Christmas to Easter, and describes many of them with much power and vividness. She entered freely into conversation on religious topics with the persons she met, and even with the Pope himself during an interview with which she was honoured. We record one question and its answer, thinking it may not be without interest. Often in discussions with Roman Catholics she had been told that, being a heretic, she could not hope for salvation. To this she used to reply, at first half in joke, "I will ask the Pope." However, at last she determined to do so. Accordingly, during her interview, taking advantage of a question put by the Pope about her religion, she asked, (after stating her faith in the SAVIOUR, and His atonement,)—

"Will your Holiness not acknowledge me as a Christian?"

"*The Pope.*—For a Christian! Most certainly! But —"

"*Myself.*—And as a member of the Church of CHRIST?"

"*The Pope.*—Ye-s, in a certain sense, but—but then people must acknowledge as true everything which this Church says and enjoins. You ought not in the mean time to believe that the Pope sends to hell all who do not acknowledge the infallibility of the Catholic Church. No; I believe that many persons of other creeds may be saved by living according to the truths which they acknowledge. I believe so most certainly."—Vol. II., p. 146.

In order, however, to ascertain more fully the grounds on which the Roman Catholic faith rested, Miss Bremer spent about a fortnight, towards the end of her residence in Rome, *en retraite* in the convent *Du Sacré Cœur*, where she occupied her time in studying the "Exercises of Ignatius Loyola," and in argument with a zealous sister, who tried to convert her by storm, and with a learned and amiable Carmelite friar. The result of this experiment we give in her own words:

"He (the Carmelite) has not been able to convince me of the infallibility of his Church, nor of its right to be regarded as exclusively the organ of GOD's truth, neither of the want of ability in unlearned laymen to attain to it, by acquaintance with the SAVIOUR through the Scriptures and prayer; he has however convinced me of the earnestness and honesty of the Catholic priest in his faith, and of his great value as a guide of souls, when he lives according to his faith, and demands

in himself the highest requirements in order to become not merely a teacher, but a Providence. Men of his class, such as this Carmelite monk, are true Priests of the LORD."—Vol. II., p. 226.

We wish we could extract at length the summary in which the authoress states her views of the religious state of the Catholic Church. Although we do not always agree with her, and think that her aspirations, though large-hearted, are impracticable, still we cannot help admiring the absence of that prejudice which so often warps the judgment of mere Protestants. While keenly alive to the faults of Rome, in doctrine and in practice, the false position assigned to the Pope, the ill-government and want of care for the education and real well-being of the people, Miss Bremer frankly confesses that

"the Protestant reformers in their honest zeal more than once threw away the child in the water he was washed in; and that the Catholic Church has kept more than one precious doctrine, which the Evangelical must yet adopt as her own, if she will fully deserve the name of Evangelical."—Vol. II., p. 95.

Miss Bremer, we believe, is still pursuing her travels, and means to devote two more volumes to a description of the Greek Church and people, and as many to what she has seen in more Eastern climes.

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## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

*Household Verses on Health and Happiness.* By the Author of "Thoughts in Verse for the Hardworking and Suffering." London: Jarrold and Sons, and the Ladies' Sanitary Association.  
*One Hundred Hymns for Special Services, &c. and Private Devotion.* London: Rivingtons.

If the poor are fond of poetry, as we think it will be found that a large majority of them are, it is very desirable that they should have poetry which they can appreciate, and which will be beneficial to them to read. An educated and observant person like the authoress of "Household Verses," will probably write verses in accordance with their tastes and feelings, as well as one of their own class; and for many reasons it is better that their literary purveyors should be of the classes above themselves, rather than of their own class. The volume is eminently successful; and we believe it has received the sanction of one whom all lovers of orthodox poetry love and respect. We can recommend it strongly as a present to the fathers and mothers of poor families.

The "Hundred Hymns" are a very tolerable selection from various sources made by a disciple of the "safe" school, as he openly avows in his preface. Wherever such a selection will be useful, we see no reason why this should not be used; and as the price is only one penny, it has cheapness to recommend it.

*The Pew System, and the Injuries which it inflicts on the Church of England.* London: Bell and Daldy.

THIS is a pamphlet of seventy-two pages, written by a zealous and yet judicious anti-Pewsite, who knows his subject thoroughly, and has worked it up in a very serviceable form. The author divides his subject into four principal heads, setting forth the evils which the Pew System does to the occupants of rented or appropriated Pews, to those who are excluded, to the Clergy, and to the Church of England at large. Evidence is brought to bear on the subject from persons of all shades of opinion in the Church, and also from persons outside the Church; and there is a useful Appendix of extracts from the Report of the Lords' Committee, on the Deficiency of Means of Spiritual Instruction. The free use made of Scriptural arguments, and the general tone of the pamphlet, make it very well adapted for circulation among ill-informed but religious-minded patrons of the Pew System, of whom there are many well worth converting to the opposite view.

*Twenty-and-five Years.* Two Sermons preached at Illingworth Church, Yorkshire. By the Rev. WILLIAM GILLMOR, M.A., Perpetual Curate. London: Bosworth and Harrison.

Two earnest discourses set forth, in the rather diffuse and egotistical manner pardonable in an old man, the work achieved by the parson of Illingworth in a quarter of a century. It is work very worthy of respect, including a church restored, after being nearly burned down, and the building of a school chapel in an outlying district. We observe Mr. Gillmor states that his school has no endowment, no government help, no annual subscriptions, and that "all the parochial help I have ever obtained," during a period of twelve years, "towards the great work of education in this populous parish, has amounted to the sum of £8. 1s." We observe that Illingworth has a population of about 10,000, and that the income of the living is under £150. It would be well if the Clergy would speak out very plainly on the stinginess of the Laity under such circumstances as these.

*Things that I Doubt.* Dedicated to the Authors of "Essays and Reviews," by a Doubting Disciple. Oxford: Bowden; London: Thompson, 3, Burleigh Street.

If any of our readers wish for a few minutes' amusement at small cost, they may as well purchase the confession which a doubter discloses under the above title. The result of his discipleship,

"From Spitzbergen to Terra del Fuego  
I doubt all human kind but this one doubting EGO;"

is not to be wondered at.

*Daily Services for Christian Households.* Compiled and arranged by  
Rev. H. STOBART, M.A. J. H. and James Parker.

WE are glad at length to be able to announce a Book of Family Prayers, prepared on the principles which we have ourselves on many occasions advocated. The principles are these—the adopting the model of the Church Prayers, but not borrowing at all from them; the weaving in the events proper to each day, both from the history of the Creation, and from the Gospel narrative; the use of Psalms, and Hymns, and lections from Holy Scripture. There are also Proper Collects for the Seasons, as well as Prayers and Thanksgivings for Special Occasions.

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*George Foster, the Page, (Masters,)* is a well-written little work on the temptations of servants; but its usefulness is somewhat marred by the imperfect exposition which it gives of the Rite of Confirmation. Without denying that this ordinance is the power of GOD in the seven-fold gifts of grace, it yet dwells so largely on the mistaken idea that the baptismal vows are therein renewed, as to obscure that portion of the truth which it really holds.

*Joy in the Everlasting Benediction of the Heavenly Washing, (Mozleys,)* by the Rev. ARTHUR BAKER, is one of the best sermons on baptism we have seen for some time. It is characterized generally by deep thought and earnest devotional feeling, and in the Appendix it touches briefly, but with much good sense, on the question now under discussion respecting the alteration of the XXIXth Canon. The portion of the Sermon which appears to us the most striking is that which describes the entrance of the Image of GOD into the soul in triune form through mysterious affinity with the Blessed TRINITY,—the understanding being the Image of the Eternal FATHER; whence rise Reason, Wisdom, Language—the Image of the WORD; while the Will, the Image of the HOLY SPIRIT, evolves into action the thoughts and impulses of the heart. We should be glad to see this theory elaborated at greater length.

We have only just time to announce the publication of a *Memoir of the Rev. Henry Newland*, by his friend Mr. SHUTTE, of Exeter. In his Preface, the Biographer expresses a strong dislike to that kind of memoir which deals with the feelings and experiences of the departed, and avows his intention of recording only the outward events in the life of Mr. Newland. Our readers will already know something of the energy of purpose, courage, and humour which characterized the late Vicar of S. Marychurch; and they will find these qualities brought out into full view by the writer of the present interesting and affectionate Memoir. We trust that it will meet with a large circulation, and may encourage other Parish Priests to tread in his steps.

We congratulate the Bishop of London on having discovered at length that there is something for him to do in his diocese besides bullying unpopular Rectors and unprotected Curates. And we quite believe that



if he sets to work in earnest in carrying out the recommendations of the Diocesan Church Building Society of London, he will soon change his views with respect to the proper size of a diocese, and will become an advocate at least for the division of the See of London. The last Census, it is well known, gave the attendance on Public Worship in Middlesex as worse than any other county in England.

Mr. PARKER has published a new edition of his *Introduction to the Study of Gothic Architecture*. In acknowledging its great merits as regards accuracy and beauty of illustration, we must be allowed to regret that the writer seems so entirely to ignore the uses for which a Church is designed. It is a view taken altogether *ab extra*.

*The Catechumens of the Coromandel Coast* is one of the most successful of Mr. PARKER's series which have appeared for some time. The subject of Indian missions is one of special interest at this time; and as the scene of the present tale is laid nearly in our own day, it brings before us much that is instructive on that great question. The incidents of the story would seem unnatural if they were related of any other locality; but we have had a fatal experience of the reality of such an Indian "vendetta" as it describes.

*Six Sermons preached at Frome*, by the Rev. EDWARD SHAW, are very earnest and practical.

Of Mr. TYRWHITT's *Nine Sermons concerning Clerical Powers and Duties, Religious Inquiry, and Daily Prayer*, (Parker,) those which strike us as being the best are three against certain recently alleged difficulties of belief.

*Meditations on the Passion of our Blessed Lord* (Masters), bearing the well known initials R. B., will be found a great assistance to persons unaccustomed to the practice of mental prayer: though specially appropriate to Passiontide, they may be suitably used to quicken devotion at all times.

*Mysteries of Life, Death, and Futurity*, illustrated from the best and latest authorities, by HORACE WELBY, (Kent and Co.,) is the emptying out of a tolerably full and very miscellaneous commonplace book. In such a collection it would be vain to look for great exactness of belief; indeed one of the last "authorities" is the famous volume of "Essays and Reviews."

## MACDONALD ON THE PENTATEUCH.

*(Continued from page 241.)*

THE cardinal argument on which the document-hypothesis hinges is the remarkable fact, that certain portions of the Pentateuch, and of the book of Genesis especially, are distinguished by the divine names ELOHIM and JEHOVAH respectively. From this it has been argued, as Dr. Rowland Williams expresses it, that "there was a Bible before our Bible, and that some of our present books, as certainly Genesis . . . are expanded from simpler elements." Dr. Williams finds fault with Baron Bunsen, because this "is indicated" by him "rather than proved as it might be," (*Essays and Reviews*, p. 62;) but the Vice-Principal of Lampeter, considering no doubt that "prudence is the best part of valour," does not attempt to supply the hiatus in his master's logic, by furnishing us with that proof, which he tells us so tantalizingly might easily be done.

It might be conceded, however, as our author remarks, without any prejudice to the authenticity or inspiration of the Pentateuch, that Moses did avail himself of previously existing documents. The office of inspiration is to "lead into all truth," and to guard from every species of falsehood; to protect man from error in the exercise of his natural faculties, but not to supersede the instruments and materials by means of which knowledge is ordinarily acquired; to reveal absolutely truths which could not otherwise be obtained, and to shield man from error when he searches for truth in the ordinary paths of human learning. To concede, therefore, that in the historical parts of Genesis Moses may have made use of previously existing documents, is not to derogate one jot or tittle from the inspiration which guided his pen, and kept it always within the boundary lines of truth. But it is a fundamental article in the creed of the rationalist proper to deny altogether any such inspiration as we have mentioned. He retains the name indeed, but he eviscerates it of its true and proper meaning. He admits that the prophets of the Bible were inspired, but it is the inspiration of natural genius, not of supernatural grace; the inspiration of the Hebrew prophets was the same in kind with the inspiration of Homer and Plato, Shakspere and Milton. The difference between the orthodox believer and the rationalist, therefore, is this: the latter maintains that the Pentateuch is a compilation from ancient documents; that it is the work of different authors or compilers; and that, in the shape in which it has come down to us, it is comparatively modern—probably posterior to the Captivity.

VOL. XXIII.—JULY, 1861.

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The former is not concerned to deny, though it has yet to be proved, that the writer of the Pentateuch made use of existing documents—for instance in his historical sketches and genealogical tables; but he firmly believes that that writer was Moses; that he lived at the time in which he professes to have lived; that he was divinely inspired, and therefore wrote nothing but the truth; that he knew better than Dr. Rowland Williams the meaning of his own words; and that when he spoke of a “destroying angel,” he did *not* mean “the Bedouin host.”<sup>1</sup>

In reply to the rationalistic assailants of the Pentateuch, Mr. Macdonald enters into a learned discussion of the origin, import,

<sup>1</sup> Will Dr. R. Williams be good enough to mention any instance in the history of the world when a “Bedouin host,” or any other host, smote *exclusively* “all the first-born in the land;” “and all the first-born of cattle” (Exod. xii. 29)? And was the Paschal Lamb, too, which is sacrificed to this day by the Hebrew nation, “merely the fierce ritual of Syria, speaking (subjectively) with the awe of a divine voice?” Criticism like this might do very well in the “Arabian Nights,” or in the pages of *Punch*; but Dr. Rowland Williams must excuse us for saying, that it is somewhat childish when gravely propounded by the Vice-Principal and Hebrew Professor of a theological seminary.

The following criticism of our former article has appeared in the pages of a weekly newspaper:—

“The *Ecclésiastic* for June opens with a paper which is nominally a review of Mr. Macdonald’s *Introduction to the Pentateuch*, but is really an attack on *Essays and Reviews*, and especially Dr. Rowland Williams. It would be well if in all such polemical discussions the very high place held by Dr. Williams as a Hebraist, were candidly admitted, instead of slurs being cast on his learning which should be confined to his judgment. An objection may be raised against the critic himself, for his having fallen in with the blunder of our translation of 1 Cor. i. 27, which should be active, not passive.”

The first sentence we leave to the judgment of those who have read Mr. Macdonald’s book, which the writer of the above critique evidently did not do.

The writer’s second sentence is in direct contradiction of his own objection, in the same column, to the “farce of eulogising Dr. Wordsworth.” What he says of Dr. Wordsworth may be said, with still stricter truth, of Dr. Williams: “What has he ever said, done, or even thought, of the smallest use to his generation?” Besides, we do not see what “the very high place held by Dr. Williams as a Hebraist,” has to do with the heresies of his essay; and we certainly cannot admit that those heresies are merely errors of “judgment.” They would not be heresies if they were. A heresy is a moral rather than an intellectual fault; it is a sin, not an error simply.

The writer must also allow us to deny his assertion that we have “cast slurs” on the “learning” of Dr. Williams. If he had read, instead of “skimming” our article, he would not have thought so. At the same time, we do not hesitate to say, that Dr. Williams’s claims to learning must rest on other grounds than his essay. A more vulgar and offensive specimen of slipshod criticism than that *brochure*, we do not remember to have ever read. Certainly he can have no claim to forbearance, who thinks it decent to sneer at such men as Pearson, the late Dr. Mill, and Dr. Pusey,—divines as superior to Dr. Williams in solid learning and intellectual gifts, as he is inferior to them in all the graces of the Christian character.

The writer is also at fault in his remark on 1 Cor. i. 27. The majority of commentators, ancient and modern, are *in favour* of the English translation; and some names of note, like Bengel, ignore the *active* sense. As far as grammatical construction goes, the original admits of either rendering. In the Apostle’s mind the passage was probably inclusive of both the active and passive sense. Some of the Fathers take it now in the active sense, now in the passive. Anyhow, the English translation cannot be called a “blunder.”

and mutual relations of the names ELOHIM and JEHOVAH, and his conclusions are generally very satisfactory.

With respect to the various attempts which have been made to deny to the name JEHOVAH a Shemitic origin, Mr. Macdonald caustically remarks, that "in matters of this kind there is nothing so improbable but it will gain acceptance in various quarters, particularly if commended by a show of learning or antiquarian research." The best oriental scholars are agreed that "there is not a shadow of evidence" for any other than a Shemitic derivation of the term. Exodus iii. 13—16, is naturally adduced by Mr. Macdonald in proof of his argument, "that the term יהוה, however it may be pointed, is the regularly formed future Kal of the verb יהי, an obsolete form of יהי, 'to be.'" But we cannot agree with him in characterising the Septuagint rendering of JEHOVAH by *Kύριος* as "inaccurate." It may be true that the classical meaning of *Kύριος* differs from the Scripture signification of the word JEHOVAH; but both terms are derived in their respective languages from an obsolete form of the verb "to be;" and the writers of the New Testament frequently apply the term *Kύριος* to our Blessed LORD, when identifying Him with the JEHOVAH of the Old.

Mr. Macdonald rejects the view which regards the term JEHOVAH "as referring to the Essence of Deity, and expressive of the immutability of the Divine Nature," because he thinks that such a view "violently dissociates it from the light in which the idea was viewed by John in the Apocalypse; while various arguments can be adduced in support of the opinion which holds that it applies rather to GOD's manifestation of Himself in some special manner, and with reference to His Church, than to His personality." While agreeing generally with Mr. Macdonald's observations on this subject, we do think that his premises are sometimes wider than his conclusion; and one of his illustrations seems to tell rather against his argument than for it; we mean his reference to Rev. i. 4—8; iv. 8. S. John there calls our LORD, not only *ὁ ἐρχόμενος*, but also *ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν*; the three terms are placed in apposition to *τὸ Α καὶ τὸ Ω, ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος ὁ ἐρχόμενος*; so that, granting that *ὁ ἐρχόμενος* is the correct rendering of יהוה, even then Hengstenberg's gloss ("He that is to be [*for ever*]") seems to be quite borne out by the context of Rev. i. 8. We quite agree with Mr. Macdonald, however, in the general scope of his argument.

The upholders of the document-hypothesis, of course, make a great deal of Exod. vi. 23; but Mr. Macdonald shows, what indeed must be obvious to any candid reader of Genesis, that the passage affords no support whatever to the conclusion, that the name JEHOVAH was entirely unknown till that period. For, in the first place, such a conclusion would be opposed to Exod. iii. 14—16, which assumes a previous knowledge of the name

JEHOVAH; and, secondly, "although in patriarchal times it was the divine name El that more commonly entered into the formation of proper names," there are several instances in which the name JEHOVAH appears. Our author mentions Moriah, Jochebed, Abiah, and Bithia, the Egyptian wife of Mered (1 Chron. iv. 18.) Besides, as Mr. Macdonald very justly observes, even if it were the case that the name JEHOVAH was unknown in patriarchal times,—

"that circumstance would lend no support to the document-hypothesis, or serve in any way to explain the supposed preference for Elohim by one writer of Genesis, and for JEHOVAH by another; for if there be any contrast intimated here (Ex. vi. 2, 3), it is not between Elohim and JEHOVAH, but between the latter and El-Shaddai, of the occurrence of which, and of other names in Genesis, the upholders of this hypothesis take no notice. So much, however, may be concluded from this passage, that between the patriarchal times and the period which witnessed the Exodus, there was a great distinction as to the knowledge of God in His character of JEHOVAH, whatever the name may be supposed to imply."

Mr. Macdonald adduces several passages in Genesis to show that the name JEHOVAH is not proleptically used by Moses, and these passages seem to us quite conclusive. They are Gen. xv. 7; xlix. 18; and iv. 1. Mr. Macdonald's own theory, which he elaborates in a striking manner, is briefly as follows:

He maintains that the name JEHOVAH was utterly unknown till after the Fall. Elohim is the only Divine name which occurs in the history of creation. In the account of the Fall, and the second account of the creation of the first pair, the historian, when speaking in his own person, uses the compound name JEHOVAH-Elohim; but when he introduces either Adam or Eve, or the Tempter, speaking, they use the name Elohim. Mr. Macdonald's conclusion is, that the word JEHOVAH is used for the first time by Eve on the birth of Cain. (Gen. iv. 1.) The English translation, which here follows the LXX. and the Vulgate, renders the passage—"I have gotten a man from the LORD." Mr. Macdonald enters into a learned dissertation with the view of showing that this rendering, if not philologically inadmissible, is anyhow less correct than that which he suggests himself,—“I have gotten a man JEHOVAH.” In support of his translation, Mr. Macdonald mentions the names of Ludovic de Dieu, Witsius, Glassius, Pfeiffer, Pye Smith, and Baumgarten, while Delitzsch, who rejects it on theological grounds, fully admits its grammatical admissibility. In short, to sum up the argument, there can be no valid objection philologically to Mr. Macdonald's rendering; and therefore the question is narrowed to this issue: which of the various renderings of Gen. iv. 1 is best borne out theologically, or by the circumstances of the

case? We have no hesitation in giving the preference to Mr. Macdonald's.

It seems to us quite evident, after reading Mr. Macdonald's argument, that Eve regarded her first-born, Cain, as that promised Seed, who was to bruise the serpent's head. The promise was given quite vaguely; its true import was left to be evolved by the elaborate training of four thousand years. Eve evidently had no conception that Elohim Himself, Who spoke to her, was in truth to be the Seed of the Woman, Who was to triumph over the tempter, and repair the mischief of which her own transgression was the cause. Living in a blighted world, yet still within sight of her lost Eden, it was very natural that she should look upon her first-born child as that "Seed of the Woman," Who should remove the curse; and therefore she said, "I have gotten the Man JEHOVAH," that is, "the coming Man," the promised Deliverer. The expression of Eve has found its interpretation frequently in the history of the world since her time; the longing hopes of suffering humanity have always expressed themselves in the concrete shape of some "coming man."

It would be wrong, however, as our author observes, to conclude, with Glassius and others, that Eve's expression implied, on her part, any knowledge of the mystery of the Incarnation. Such baseless inferences have done harm to the cause which they were intended to serve, by supplying the enemies of Revelation with weapons against the truth. The lame advocacy of its friends is more injurious to a good cause than the worst attacks of its foes.

"All that can be fairly deduced from the language of Eve is her belief that some personage promised and expected had now appeared. This could be no other than the Seed of the Woman, on whom her most cherished expectations were entirely built. The term thus applied to one taken for the promised deliverer, affords no indication of the speaker's views of his character and special qualifications for the work to which he was designed, or that he was in any way regarded as possessed of more than human dignity. It is entirely a gratuitous conclusion that Eve at that time expected that the enemy of the serpent would be other than man. There is certainly no evidence that she in any way identified him with God. On this point there need be no controversy, even with the most decided opponents of the Messianic bearing of the passage. For whenever Eve speaks of God, as well before the Fall, as also long subsequent to the event here recorded, it is only as Elohim (Gen. iii. 3; iv. 25); nor, indeed, is there any circumstance whatever, to show that any other name was then in use. The entire avoidance of the term JEHOVAH in the conversation with the serpent, and for which the usual explanations are utterly unsatisfactory, and its occurrence nowhere except in this solitary instance, to allow its being connected with that first period, contrasts strongly with its use by the historian himself throughout this narrative, and the relation which he evidently wished to establish between Elohim and JEHOVAH

in the first and third sections of Genesis respectively, by means of the peculiar compound, JEHOVAH-Elohim, adopted in the intermediate section."—II. p. 190.

The error into which Eve fell as regards Cain, seems to have been partially removed by the birth of Abel, and to have been entirely eradicated by the first murder. This seems clear from her expressions at the birth of Seth :

"Adam knew his wife again, and she bare a son, and called his name Seth: for God, said she, hath appointed me another seed instead of Abel whom Cain slew."

"This statement contains various important truths illustrative of the primeval faith, and of the growing convictions of the import of the first promise. It shows that the expectations originally centred on Cain were, as the character of the brothers respectively unfolded itself, transferred to Abel; and that he only was recognised by the 'mother of all living' as 'her seed.' Cain, so far from proving an 'acquisition' in maintaining the controversy with the tempter, showed that his 'enmity' was entirely on the opposite side. In the warfare waged in their own family the parents of mankind witnessed a painful illustration of the words, 'I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and *between thy seed and her seed*,' and so obtained an insight into their meaning possibly unsuspected before. It showed, at least, that 'the seed of the woman,' to whom was assigned the bruising of the serpent's head, was not co-extensive with her progeny in general, which it was now seen might include of the serpent's seed as well as the heirs of blessing. This conviction was clearly recognised in the words: 'God hath given *me another seed* instead of Abel.'"—II. pp. 192, 3.

And as the ideas of the first mother expanded with her larger experience of human life and its multiplied sorrows, so those of her immediate offspring were a further advance upon her own. Seth called his son's name Enos, which means, "*man* in his weakness and insufficiency." Man's severance from God, his isolation and his helplessness are here acknowledged. The truth began to dawn that the advent of the promised Redeemer was yet distant, and that He was more than human. Therefore it is added, as Mr. Macdonald renders the passage, "then it was begun to call upon (literally, invoke) the name of JEHOVAH." Men now began for the first time to address prayers to the promised SAVIOUR. It was an anticipation of the Psalmist's prayer, "Give us help in trouble, for vain is the salvation of men." Of course, it is not contended that Seth and his immediate descendants realised all or nearly all the august truths which radiate from the Incarnation of the Son of God; it required the hard experience of many a long and dreary century to prepare men's minds for that most consoling and most subduing of mysteries. But the passage under consideration may well be regarded as the first pale ray in the Eastern sky of "the

Sun of Righteousness," Who, after forty centuries of aching hearts and disappointed hopes, rose over His "people sitting in darkness" "with healing in His wings."

What then is the meaning of Ex. vi. 2, 3, "And God spake unto Moses, and said unto him, I am JEHOVAH; and I appeared unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob by El-Shaddai, but by my Name JEHOVAH was I not known to them?" The truth seems to be as follows,—This was the first occasion on which God formally appropriated the Name JEHOVAH. It had existed before, but it was now raised, as *Λόγος* was afterwards, into a supernatural region, and invested with a higher meaning. In the mouth of Eve it simply meant "the coming Man" Who was to undo the mischief of the fall, and Whom she expected to see in her own lifetime. With Seth and his immediate posterity, the term assumed proportions which were at least superhuman; they seem to have caught a glimpse of the Incarnation dimly through the intervening haze. Then as the wickedness of men increased, as they became wedded to this world, and got more enamoured of its seductive charms, as they grew by degrees forgetful of their lost Paradise, and careless of its restoration, so they would begin more and more seldom "to call upon the Name of JEHOVAH," till at last, by the waters of the flood, the polluted earth was purged of the guilty race, all except one family. There are not wanting instances, as has already been shown, to prove that the Name JEHOVAH was well known to the post-diluvian patriarchs, but though known, its full import was not realized. God was realized more as a God of majesty and power and righteousness (El-Shaddai) than as a loving Friend and tender FATHER, comforting the mourners, succouring the afflicted, and "not extreme to mark what is done amiss;" punishing sin, but ever ready to pardon the penitent. At the Exodus, more than at any previous time, God manifestly acted the part of a Redeemer, and therefore He then formally assumed as His peculiarly and exclusively the Name which the first mother, in ecstasy over her new-born babe, had uttered, not knowing the awful and precious mysteries which lay enshrined in it.

JEHOVAH is thus the Name of God in His relation to a fallen world—in His character of Redeemer. As medicine implies a disease, and virtue implies vice, so the Divine Name, JEHOVAH, implies the Fall. So far we agree with Mr. Macdonald. But we think he goes too far when he restricts the word JEHOVAH to the signification of "the coming One." In literal accuracy he may be right, but it seems to us a case where "the letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life." The truth is, "*ὁ ἐρχόμενος*" implies of necessity "*ὁ ἦν*" and "*ὁ ὢν*." However inaccurately the phrase may be used in common speech, "*ὁ ἐρχόμενος*" implies the pre-existence of the Comer, and that again implies His eternity. So that, after all, the rendering of JEHOVAH by "the Eternal," or



"the Self-existent One," comes really to mean the same thing as "ὁ ἐρχόμενος."

Mr. Macdonald has written a distinct work on the Creation and the Fall. We have not seen it, but we believe it is highly thought of by persons competent to form a judgment on the subject. In the work before us the author, without going largely into details, indicates the principles which ought to guide the student in adjusting the claims of science and revelation respectively.

"No portion of Scripture, it must be distinctly understood, was written with the view of imparting scientific truths. The entire aim of the Sacred Record is moral and religious, being a revelation of God and also of man in their relation of Creator and moral creature; but still its utterances on any subject whatever cannot be in contradiction to any truth, however discovered or established. This every considerate defender of the Bible must be prepared to maintain at all hazards, without however holding that the language in which physical phenomena are therein described is other than popular, or makes any claim to a scientific character. It is, however, only incidentally that Scripture comes into contact with science, and when it does so, it is only, or at least chiefly, with that department of it which relates to the origin and physical history of the earth and man. And even here the Bible does not assume to teach science, or to acquaint man with the history of the preparation of his dwelling-place; its object is far higher, to reveal to him the person and character of his Creator. And the same as regards other particulars of a physical nature with which the Pentateuch more than any other portion of Scripture is directly concerned."—Vol. I. p. 370.

Mr. Goodwin (*Essays and Reviews*, p. 231,) objects against the Mosaic account of Creation, that "the real difficulty is, not that circumstantial details are omitted—that might reasonably be expected—but that what is told, is told so as to convey to ordinary apprehensions an impression at variance with facts." Now the fallacy of this objection lies in this, that it overlooks, first, the fact that Moses wrote his account of Creation sixteen centuries before the birth of CHRIST, not eighteen centuries after it; and, secondly, that it assumes that Moses intended to write a scientific theory of Creation. In writing the first chapter of Genesis, Moses, under the guidance of Divine Inspiration, wished to set forth beyond dispute, and in opposition to all the Cosmogonies of the heathen world, the two primary elementary truths of religion; first, that not only the world of order and beauty which we see (κόσμος,) but also the inert matter (ὑλη,) out of which it was formed, had a beginning; secondly, that it received its beginning and form, its motions and its laws, from a Personal Being, Who Himself had no beginning, and Who is ever actively present in all parts of His works, yet absolutely distinct from, and independent of, and sovereign over His own creation. Let this be clearly understood;

and then let us imagine Mr. Goodwin himself in the position of Moses; let us imagine him writing the first chapter of Genesis, *at the time in which Moses wrote it, and with the same object*; would he, with all the scientific light of this age gleaming around him, be able to write an account of Creation which should be as succinct, and as accurate, *and as intelligible to the men of that age*, as the first chapter of Genesis? We do not believe that Mr. Goodwin, or any natural philosopher, alive or dead, could by his own unaided powers do so. The first condition of every revelation is, that it should be intelligible to those to whom it is addressed. Now if Moses had written the first chapter of Genesis from Mr. Goodwin's point of view, and on Mr. Goodwin's principles, it would have been absolutely unintelligible for three thousand years; and not only so, but it would have been so violently opposed to all the ideas of those ages, that it would have thrown discredit on the rest of the book. A heathen philosopher might have taught Mr. Goodwin the unreasonableness of his cavils against the Mosaic cosmogony. "We must be content," says Aristotle, in the commencement of his Ethics, "in speaking of such things and from such data, to set forth the truth roughly and in outline; in other words, since we are speaking of general matter and from general data, to draw also conclusions merely general. *And in the same spirit should each person receive what we say: for the man of education will seek exactness so far in each subject as the nature of the thing admits*, it being plainly much the same absurdity to put up with a mathematician's talking of probable truths, and to demand strict demonstrative reasoning of a rhetorician."

The "absurdity" here so clearly exposed, pervades the whole of Mr. Goodwin's Essay. Moses wrote as an inspired theologian to men who lived ages before the Copernican System, and Mr. Goodwin finds fault with him because he did not write in the scientific language of the nineteenth century. He might as well have blamed him for not having written in the English language. Men must begin with *γνώριμα ἡμῖν*, before they can arrive at *γνώριμα ἀπλῶς*;<sup>2</sup> relative truth must pave the way for absolute truth. Were we assured that this world would last for another thousand years, we would venture to predict that the first chapter of Genesis will be more in accordance with the scientific knowledge of that age than Mr. Goodwin's Essay. Could we view creation, as the angels do, with pure hearts and unclouded intellects, we might possibly find that the Mosaic account is nearer truth *ἀπλῶς* than the manuals of our most distinguished geologists. Considering that Geology is a science still in its infancy, and that every fresh writer on the subject detects some errors in the theories of his predecessors, it is as absurd as it is unphilosophical, on the part of Mr. Goodwin, to regard our present knowledge as final, and to infer the falseness of

<sup>1</sup> Eth. i. 3.<sup>2</sup> Ibid. i. 4.

the Mosaic record accordingly. But even if this were otherwise, and we were now at the goal, instead of being merely on the threshold, of geological discoveries, the Christian apologist might still maintain that, in relation to the human race, *as a whole*, the Mosaic account of creation is the truest that has yet, or could have, been given; and that an account more accurate, *scientifically*, would have been, to the majority of mankind, *practically* more inaccurate—that is, conveyed less correct ideas of the Creator's relations to the world and its inhabitants.

Mr. Macdonald has some very suggestive remarks on the unity of the human race. Notwithstanding Mr. Darwin's able and brilliant book, this is a doctrine which the impugners of the Mosaic record had better let alone,—facts are so overwhelmingly against them. The consciousness of mankind, the science of physiology, every fresh discovery in philology, and, negatively, geology itself, all point to the original unity of the race. Even Baron Bunsen admits that, "as far as the organic languages of Asia and Europe are concerned, the human race is of one kindred and of one descent."<sup>1</sup> The development theory, however specious in the charming pages of Mr. Darwin,<sup>2</sup> is confronted with difficulties which it cannot surmount. The ape, which is supposed to be the connecting link between man and the brute creation, has anatomical peculiarities in its brain which leaves an abyss between it and man. But if this were otherwise, there is one argument which has always appeared to us conclusive on this subject. Man is the only *progressive* being on the earth. He is the only being who can intelligently reflect on the past, and anticipate the future. Brute animals, from the highest to the lowest, live in the present. They come into the world as man's superiors, more independent, and less helpless; but he soon outstrips them in the race, and makes them his slaves. He can, in a certain sense, *create*; they can only *make*. The architect builds his house, or lays out his grounds after an archetypal idea in his own mind, and he can improve upon it, or replace it by another; but the beaver makes its dam, and the bee its hive, and the goorilla its parasol, in precisely the same manner in which they made them thousands of years ago; they cannot improve upon them; they have no power of invention; they display as little of the reasoning faculty in the construction of their habitations as they do in the pursuit of their prey, or in the consumption of their food. They do not develop an idea, but obey an impulse. M. du Chailu told us the other day (we forget whether he mentions it in his book) that the facial angle of the goorilla *decreases* as he grows up—a sure sign of incapacity for im-

<sup>1</sup> Phil. of Univ. Hist. vol. ii. pp. 4, 99, 112; quoted by Mr. Macdonald.

<sup>2</sup> Every candid and dispassionate reader of Mr. Darwin's book must admit that the greater part of his reasoning is based on unproved hypotheses and fanciful analogies.

provement. On the other hand, no human tribe has ever yet been discovered which is not capable of improvement,—in short which has no *ideas*. Nor ought it to be lost sight of, as Mr. Macdonald remarks, that in asserting the unity of the human race, Moses was running counter to all the prejudices of his nation, and indeed of all nations. It is a universal failing of nations, as of individuals, to claim an antiquity of origin and a nobility of descent beyond their neighbours; and all heathen nations claimed to be descended either from some deity, or to have sprung from the native soil. What could have induced Moses, except the constraining power of truth, to depart from the traditional genealogies of antiquity, and assert that all the human race had ramified from one parent tree?

Polygenists, it is obvious, must deny original sin, and therefore the Incarnation, and therefore Christianity. Viewing the matter only from a philosophical platform, can they produce a theory equally satisfactory with the Mosaic, to account for the problems of the moral world? The world theorised on the subject for some thousands of years, and failed; while the best and wisest of its sages confessed that a teacher from heaven was needed to solve the riddles of humanity.<sup>1</sup>

Just to vindicate our character as critics, we will, before we conclude, point out two or three errors, as we consider them, in Mr. Macdonald's book.

On p. 330, Vol. II., he falls into the error of our English version in translating *παιδαγωγός*, (Gal. iii. 24), by "schoolmaster." The *παιδαγωγός* was the attendant, generally a slave, who conducted the child to school. Thus understood, the Apostle's metaphor is much more expressive. The Law was the servant who conducted the children to CHRIST, Teacher and Truth in one Person.

We cannot agree with the author<sup>2</sup> that the command to abstain from eating of the Tree of Knowledge was simply "arbitrary" and in itself "indifferent." We prefer the old Catholic interpretation, that the Tree had a sacramental character. We hold with a recent able writer on this subject, that, "as a mere question of reasonable interpretation, viewed mainly from the external side, our whole acquaintance with the character of God's dealings would lead us to expect, that the true reason why that fruit was forbidden lay deep in the laws of human nature; for which, in that early stage, such knowledge as that tree could have furnished would have been perilous, because it would have been premature."<sup>3</sup> If we deny that the tree of knowledge and the tree of life really imparted that from which they derived their names, we do not see how we can reply to those who treat the whole narrative of the Temptation as allegori-

<sup>1</sup> See Plat. Alcib. ii.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii. 348.

<sup>3</sup> "The Fall and its Results," p. 99. This very able and lucid book (published by Rivington) is not nearly as well known as its merits entitle it to be.

cal. Logic is an inexorable science. We must not use it when it suits our purpose, and discard it when it goes against us.

Should a second edition of Mr. Macdonald's book be called for (and it well deserves it), we hope he will correct the popular rendering of Rev. xiii. 8, on which he founds an argument, Vol. II. page 458. The ἀπὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου ought clearly to be connected with γέγραπται, not with τοῦ ἐσφαγμένου. In this opinion we are supported by a large majority of authorities.

And now we must take our leave of Mr. Macdonald. It would be doing him a great injustice to suppose that we have given an outline of his full and elaborate volumes. We have been compelled to content ourselves with touching on a few points, which our readers will find ably discussed in the work before us. Taking it all in all, we believe we are justified in characterising it as the most exhaustive and satisfactory work which has yet appeared on the Pentateuch. It is written in a fair and candid spirit; and in no single instance have we found a difficulty *shirked*. If the author comes across a difficulty which he cannot satisfactorily explain, he has the candour to confess it, and the wisdom to remand it to the light of future research and discovery.

## BISHOP WORDSWORTH ON PRESBYTERIANISM.

*A United Church of Scotland, England, and Ireland, advocated. A Discourse on the Scottish Reformation. By CHARLES WORDSWORTH, D.C.L., Bishop of S. Andrew's, &c. Edinburgh. Edmonston and Douglas, 1861.*

It was with much curiosity and some hope that we took up a discourse by the Bishop of S. Andrew's on the text "Love the truth and peace." We allowed ourselves for a moment to indulge in the hope that calm reflection and a chastened experience had at length brought about a change in Bishop Wordsworth's line of action, that he was coming forward with the holy words of the text in his mouth, to ask reconciliation with those whom he had so grievously wronged and offended, and to make reparation for his sad denial of eucharistic truth: that the 'love of truth and peace' constrained him manfully to stand out and recall his fatal opinion of November 4th—an opinion which went far to deny the doctrine of the Real Presence, and which had so sadly divided the Church, as well as wounded the truth: that he was going to return to his own Cathedral at Perth in peace and love; that he would no more utter those vituperative charges at his annual Synods, which had so distressed

the minds of the faithful within his diocese, and driven one to seek for "peace and truth" in the bosom of the Roman Church; that now the Missionary action of his diocese—suspended through the unseemly divisions between the Bishop and his Presbyters—was to be resumed, and a flock, on every side gathered in from disunited Presbyterianism, was to show before the world the working of a United Church of Scotland, England, and Ireland, with only one thought and one purpose, the glory of CHRIST; and itself the living witness to "truth and peace." The reading of a few pages soon dispelled any such pleasing illusion, and dispersed any delightful prospect that such a hopeful text might suggest. Full, indeed, is the Discourse of expressions of the love of "truth and peace" but they are all for those whom he delights to call his "Presbyterian brethren," there are none for those for whom he is bound by every sacred tie to cherish them. Knox is his hero: *our* Reformers, i.e., the founders and creators of the Presbyterian schism in Scotland, are the men whom he holds up for our admiration; not one word has he to say throughout for his own Church, or, rather, for the Church which has so unhappily adopted him. Perhaps it is unfair, but we cannot help hazarding the conjecture, that the extreme harshness of Bishop Wordsworth's conduct in the last few years towards his own clergy, the Bishop of Brechin and Mr. Cheyne, has been caused by the sudden change in his affections, which are now directed towards his 'Presbyterian brethren.' We may be wrong, but we cannot conceal the thought, that such is the only possible explanation of the Bishop's conduct.

The Discourse was delivered at S. Andrew's on December 18; Dunfermline, Dec. 19; and at Perth, Dec. 22, 1860; *apropos* of the celebration of the tercentenary of the Scottish Presbyterian Reformation.

This tercentenary of the Scottish Reformation was in many respects a very curious business, and demands from us some preliminary notice. First, the day was popularly called "The Great Fast-day." By this was intended "Great Festival day." In Scotland all festivals are called "Fasts," because all Fasts are observed as Festivals; even the Queen's Birth-day—a great holiday in Scotland is sometimes called "The Queen's great Fast-day." The origin of this confusion between Fast and Feast has arisen thus: all Church Feasts and Fasts being abolished, the Kirk instituted one of its own, viz. the Thursday before the "Sacrament Sunday." This day was intended to be observed as a real Fast-day in preparation for the Sunday; by an old Act of Parliament, all work must cease, shops must close, and business be suspended. By strict Presbyterians the day is observed, nor by *fasting*, but by going to Kirk and hearing sermon; by the looser sort, it is a complete holiday; trains and steamboats are crowded with excursionists, and it frequently ends in scenes of drunkenness and debauchery. Any day

that thus gives freedom from work and business is, in Scotch parlance, a "Fast-day." The "great Reformation Fast-day" was however, generally, a great failure: very little cared or thought of, much less observed.

Another peculiarity of the day is that it really has no connection with the Presbyterian Kirk: December 20, 1560, was the day on which the first meeting of the General Assembly of the Reformed Kirk took place; but this Reformed Kirk was not yet Presbyterian. A "First Book of Discipline" had been published on April 29, 1560, in which the government of the Kirk was committed to ten superintendents, the country being divided into ten dioceses. This, if not Episcopal in the true sense of the word, certainly was not Presbyterian.

"In the 'Book of Discipline' there is frequent reference made to the Common Prayers, and the order of Geneva. This liturgical form, it would appear, had now begun to supersede the First Book of Edw. VI., which had hitherto been used by the Scotch Reformers as a guide in their devotions. It had been printed, together with the Metrical Version of the Psalms, and now received the stamp of authority from the 'Book of Discipline.' It was chiefly the composition of John Knox; and was used by him at Geneva. It contained morning and evening prayers, an order of baptism, an order for the Administration of the Lord's Supper, a form of marriage, a visitation of the sick, and there were afterwards added to it a form for election of superintendents and ministers, and an order for excommunication and public repentance."<sup>1</sup>

This "Book of Discipline" was rejected by the Parliament in January, 1561.

It was really not till June, 1592, that anything like modern Presbyterianism was established; then an act was passed of which it is said:

"This important Act was tantamount to the entire subversion of the Episcopal polity, and the re-establishment of the National Church upon a Presbyterian basis. It is frequently spoken of as the Magna Charta of the Church. It legalized the most important parts of the 'Second Book of Discipline.' For nearly twenty years Episcopacy and Presbytery had been jumbled together; but they were found to be irreconcilable. For nearly twenty years the presbyter had done battle with the bishop, and at this period in the contest he stood victorious."<sup>2</sup>

The real founders of Presbyterianism were Andrew and James Melville, who attempted to set up their peculiar scheme of Church Government in 1580, when the Second Book of Discipline was drawn up. Until 1592, as Cunningham well describes it, Episco-

<sup>1</sup> Church History of Scotland, by the Rev. J. Cunningham, Minister of Crieff, 1859, Vol. i. p. 362.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 479.

pace and Presbytery had been jumbled together. To observe December 20 as the tercentenary of the founding of the Presbyterian Kirk, is as absurd as if Louis Napoleon was to keep as a fête-day for the restoration of the *Empire*, the anniversary of the day on which he was elected *President of the Republic*.

We must now return to Bishop Wordsworth: the "Discourse" is uninteresting and heavy, certainly not worthy of the author, who can write as well as preach with great force and eloquence. He hashes up the old *crambe repetita* that we used to read some thirty or forty years ago, in "Histories of England for Children," about Edward VI. being "the young Josiah," and Cranmer being "Hilkiah;" about the Roman Church forbidding the reading of the Bible; and that the Pope is Antichrist; till we ask ourselves, Does Bishop Wordsworth believe all this twaddle? or is he merely writing *ad captandum vulgus* of Presbyterian Scotland?

The serious points in this Discourse are these: he proposes that the Established Kirk should adopt Episcopacy, a Ritual Service, and Confirmation. On these three points he insists, and proves them to be Scriptural and primitive by the usual well-known arguments. We need not speak of these further, as there is nothing new or striking in the arguments. The great omission, and we must say the fatal one, is the failing to grapple with the grand difficulty of all—the question of Orders. Any scheme that omits this, or passes it over must fail. Bishop Wordsworth has apparently been reminded of this, probably by some "Episcopalian;" for he writes a letter in the "Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal"—which no Presbyterian ever sees—and refers inquirers to Bingham's treatise on Irregular Baptisms. This is very ambiguous, not to use a stronger expression; for it leaves us in much the same uncertainty as before, with regard to the Bishop's proposals. We suppose that he refers to Bingham's account of the reconciliation of heretically and schismatically ordained Bishops and Priests, where we read that Novatians and Donatists were admitted to the same rank in the Church, which they had enjoyed in their own sect, on their recantation of their former error. The Council of Nicæa decided, that the Egyptian Milesians were not to be received without re-ordination, on the ground that their leader had begun his schismatical system after being deposed by the Metropolitan of Alexandria. The sixty-seventh Apostolical Canon, which condemns re-ordination in general, orders the repetition in the case of *heretics*, as opposed to *schismatics*. The rule was not, however, uniformly followed. Thus Liberius admitted the Macedonian Bishops to communion, and permitted them to officiate, simply on their subscribing the Nicene Creed, and renouncing their former heresy. The Council of Ephesus decreed, (Act vii.,) that the Messalian heretics, or Eudites, should, on anathematising in writing their former heresy, be continued in the station they held in their former sect.



It is to the above, as far as we can gather, that Bishop Wordsworth alludes : if we are right, we can only say that it is *nihil ad rem* : for in no case is there any allusion to ordination by Presbyters. The whole refers to irregular *episcopal* ordination, about which there is no question in the present case. Does the Bishop mean that he is willing to admit Presbyterian Ministers to the office of Priest in the Church without ordination? If so, he must first cancel his own subscription to the Book of Common Prayer, especially the Preface to the Ordination Services, and to the XXXIX. Articles. If he means that ordination must precede admission to minister, he ought boldly to say so, and not to leave both sides in doubt on the most important point of all. What renders the subject still more difficult is, that the modern Presbyterian has no notion of any Divine appointment to the ministry ; with him the laying on of hands is equivalent to induction into a charge, and *nothing more* : on the event of any Minister being deposed, he would have to be readmitted by re-imposition of hands.

The matter is well laid down in Cunningham's "Church History of Scotland," from which work we have quoted before, and we shall now quote again : partly, because this is the most impartial history we have yet seen from the pen of a Presbyterian ; and partly, because the opinions he gives are those very generally held in the Established Kirk. After giving the Catholic theory of Apostolic succession, he says :

"In opposition to this it is maintained by all Presbyterian, and by some Episcopal doctors, that the power of calling to the ministry lies essentially in the Christian Church itself. It is argued that under the Gospel economy every Christian is a Priest ; that there is no radical distinction between the Clergy and the Laity ; and that ministers are merely men appointed to conduct the devotions of the sanctuary, and by their superior scholarship and piety to instruct the ignorant, to reclaim the erring, and to comfort the mourning. They are in no sense mediators with God ; they have no special powers but such as the Church, as a matter of convenience, confers ; and [thus] occupy no higher platform than the humblest believer. But though the vocation of ministers lies with the Church, it may for the sake of order be entrusted to its office-bearers. They may have committed to them by the whole community the charge of seeking out men fitted for the sacred work, and setting them apart to it. Still it is but a delegated power, which Bishops or Presbyters may exercise ; not from any virtue inherent in themselves, but from their position as the representatives of the Church at large. Such are the two antagonistic theories of Orders ; and though a compromise between them has often been attempted, there is in truth no possible middle way."<sup>1</sup>

The latter sentence is perfectly true, and ought to be well weighed by Bishop Wordsworth, before he attempts any compre-

<sup>1</sup> "Church History of Scotland," p. 295.

hensive scheme. In fact, the bare idea of any sacramental system, even the lowest, has faded from the mind of most Presbyterian ministers. In the case of the Scotch poor this is happily not the case. In vigorous missions such as Dundee and Perth—and Perth is still vigorous in spite of the Bishop's opposition—children are brought to the church for baptism in numbers to receive that "new birth," which their own sect refuses to give.<sup>1</sup>

Episcopacy, then, the introduction of which into the Presbyterian Kirk the Bishop pleads for, would be only regarded by the Presbyterian minister as a decent arrangement; Confirmation as mere making of the Christian profession by one baptised in infancy: in both cases would Sacramental Grace be ignored. If he succeeded in persuading all future candidates for orders to be ordained by Bishops, and all future youths and maidens of the established Kirk to be confirmed, what would be the gain if the true doctrine was ignored or denied? Would it not be to make a mere mockery of CHRIST'S Sacraments? and, like Jacob's blessing, obtained through falsehood, carry with it a curse likewise?

Before we close we must say one word on the Bishop's great hero—John Knox; or rather we shall give two extracts from Cunningham's history, to show how an unprejudiced Scotch minister regards this famous man. Knox was chaplain to the garrison of S. Andrew's, then in rebellion against the crown; the castle was taken by Leo Strozzi, commander of the French fleet; the castle fell, and the garrison became prisoners;

"They were carried to France; some of them were placed in the galleys to tug at the oar, and others were consigned to the prisons of Rouen and its neighbourhood. Knox was compelled to labour for nineteen months as a galley-slave, but he was ultimately liberated, and not one of his associates suffered death. When we remember that the crimes in which they were implicated were murder and rebellion, *we must allow that they were mercifully dealt with.*"<sup>2</sup>

The Bishop's hero having been mixed up in acts of murder and rebellion was very mercifully dealt with by being only sent to the galleys, instead of being hanged as he ought to have been.

Again, let us hear Mr. Cunningham's opinion of Knox's power and influence; the italics, as above, are ours:

<sup>1</sup> An immense proportion of the children in Scotland are unbaptised. This arises, not so much from the carelessness of parents, as from the carelessness of ministers, and from the old puritan notion that children are offered for Baptism *in the faith of their parents*. When parents are ungodly, or when children are illegitimate—and in some counties, thirteen per cent. of the children are illegitimate,—they are not brought to Baptism in the Presbyterian Kirk. We have heard of some towns in which one-third of the children are unbaptised. What a field for a true Church Mission! On the matter of the utter want of sacramental ideas we may mention what a Scotch minister said to one of his flock who presented himself for a "ticket" for the "Sacrament:" *Minister*. "Have you been baptized?" *Ans.* "No," *Minister*. "No matter, *either Sacrament will do.*"

<sup>2</sup> Cunningham, vol. i. pp. 297, 298.

*"Knox was unquestionably a great instrument in effecting the Reformation; but we are inclined to regard the preacher as an instrument in the hands of the barons, rather than the barons as instruments in the hands of the preacher. Knox had but to preach, surrounded by his powerful patrons, and his words were like sledgehammers, beating down abbeys, images, and altars. Priests, friars, nuns, were scattered like chaff before the breath of his nostrils. He had but to draw up a Confession of Faith, and the Parliament with acclamations received it. But when he differed from the nobles, he became weak as another man. When he suggested a truly wise application of the revenues of the Church, he was treated with derision and contempt. He could pull down the old house, but he could not, as he would, build up the new one."*<sup>1</sup>

Such is Bishop Wordsworth's hero, and such is his work, as estimated by a Presbyterian minister.

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## THE NATIONAL CHURCH.

1. *Church Rate: a National Trust.* By GEORGE ANTHONY DENISON, M.A., Vicar of East Brent, and Archdeacon of Taunton. London: Saunders, Otley and Co. 1861.
2. *Why Church Rates should be abolished.* By WILLIAM J. E. BENNETT, M.A., Vicar of Froome-Selwood, Somerset. London: Whittaker and Co., &c. 1861.

IN few matters has recent controversy raised more profitable questions than in that of Church Rate. The prosecution of further inquiry on the subject, we are not without a hope, may ultimately issue in the settlement, theoretically at least, of the indeterminate relations between Church and State, which, so long as they remain vague and indefinite, are continually giving rise to groundless suspicions and alarms, and very often lead, on the other hand, to unprincipled and unreasonable concessions. The above two *brochures*, which, advocating contrary sides of the question, are by far the most able on the subject that have come under our notice, setting out from pretty much the same historical premises as regards the origin and basis of Church Rate, arrive at exactly opposite conclusions; namely, No Surrender, and Total Abolition. Our own convictions on the point have been so recently set forth (in our February Number,) that it is not our purpose, in the present article, to enter anew into the merits of the arguments on either extreme side, but to deal rather with the incidental and collateral considerations implied in the terms of the Church's Nationality.

<sup>1</sup> Cunningham, vol. i. p. 353.

In what then does the *Nationality* of the Church consist? Simple and self-evident as the answer is, an inveterate fallacy on this head appears to us to have underlain and distorted the question of Church Rate in all its bearings. The popular notion seems to be, that the National Church is the form into which the religion of the nation has deliberately and arbitrarily developed, that it is capable of modification in faith, ceremonial, and discipline to any extent, and is bound so to modify itself according to the varying sentiment and will of the people; that an instance of such modification, in point of fact, took place at the Reformation in the 16th century; that it ceases to be "national," in proportion to the number of dissenters from it; and that an overwhelming majority at any time may materially modify its present form, or substitute any other essentially different, which would then become instead the National Church. Some vague notion like this appears, we repeat, to underlie all Parliamentary debates and newspaper discussions on Church questions, whether on the part of friends or foes, and alone can account for the monstrous assertions, claims, and concessions so often put forth on either side. It is difficult gravely to deal with so flagrant an absurdity, in regard not only to the true theory but to historical matter of fact. For the simplest and most obvious theory is in this instance historically the true one. A National Church, to begin with, *must be* a Church; a true and living branch of the One Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church. Whatever other established form of religion may be *called* the National Church, it certainly *cannot possibly be* a Church at all. To argue then that those who advocate the nationality of our Church, must, on their own principles, to be consistent, change their religion with their sky, and become, for instance, a Mussulman or Bramin in Hindostan, is sheer nonsense, if nothing worse. When the Catholic Church welled up, so to say, at its original and central fountain-head, it went on still swelling and oversteaming the surrounding precinct, and then further and further beyond, circle beyond circle, still spreading its tidal wave, till it washed above the shores and white cliffs of our native *Thule*, and the whole island was soon "filled with the knowledge of the LORD as the waters cover the sea." The Church then became the form of National religion; Heathenism became extinct: just as we see the same process going on wherever the missions of the Church extend among newly converted races, where the nation gradually becomes identified with the Church. But with this important difference, that in our day the Church is no longer apparently One and undivided, and cannot therefore now offer an undisputed bond of union, but is broken up into a variety of rival claimants, and surrounded by hostile sects. It was not so at the beginning; the true Light which shone in every nation under Heaven, not only radiated from the same Sun, but each beam fell unrefracted, and not as now

tinctured with its peculiar prismatic hue. The Church was then One, and as One formed an alliance with the Nation ; not, it is probable, by any single covenant of federation, or distinct contract upon terms ; not as by a matrimonial solemnity, with specific settlement and dowry, consummated once for all ; but by a gradual ripening of friendship into an *enteinte cordiale*, social rather than political in the first instance, but of course soon brought by acquisition of property, and other temporal accidents, under the cognizance of the Civil Law. There is no historical fact more certain, than that the Church of England has always continued One ; that what we call the Church of England now has been the Same from the beginning ; has preserved its personal identity from age to age by successional developement, more or less gradual and regular ; is fully as specific and capable of definition as any other Branch or National Church, as any Christian sect external to the Church, or as any form and system of false religion. It is the Church of England, then, because it is the Church which first came to England, which converted England from Heathenism to Christianity, which has occupied the place of the Church of England ever since. The only sudden and formal transition, and apparent breach of continuity that can possibly be imputed (the Reformation in the 16th century,) is as logically as wittily accounted for by the *jeu d'esprit* of Bishop Jewel about *washing one's face*, and is admitted by candid opponents, even on the Roman side, to have been at least regularly, however erroneously and injuriously, conducted by vested Bishops and other ecclesiastical dignitaries in Synod duly assembled.

We can now then trace the true and essential principle of "nationality" in the Church, and reply at once to that extraordinary "logic which would justify the Japanese in trampling on the Cross of CHRIST,"<sup>1</sup> and which positively and explicitly affirms, "A national Church need not, historically speaking, be Christian, much less, if it be Christian, need it be tied down to particular forms which have been prevalent at certain times in Christendom. That which is essential to a national Church is that it should undertake to assist the spiritual progress of the nation, and of the individuals of which it is composed in their several states and stages."<sup>2</sup>

The Church of England is the National Church, because it is that wave of the Church Catholic which first broke upon the English shores, and filled the pools of its vales of misery with water. It has never dried up since ; but though stagnant and impure in various localities, has never at any time so utterly failed either in quantity or quality, as not to be easily identified in every

<sup>1</sup> Church Rates and Dissenters. A Speech by A. J. B. Beresford Hope, Esq., p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> "Séances Historiques de Genève. The National Church. By Henry Bristow Wilson, B.D., Vicar of Great Staughton, Hants." (4th Essay in "Essays and Reviews.")

parish in the land. It has an essentially separate existence from the nation, and is entirely independent of it, except so far as temporally inhabiting it, and absorbing individual citizens into its life-giving bosom. In the course of its early history, indeed all through its life to this day, it has been the recipient of various emoluments, bounties, and benefactions, the spontaneous offerings of individual believers, and the more formal awards of the State as representative of the nation, in the way of endowments, rights, privileges, and prerogatives, both of a public and a private kind. Hence tithes, church-rates, customary dues, whatever constitutes church property, especially including public edifices of worship. This property and these rights, and the influence attending them, necessarily of course involve a certain social status, and led by degrees to a more definitely recognized political relationship. Hence the various civil laws, statute and prescriptive, relating to ecclesiastical temporalities, and bordering, often it must be owned by a very close proximity, on the spiritualities also.

Indeed, it cannot fairly be denied that the possession of temporalities, and especially of political prerogatives, does necessarily involve a moral obligation to certain duties with regard to the administration of the spiritualities. If *means*, for instance, be afforded to the Church for discharging certain religious functions in every parish of the land, the duty instantly arises of faithfully fulfilling that trust, and it is difficult justly to limit the authority of the civil powers to enforce the faithful fulfilment of the duty. If the National Church be recognized and employed as such by the State, as representative of the nation, it is the bounden duty of the Church no less than the interest of the nation, to adapt its various resources, appliances, and even its methods of teaching and spiritual nurture, so as (without compromise of course of essential principle or truth) best to satisfy the national necessities, ay, and also national prejudices and character. Still, if our view of the question, as we have above stated it, be correct, neither the temporalities of the Church, nor its recognition by the State (by which we mean generally the governing power of the nation) can be considered with any logical exactness to contain anything of the essence of its "nationality."

This appears to us to be a latent fallacy throughout the whole of Archdeacon Denison's argument on "Church Rate." "Church Rate," he assumes, "is an *integral part* of the National Church; that is to say, it is one of those things which make the National Church to be what it is" (p. 10). Again, "It (Church Rate) is *essential* to any proper existence of the National Church; because without it there is nothing left whereby the State either supplies or guarantees the means of worship to the people" (p. 218). And, still more positively, "Church Rate is *not only an adjunct*, but, as has been insisted upon all along, an *integral part* of the position

of the Church of England" (p. 261). In reply, we need only ask, Would it then cease to be the National Church, if Church Rate were withdrawn? If not, then it is no part of its essence. Thus, body and soul are both of the essence of man: for body without soul is not man, and soul without body is not man; but man without *health*, for example, is still man; therefore health is no part of man's essence. It would seem as reasonable to contend that a Parliamentary Vote of supply to the Royal Household was an integral part and of the essence of the Royal Family, and not an adjunct, as that Church Rate is an integral part and not an adjunct of the National Church.

But no, if the Church were denuded to-morrow of its national endowments, and reduced, politically, to the level of surrounding sects, it would lose nothing whatever of its moral right and claim to obedience on the conscience of the people as the Catholic Church by precedence and representation in the nation. In this then consists its "nationality," which no change of temporal accidents can supersede. But still, though no part of the *essence* of its "nationality," the temporalities, and its social and political relations with the nation, are undoubtedly very material conditions of the *form* of the National Church, and practically most important items of consideration in the solution of the question of Church Rates.

At this point of view indeed it is that the Archdeacon of Taunton and the Vicar of Froome-Selwood, begin a divergence in their line of argument; the former regarding the question too exclusively, as it seems to us, from the side of the Church's nationality and temporality, the latter no less exclusively from the side of its catholicity and spirituality. The legal right and title of the Church to certain property is assuredly a most important matter of consideration, though its theoretical position be in no way affected by it. The practical and common sense view, taking both sides of the question and with due regard to principle and expediency, appears to us the wisest.

However clearly it may be shown, as we think it is shown by Mr. Bennett, that the principle of Church Rate, is a peculiar national development, a transfer of obligation from the common Church fund held in trust by the Bishop, to the Archdeacon in the first instance, then to the parson, and ultimately to the parishioners, and that it is subject only to ecclesiastical cognizance and enforcement, we really can perceive in this fact no good reason for the total abolition of the existing custom. The simple question for members of Parliament and for every individual citizen is, "Do I, as an Englishman, all things considered, think it a good thing or a bad thing, a just measure and a wise measure, a measure of sound policy to maintain the present relations between Church and State, to preserve the Church in its present efficiency in every parish of

the land, to provide for its support as a religious teacher of the poor, and of all who choose to benefit by its ministrations, and this by some established national system of emolument; and if I think so, do I also think the present system the best possible that can be devised for accomplishing its purpose, or has any better one that is practicable been suggested?"

This really appears to us the simple question, and if the individual so consulting himself be not only an Englishman but a Churchman also, he will as a matter of course answer the former part of the question in the affirmative that it *must be* a good thing for the nation to render the ministrations of the Church as general and efficient as is possible; and as to the latter part it is difficult to perceive by what reasoning he can bring himself to hold with Mr. Bennett that the ministrations could possibly be maintained in their present efficiency, or rendered more efficient by a total abolition of the Church Rate, and a substitution of the purely voluntary system.

Mr. Bennett evidently argues on the fallacy of personal experience. Portman Chapel, Baker Street, S. Barnabas, Pimlico, and the town-parish of Froome-Selwood, Somerset, are the very scanty and exceptional instances from which he infers a law of expediency for universal application. We say "exceptional," for does he suppose that, if Church Rates were totally abolished, the same amount of voluntary offering would come pouring in, as substitute, in every parish of the land, country as well as town, whatever the character or popularity of the clergy thereof for the time being? It is no exaggeration, to imagine a parish occupied by the same incumbent, utterly neglected or detested by his people from whatever cause, for sixty years or even longer. What is to become of the Church and other appliances of worship in the meantime? And then, when the change for the better comes at last, what hopeless arrears of ruin will have accumulated? Besides, is it reasonable to predict that, when local claims and necessities are equally distributed, the same amount of offerings as at present will be realized even at such marked and popular Churches as Froome-Selwood, and S. Barnabas, Pimlico, and the few others of the same character, to which the alms of the faithful from all parts of England are lavishly showered in (as to particular favourite shrines in medieval times,) simply because they *are* popular, and because there is no other more immediate necessary claim? We feel anxiously that one of the most serious objections to the surrender of the £300,000 or thereabouts now annually contributed by Church Rate, is the necessary diversion of that amount to supply the deficiency from what we may call the extra charities of the Church, and from Church-extension, in the way of Home and Foreign Missions. Besides, Mr. Bennett, to be consistent, as Archdeacon Denison has fairly shown, must include also *tithes*, we



would add also the material churches, in the voluntary system. There is no difference in principle between tithe and Church Rate, so far as property is concerned, except practically that the interest of the laity in the former by impropriation, renders the disturbance of the title and confiscation more improbable. Sir Archibald Edmonstone, in a recent letter to the "Guardian," referring to Mr. Bennett's pamphlet, justly remarks, that "to be consistent, it requires the abandonment of all Church lands and Church possessions to be thrown into a common fund, divisible at the pleasure of the Legislature." And he goes on to "plead" his "long and painful experience" as to the utter failure of the Voluntary System, "the depressing influence it has, and the difficulty of escaping from almost absolute pauperism," in his own Church of Scotland. The Reports of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and our own pages more than once, have shown its utter failure in the colonies.

For our own part we are convinced that the most disastrous consequences to the efficiency of the Church's ministrations, and to the maintenance of the national religion even at its present standard, must ensue by the adoption of Mr. Bennett's policy. On the other hand, we are not prepared implicitly to rest satisfied with the cry of "No surrender," until it can be shown, as we do not think it has been shown, that Church Rate is of the essence of the Church's nationality, and that no more expedient equivalent to that impost can possibly be devised. We have already said that it is not our intention in the present article to enter further into the latter question. Meantime, we are thankful to find the subject so ably ventilated as in the tractates we have reviewed, especially as bringing out into clearer definition the limits of the Church and State alliance. It is provoking to find, as we have constantly done of late, the advocates for the maintenance of Church Rate arguing in such manner for their right, as if Church and nation were identical and co-existent; and on principles which would concede the preposterous assumption of the Church's most ultra destructionists that, in case of a divorce taking place, all the property of the latter, however settled, would of course revert to the State: in other words, that all ecclesiastical property is national.

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## CHURTON ON THE SEPTUAGINT.

*The Influence of the Septuagint Version of the Old Testament upon the Progress of Christianity.* By the Rev. WILLIAM RALPH CHURTON, B.A., Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Cambridge: Macmillan and Co.; and 23, Henrietta Street, Covent Garden, London. 1861.

WE imagine that the trustees of the Hulsean Essays have seldom awarded the prize with greater satisfaction than that which has crowned Mr. Churton's Hulsean dissertation with its deserved success. It is indeed a most valuable little treatise upon the bearings of the LXX. upon primitive Christianity. It must be no doubt referred to, as a sort of first-fruits of Professor Selwyn's valuable lectures on this ancient version. His hints have indeed (if such be the case) fallen upon a kindly and cultivated soil, and they have brought forth their increase a hundred fold. We predict a very prosperous career for this little book. We trust, at the same time, that it may form a nucleus around which shall spring up a more elaborate work upon the same subject, from the same scholarly and careful pen. The subject itself is one of very great interest to all careful students of Holy Scripture in the original tongues; and Mr. Churton's treatment is so clear and so simple, that the book is really as interesting as it is instructive. We will candidly admit that Mr. Churton's name was unknown to us before we read it in the title-page of his book; so that what we say in its commendation is founded unreservedly upon the absolute merits of the essay itself. The writer appears to belong to that modern school of critical theologians, of which Mr. Westcott may now be considered as almost the head and representative; although we fear that, if a comparison were made between the two writers as to purity of style, clearness of expression, and above all, as to Catholic tone and feeling, the advantage would lie greatly on the side of the younger, and at present the least known, author.

There never was an age when Biblical criticism was taking a sounder turn than it is now. Codices of Holy Scripture, and of the Fathers of all ages and countries, are being collected and collated, and published sometimes even in fac-simile; and ere long the student may expect to be supplied with photographic copies of the several valuable MSS. of antiquity; so that, as the knowledge of uncial writing becomes more extended, the collations will necessarily become more perfect. The ancient *versions* are receiving more attention than ever they did before, the thanks for which are due in some degree, to Mr. Ellicott's prefaces to his commentaries upon the Epistles of S. Paul. Syriac and Anglo-Saxon grammars are

multiplying; and as accurate and minute criticism is being applied to these versions, the happiest results from such labours may in due time be expected. It is therefore at an opportune moment that Mr. Churton's book makes its appearance; and, as far as it treats of the LXX., it may be considered as a *résumé* of our knowledge upon this subject up to the present time. It considers the LXX. in its relations to the external and internal history of the Church, a field of research which opens up such topics as the general prevalence of the Greek language at the Christian era; the influence of the LXX. in the Christian controversies with Jews and Pagan philosophers; the respect of the Fathers for the LXX., and the other versions which were made from it; and lastly, its share in fixing the doctrinal language of the Church. It is this last chapter which forms the most powerful and most original portion of the entire essay.

To notice some of Mr. Churton's leading topics in detail. A short *introduction*, which gives us a summary of the essay, contains also some remarks upon the Apocryphal Books, as forming part of the Greek Canon, and the reason why their influence cannot be taken into account whilst treating of the other books. We regret that Mr. Westcott's tone on this subject should have been adopted by Mr. Churton. The following passages will explain what we mean:—

"If they [the Apocryphal Books] represent Jewish or Hellenistic traditions, preserved orally by the scribes, like the *δευτερώσεις* mentioned by Jerome and Augustine, we should expect to find a mixture of truth and error, such as we know existed in the other Jewish traditions, some of which were condemned by the Apostles; others received the sanction of the inspired writers of the New Testament."—P. 6.

And again:—

"The Apocryphal Books are not strictly to be called a part of the Alexandrian version of the Old Testament."—P. 7.

The first chapter of the book is, "On the extent to which the Greek language prevailed in the world at the time of the Christian era." After just glancing at the Persian and Babylonian empires, we come to the Greeks, "a people destined in their time to play a higher part in the world's history, and to exercise a far more lasting influence upon the fortunes of mankind." (P. 11.) Several very just remarks upon the importance of the Greek language occur within the few succeeding pages. We select one:—

"It was to the nation out of which the third great empire arose that God assigned the part of providing an universal language, and extending the intellect of man, so as to enable him to receive with a higher appreciation the truths of Divine revelation; for the Greek language had much more to aid its universal extension in the civilised world than

the language of any of the great commercial nations before it had."—P. 12.

The *colonies* were the main causes of the extension of the Greek language; for the colonists ever retained their own language for a very long time, whilst the nations among whom they dwelt soon became Hellenized. The testimonies of S. Jerome and Strabo are combined on the subject of the Greek colonies. The circular letter from the churches of Lyons and Vienna in Gaul to the brethren in Asia and Phrygia, being written in Greek, affords a very good illustration of the extended use of that language; and Strabo's account of Marseilles is examined in detail. When Mr. Churton speaks of the Roman youths going to Marseilles, instead of to Athens, to pursue Greek learning, we think that he should have clenched his evidence by giving the sentence—*ὥστε καὶ τὰ συμβόλαια Ἑλληνιστὶ γράφειν*, so that they even wrote their bonds after the Greek fashion. There is satisfactory evidence of Greek colonies having existed at Libya, in Spain, in the Mediterranean; and in many cases the Greek succeeded the expelled Phœnician. But all these sink into comparative insignificance when Alexandria arises to found a new school of learning and philosophy, to connect the Jew, the Platonist, and the Christian the one with the other. "In the course of a few years, the city of Alexandria succeeded to the wealth of Tyre and the literary renown of Athens." For the sake of this Alexandrian colony, the Jewish Scriptures were translated by degrees into the Alexandrian dialect of Greek. In the East, too, there were extensive Greek settlements; for Alexander founded eight cities in Bactriana: and in Asia Minor and Syria there was abundant impress of Greek civilization and letters. Of Antioch Mr. Churton says, "This great city, at one time the third city in the world, was hardly inferior to Alexandria in the important part assigned to it in the early history of the Christian Church and the influence of Greek language and civilization upon the progress of the Gospel." (p. 18.) It became "the chief centre of the dispersion of the Hellenists." Nearly all the Jews who were scattered about the coasts of Asia "assumed Greek names, and gave Greek names to their children; and this was done even by their priests." From Acts xi. 20, we learn that there were *Ἑλληνισταὶ* in Antioch, and there too was our Blessed LORD called *Χριστὸς*, a word that originated with the LXX., and which suggested the appellation of "Christianus," a Latin derivative from the Greek, and originally applied as a party distinction, to the followers of a name. Mr. Churton refers to sixteen other centres which were formed in different parts of Asia principally by Seleucus, but the three great centres of Greek civilization were "Marseilles in the west, and Antioch and Alexandria in the east," where was used the Hellenistic dialect, "a language combining the phases of various schools of philosophy with those of the Old Testament, which was suited to become the channel

of revealed truth to all the world, though only so far as a language can be said to be the teacher of truths unknown and unrecognized before, which man could never have arrived at without the aid of revelation." (P. 21.)

As a confirmation of the extended use of the Hellenistic dialect the word "Ελλην" is carefully traced by Mr. Churton through its various modifications in the New Testament use, from its primary signification in the books of Maccabees of "aliens to the commonwealth of Israel," to its secondary meaning of Gentiles and idolaters as given by S. Paul, who includes the whole of mankind in the two words "Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ Ἕλληνες." While Philo limits the application of this word to Greece proper, S. Clement of Alexandria (Strom. vi.) takes it in its most extended and latter sense; and Mr. Churton's quotation of that classical passage from S. Clement is one proof of the carefulness with which this treatise has been prepared; whilst another proof lies close by it, for the remarkable LXX. reading of Isa. ix. 12 is noted in detail. In the Pentateuch, and in the Book of Joshua, the Hebrew word "*Pelishtim*" is translated Φυλιστιμ; in the other books by ἄλλόφυλοι: in this passage in Isaiah it is rendered Ἕλληνας. Mr. Churton says that "this may indicate that the time at which the version of the prophet Isaiah was made, must have been about the time at which this use of Ἕλληνας arose, during or soon after the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes," and he concludes that the word "represents the general preponderance of Greek literature over all the parts of the world which were visited by the first teachers of Christianity." The last witness produced is S. Gregory Nazianzen's third oration, where the conduct of Julian the Apostate is exposed, who claimed for the Pagans the style τὸ Ἑλληνίζειν, which expression included the style of elegant Greek, "free from the barbarisms introduced in later times." The expressions of some of the Apologists, such as Tatian, are also noticed. This recognition of the Greek element in primitive Christianity has not originated with Mr. Churton, for Dean Milman has explicitly stated it in his great work on Latin Christianity, and Mr. Westcott has made the most of this argument in his elaborate work on the Canon of the New Testament; Mr. Churton has well arranged and concisely stated his proofs of this fact. His conclusion shall appear in his own words:

"Thus all is Greek in the first ages of Christianity, both within the Church and without it. First the Apostles and Evangelists, then the Apostolic Fathers wrote and delivered their discourses in Greek. Greek names were adopted universally, both in the East and West: the names of the Church, the Sacraments, the orders of the ministry, of the places of Divine worship, and of the different parts of the service were Greek. These, such as Evangelium, Liturgia, Litania, Exomologesis, were diffused in countries where Greek was not understood. But in the East there was hardly any Church of note where it was an un-

known tongue. We have seen that it prevailed in Antioch and Alexandria. At Jerusalem, Cyril and others imparted the Gospel to their flock in Greek, and that was the language of Cyril's catechetical discourses. It was the language of Cyprus, where Epiphanius had his see. In Gaul Irenæus wrote in Greek; and we have seen that the Churches planted there were of Greek origin. In Italy, the first converts appear to have been Greek. It was the language in which S. Paul wrote to them, in which S. Clement of Rome wrote, and probably also discoursed; many of the early Bishops of Rome, as Cletus and Anicetus, had Greek names, and it is not unlikely that when Polycarp administered the Eucharist at Rome, he would employ the language of his own Church."—P. 25.

As a natural sequence to these remarks, the LXX. is next considered in its influence upon the Jews, and in its use by the Christians in their controversies with Jewish and Pagan philosophers. The nine nations represented on the day of Pentecost who understood Greek—the quotations of the LXX. by S. Peter, in his celebrated speech on this day, and by S. Stephen in his defence,—afford important evidence as to the value of this version, and its consecration by the use of inspired persons. In this latter case there is a double source of inspiration in the speaker and in the Evangelist. Mr. Churton cites S. Augustine, Epist. lvii. to Pam-machius, in which is advocated the highest reverence for the letter of Holy Writ, and that in fact, what is not understood is to be passed over; and then he makes the following valuable remark:

"This kind of respect for the language of Scripture expressed by S. Augustine, appears to represent a general opinion, founded on the traditional authority given by the universal Church to the sacred books. If so, it comes down to us from the *same authority as the books themselves*, and cannot be set aside as merely a 'preconceived theory' of some modern commentators, (Alford's *Greek Testament* on Acts vii.)"—P. 31.

After those Jewish traditions, which are authorized by S. Stephen's speech, comes the consideration of the discrepancy of Jacob's sons. S. Stephen in Acts vii. 14, numbers them as "ἑβδομήκοντα πέντε." The LXX. gives the same number (Gen. xlv. 27) "ἑβδομηκονταπέντε," and enumerates in verse 20 the names of Manasseh's son Machir, and of Machir's son Galaid; of Ephraim's sons Sutamaim and Taim, and Edom the son of Sutamaim; five extra names, of five extra sons, which extends the number from seventy to seventy-five: thus too making the children who were born in Egypt as much children of promise as those who were born in Canaan. Several other very singular passages are noted, as the verbal parallelism of S. Philip's speech to the Ethiopian eunuch, γινώσκεις ἃ ἀναγινώσκεις, which seems to imply that the Ethiopian understood Greek; S. Paul's changing the word עַבְדִּי of Habakkuk i. 5 into καταργονηται, "ye among the hea-

then," into "ye despisers," in his speech at Antioch in Pisidia ; his use of the word *τὰ ἴδια* in the same speech ; the LXX. Version of Amos is cited at the Council of Jerusalem ; and when S. Paul teaches the Hellenists at Rome he quotes Isa. vi. 9 and 10, which is imperative in the Hebrew, but which he changes into the future, as it is in the LXX. It is principally in the history of the Acts of the Apostles that the influence of the LXX. at the first, upon the Early Church can be traced ; the earlier records contained in the Gospels do not bear so much upon this question, and so Mr. Churton gives but few examples, arranged under four heads, of those passages "which are strictly and literally taken from the LXX., where it differs from the Hebrew;" and those "in which the LXX. does not represent the true sense of the original," and so the New Testament writers "abandon it and give their own version of the original:" those citations also which differ both from the Hebrew and the LXX.; and lastly, that class of quotations, which two New Testament writers have cited, one giving the literal sense of the original, while another adopts the sense given to it in the LXX. After we leave the New Testament, the next important witness that is called upon this subject is S. Justin's *Dialogue with Trypho*, in which appears the first sign of the discontent of the Hellenists at this Version, arising from its use among the Christians. So strong in some instances were the cavils of the Jews, that the text of the Hexapla of Origen, or the Version of Symmachus was followed instead of the LXX. To get over the Christian application of the prophecies was the main point ; sometimes this was done by denying the genuineness of a passage, at others by limiting the application of the prophecy. Mr. Churton's summing up of this decline of the LXX. is very interesting. He says :

"The letter of the Old Testament, which the Jews had thus claimed as their exclusive right, was the letter of the Alexandrian Version, to which the Hellenists generally, till the beginning of the second century, confidently adhered, as we know from the account of its origin, which was given by Philo and Josephus. But when, as Christianity was propagated, they found that their books had become appropriated by the followers of the new religion, and that they could no longer confine them in the obscurity of their synagogues, they resorted to the Hebrew text, which they might still claim as exclusively their own, and made their own Greek versions of the passages employed by the Christians."—P. 39.

In one passage in the *Dialogue*, S. Justin quotes the actual words of the LXX. of Gen. xxxi. 13, which reads, for "I am the God of Bethel" of the Hebrew, *Ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ Θεὸς ὁ ὀφθαλμοὶ σοὶ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ Θεοῦ* (c. lviii.); which is after all not so very different, for Bethel signifies the house or place of God. Mr. Churton remarks upon the quotation :

"This repetition of the Name of GOD seems to have a remarkable bearing upon the argument of Justin, that the angel who spoke to Jacob in the vision was GOD, and yet not GOD the FATHER of all, Who would be signified by the second mention of the name: Θεός in the passage."—P. 40.

With all due respect for Mr. Churton's opinion, we do not see that this remark is in any degree substantiated by the text. This vision to Jacob at Laban's house; his wrestling with the Angel at Peniel; GOD's appearance to him at Padan-Aram; together with his celebrated dream of the ladder of heaven near Haran, are all in this section of the dialogue classed together, and are not arranged in detail at all. In the following section the angelic appearances to Moses are treated in the same manner; and at a much more advanced stage in the dialogue, where the types of the cross are traced through the Old Testament, the vision of Gen. xxi. 18 is referred to, for Jacob anointed a pillar "τῷ ὀφθέντι αὐτῷ Θεῷ." S. Justin's argument is that the Angel who successively appeared to the patriarchs was called GOD, and yet He was still a GOD ὑπηρετοῦντα τῷ ὑπὲρ κόσμον Θεῷ, ὑπὲρ ὃν ἄλλος οὐκ ἔστι. (c. lx.) The consubstantiality with the subordination of the SON are equally laid down. We cannot see that S. Justin lays any stress upon the repetition of the word GOD. The reason that Mr. Churton assigns for this statement, seems to be as unsatisfactory as the statement itself.

"For it may be compared to the representation of Κύριος in the LXX. Version of Ps. cx. 1, which he quotes several times in this treatise, and in one place he compares it with the Θεός of Ps. xlv. 6, having no doubt in his mind the quotation of the former passage by our LORD."—P. 40.

We say to this, firstly, that although Ps. xlv. 6 is cited twice in the dialogue, yet Mr. Churton's statement would manifestly hang upon the 56th section, where the verse in question is quoted: so runs the passage: "Εἰ οὖν καὶ ἄλλον τινὰ θεολογεῖν καὶ κυριολογεῖν τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον φατὲ ὑμεῖς παρὰ τὸν πατέρα τὸν ὄλων καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν αὐτοῦ ἀποκρίνασθέ μοι." "Answer me, if therefore you say, that the HOLY SPIRIT called any other GOD and LORD besides the FATHER of all and His CHRIST." This statement does not notice even the repetition of the Κύριος. Psalm cx. is quoted throughout as a prediction of our Blessed LORD's second and glorious Advent (c. xxxii.): and again to prove His majesty, from His session at GOD's right hand (c. xxxiv.), more fully to prove that the prediction of this Psalm was not fulfilled in Hezekiah (c. lxxxiii.), yet no argument turns upon the use of Κύριος, its subsequent use depending upon its reference to CHRIST's High-Priesthood. This remark as to the use holds good for the last place in which it appears in the



dialogue. (c. cxxvii.) We have dwelt upon these facts a little because Mr. Westcott has given a new impetus to the word-analysis style of criticism, which is often apt to lose the spirit in the letter, and which will lead to very serious error unless the data upon which such conclusions are based be most carefully sifted and accurately stated. It is minute references such as these that offer the opportunity for the investigation of the care with which a writer has prepared the facts for his exposition.

Before leaving S. Justin we cannot help just making a remark upon his reading of Ps. xcvi. 10. He says that the Jews have taken away these few words, "from the wood:" "they have left it out" (ἀφῆκαν). No MSS. contain these words, either Greek or Hebrew, nor the Gallican Psalter, nor the Arabic, Ethiopic, or the Syriac, or Chaldee Versions. Tertullian quotes these words three times, S. Justin uses them in his Apology; they are found in the writings of SS. Leo, Augustine, Gregory the Great, Cassiodorus, and Arnobius the younger. Our readers are doubtless familiar with the rhythm of Venantius Fortunatus:

"Impleta sunt quæ concinit  
David fideli carmine,  
Dicens, In nationibus  
Regnavit A LIGNO Deus."

Where did the ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου come from, one is tempted to ask? Stephen Le Moyne makes out this case. In early times many Psalters existed with the Hebrew written in Greek characters. The Hebrew might be read—"The LORD reigneth from hence," יְהוָה in Greek characters μεις, which they thought would come from ξύλον "from the wood." Thirlby rejects this explanation and thinks the words were a gloss, "non fuisse a Judæis rejecta, sed ab aliquo Christiano addita, sive fraude, sive (quod magis credo) errore et casu aliquo." The notion of Deut. xxi. 23, seems interwoven with the doctrine of the τὸ ξύλον throughout the teaching of the early Church. S. Peter at Jerusalem, as well as before the Sanhedrim refers to it; S. Paul does the same at Antioch, "CHRIST crucified" is ever the burden of his theme. In 1 S. Peter ii. 24, we find mention of "ἐπὶ τὸ ξύλον." S. Ambrose too applied the κάνθαρος ἐξ ξύλου of Habakkuk ii. 11, to our Blessed LORD, while S. Jerome identifies the ξύλον as the Cross. In the sub-Apostolic age the old traditional rendering is maintained. S. Barnabas (chap. viii.) on the sprinkling of Heb. ix. 13, asks, "Why was the wool put upon wood? (ἐπὶ τῷ ξύλῳ) Because the kingdom of JESUS was ἐπὶ τῷ ξύλῳ." Celsus the pagan had learnt the same thing. (Origen c. Cel. vi.) "Everywhere there the wood of life, and resurrection of the flesh ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου." We would beg to refer our readers who may take an interest in this question to that marvellous analysis of patristic lore which is contained in the paper, "On the mysti-

cism attributed to the early fathers of the Church," forming number lxxxix. of "The Tracts for the Times." The whole development of the doctrine of the τὸ ἔϋλον is there laid down with a fulness and a reverence that must appeal to any one who casts a gaze loving yet earnest upon the Church's earliest traditions.

Both Grabe in his *Spicilegium* and Dr. Routh in his *Reliquiæ* give with annotations the fragments of a lost work of Aristo Pellæus, which was called the disputation of Jason and Papiscus. Mr. Churton has noted, that one of the fragments preserved by S. Jerome gave this reading for Deut. xxi. 23, "Λοιδογία Θεοῦ ὁ κρεμύμενος," supposed to be taken from the version of Aquila. We mark this as an indication of the attention with which the Hulsean Essay has been written. It is thus that the writer is naturally led to notice the *other Greek versions*, and to trace their influence in those Jewish and Marcionite controversies which occupied Tertullian, and S. Cyprian and Origen. At a later period of the controversy SS. Chrysostom and Jerome both take up the old accusations against the Jews of corrupting the text of the LXX. while the Hebrew text was comparatively safe through the small number of persons who were able to touch it at all : for the Hebrew Scriptures were little known to the Pagans till Christianity brought the Greek version prominently before men's minds. Both Porphyry and Celsus became acquainted with the Old Testament Scriptures through the LXX. version alone, and the name of the former of these philosophers is bound up most closely with the controversy upon the Book of Daniel. Mr. Churton wisely does not defend the LXX. version of this prophet, but says, "this version had, however, been found to be too faulty for general use in Christian Churches, and on this account the Version of Theodotion had been introduced into the Greek Bibles instead of it; from the same version Origen supplied that which was defective in the LXX. when he compiled his Hexapla." (P. 54.) After S. Justin, another line of controversy less depending for its authority upon the sacred books and more taking a philosophical view, came into use with S. Clement of Alexandria. Origen revived the more legitimate method of disputation, and the last grand purpose to which the LXX. was applied was to be set in that wonderful knowledge of heathen rites and customs which has shed such an abiding lustre over the work of S. Austin, "De Civitate Dei." The early Christians too learnt their entire faith from the LXX., from Greek colonies and countries, "its influence spread further among those who employed the Latin language; for it appears that even the Latins when they brought authorities from the Old Testament generally gave a literal rendering of the LXX." (P. 57.)

The influence of the LXX. upon the *internal* history of the Church has now to be noticed. It was a version universally used both by Jew and Christian; from it both Jew and Pagan had learnt

the Old Testament; and lastly it contained the sacred name of "Christus," the CHRIST, the anointed One.

"By the evidence of the Scriptures so rendered the Church had established her doctrines—the Apostles themselves had first employed the version and Apostolic tradition confirmed its value and sanctioned its use in all the Churches in which the Greek language was spoken." —P. 59.

Again :

"The early writers were strongly influenced by the *traditional authority* which they attached to it; they believed that as received from the inspired teachers of religion and handed down by their immediate successors, it had received the sanction of the same HOLY SPIRIT Who had inspired the original authors of those sacred books which it interpreted."—P. 60.

The narrative of Aristæas, to be found in Philo and Josephus, appearing next in Tertullian, SS. Irenæus, Justin, Cyril of Jerusalem, and in Eusebius, which has of modern times been revived by Morinus and John Gregorie, is tacitly abandoned by Mr. Churton. The *three recensions* of the LXX. are next mentioned; that of Lucian the martyr which obtained in Constantinople, Asia, and Antioch; of Hesychius which was used in Alexandria and Egypt; and lastly, Origen's revision which was generally introduced by Eusebius and Pamphilus. It is rather difficult to ascertain precisely what value Origen and S. Jerome set upon the LXX. Origen seems on the whole to have been contented with it as it was; his recension was made, according to S. Epiphanius, rather on account of others than himself. S. Jerome changed his opinion on this question repeatedly; he condemned the version of Aquila, nor did Theodotion's please him much better; and he brought himself by slow stages to deny the inspiration of the LXX.; but it is doubtful whether he ever quenched entirely his old faith; his correspondence with S. Augustine shows the general estimation in which the LXX. was holden at the end of the fourth century. Philastrius, an earlier writer, more than substantiates these impressions. Mr. Churton states about S. Jerome: "His examination of the laborious work of Origen [Hexapla] of which he more than once expresses his admiration, must have opened his eyes to the corrupt state into which the text had fallen, especially in the books of Job, Esther, and Daniel; the first of which was full of omissions, and the last two had received apocryphal additions from Jewish traditions." (P. 68.) S. Austin supported the LXX., as that only version which the Christians among Greek nations use; while S. Chrysostom relinquishing its miraculous origin, speaks of its paramount authority which, in part, flows from its antiquity, in part, from the number of translators employed; and lastly, from "their common consent concerning the interpretation." We are sorry that Mr. Churton

has introduced the "strange mistake of Anselm" about the identity of the seventy Elders, and the seventy interpreters, and although "it certainly shows that the belief in the inspiration of the Alexandrian version had been preserved in the Western Church:" a belief in which the fathers of the Eastern Church also concurred, though it did not prevent them from frequently using other versions, and sometimes resorting to the original Hebrew text.

The next topic which is handled by Mr. Churton is the *Versions* which were made from the LXX. into Latin and other languages. Eusebius and Theodoret tell us of translations from the Greek into the languages of the Romans, Egyptians, Persians, Indians, Armenians, Scythians, and Sauromatæ; while S. Jerome shows how he used these Versions to prove the corruptions which abounded in the extant Greek text. "There was only one exception to this general adherence to the Septuagint, and that was in the Churches of Mesopotamia and the neighbouring regions, where SYRIAC was commonly spoken. Here they had a Syriac translation made from the Hebrew, certainly not long after the age of the Apostles, and perhaps more ancient." (P. 79.) Yet even here, according to Gregory Abulpharagius, there was another Syriac Version taken from the LXX., which was much used in Western Syria. It is the LATIN Versions which were used in Africa, Pannonia, Gaul, Spain, and in other Roman colonies, which claim the chief notice. Mr. Churton does not hazard an opinion upon the origin of the word *Itala*, although he favours the notion "that there was one Version among the Latins more generally respected than the rest." He refers us to the labours of Nobilius in the sixteenth century, and to those of Morinus in the seventeenth, "to collect this old Vulgate from Commentaries and other works of the Fathers;" but he passes over in silence the immortal work of Sabatier the Benedictine, whose three large folio volumes, with their parallel columns and galaxies of different readings, literally fill one with astonishment at so vast a labour being accomplished in a single life-time. Vercellone's great work, the *Varie Lectiones* of the Vulgate, the Pentateuch of which has appeared more than a year since, is not mentioned even in a note. None of the Latin codices seem to have been consulted, not even those of late years edited by Tischendorf. We think that the day has gone past when, in a critical discussion, Whitaker's Disputation on Scripture, Bingham's Antiquities, and Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible, may be cited as witnesses of authority. The use of both the old Italic Version and the Jeromian recension by S. Gregory the Great is well stated, as well as two or three judiciously selected texts, which S. Jerome wished to see altered to make them more conformable to the Hebrew. We cannot quite understand the following passage, which seems to be based upon "Father Simon's Critical History of the Old Testament:"

“Yet on the whole the modern Vulgate is pronounced to be nearer to the Hebrew than the Septuagint: it is, therefore, supposed to be the work of Jerome for the most part; but it must have passed a revision, in which it was altered or corrected by some other ancient Version.”—P. 81.

Why is the “modern Vulgate” *supposed* to be the work of S. Jerome? Does not Mr. Churton remember that the elements of the “modern Vulgate” are threefold: the *Vetus Latina*, or Old Italic; the Hexapla Latin Version, improved by S. Jerome; and the Saint’s own Translation, made directly from the Hebrew. Nor is the distribution of these three elements any very difficult matter. The books of the Wisdom of Solomon, of Sirach, of Baruch, the two books of Maccabees, and the apocryphal additions to Esther, Daniel, and Jeremiah, are all retained from the *Vetus Latina*. The Gallican Psalter was corrected by S. Jerome from the Hexaplar text; the remaining books being direct translations from the Hebrew. Surely Mr. Churton has heard of the Sextine, the Gregorian, and the Clementine congregations: he must remember the changes which the printed text passed through ere the standard Clementine edition of 1598 appeared. We especially commend to Mr. Churton’s notice Hody’s book on the original texts of the Bible; Sabatier’s *Vetus Italica*, and Vercellone’s “*Variae Lectiones*.” The extreme literality of the old Latin versions is well illustrated by Mr. Churton; their frequent transcription of Greek words in the Roman character, the Alexandrian names by which the books of the Pentateuch are now known—*ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατασκήυαστος* becomes “*invisibilis et incomposita*,” *στερέωμα* “*firmamentum*,” *συναγωγὴν* becomes “*congregationem*,” the rock is “*Petra*,” the Church in the Psalms is “*ecclesia*,” the Gentiles are “*Allophyli*,” the judges “*Critæ*.” “The titles of the MESSIAH, the Prophets, Angels, and Patriarchs are still retained in their Greek forms. . . . in the same way as apostles, bishops, presbyters, and deacons became known to the world through their Greek titles.” (P. 84.) S. *Cyprian* furnishes us with an abundant crop of Latinized Greek words. The first man was *ἐπλασε* from the Hebrew *רָצָא*: hence God “*plasmavit*” him, and he was called the “*Protoplast*.” Moses was “*Mogilatus*,” slow to speak. The Tabernacle of Israel was “*Tabernaculum martyrii*.” In Isaiah we meet with “*holocaustomata*,” and in cap. i. 18, with the words, “*phœniceum et coccinum*.” S. *Austin* writes in a purer Latin: still, he is full of similar illustrations. Abraham is called (Gen. xiv. 13,) “*transfluvialis*,” from the LXX. *περάτης*: in Leviticus “*holocarpoma*” is translated. S. Ambrose gives us a far less number of Græcisms, though he writes a treatise on the “*Hexæmeron*,” and speaks of “*fontes abyssi*, and “*cataractæ coeli*,” and quotes Habakkuk ii. 11, the *κάνθαρος* passing into a “*scarabæus*,” the title being justified by Psalm xxii. 6. From these examples, another proof, and a very strong one is brought

forward of the influence of the LXX. upon the internal history of the Church ; an influence not confined to places where Greek was the vernacular language : the Old and New Testaments being both translated into a Latin abounding with Græcisms, and the Churches of Western Europe being the fruit of missionary labourers from the East where Greek was the spoken language.

The last portion of Mr. Churton's Essay is, perhaps, the most successful argument of the entire work ; it points out by a few leading examples, that the doctrinal language of the Church was founded upon words borrowed from the LXX. ; that the language of the Law and the Prophets was put to a new use by the first teachers of the Gospel ; so that, "even when the ideas were only dimly declared in the Old Testament, the forms of words employed in enunciating them were taken from the same source." (P. 91.) God assigned to the Septuagint translators "the part of becoming interpreters to the world, of ideas which the human race had almost entirely forgotten ; to express by new forms and phrases hitherto unknown, even in the widest and most copious language in the world, the truths to which philosophy could not attain concerning God's power and man's weakness ; God's love and man's ingratitude. Then the Elohim, *JEHOVAH*, Eleon, and Shaddai of the Hebrews, became known to the Greek as the *Θεός*, *Κύριος*, the *Τῦσιτος* and the *Παντοκράτωρ*." (P. 90.) Mr. Churton has taken as a text the Constantinopolitan Creed ; and he has illustrated several of the more important words from the twelve clauses which it contains.

The bearings of the verb *πιστεύω* are investigated a little more in detail than is given in the notes to the first Article of Bishop Pearson on the Creed. The phrase, "*to believe in*," has had a new depth and a new significance given to it by the Gospel. It was no longer a mere objective formula, it expressed the faith into which the convert was baptized. S. Austin's distinction between the "*Credere Deo*," and "*Credere in Deum*," is very beautifully illustrated from 1 S. John v. 10, where we find that "*ὁ πιστεύων εἰς τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ*," has the witness in himself ; whilst the unacknowledgment of the testimony of the FATHER concerning the SON is expressed by the simple phrase, "*ὁ μὴ πιστεύων τῷ Θεῷ*." Mr. Churton next proceeds to notice the word *ὄνομα* as connected with belief in S. John iii. 18. He brings forward a few instances in which the NAME of JESUS is that in which men are to trust, and upon which they are to call. He shows from Deut. xii. 5, *ἐκνομᾶσαι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ* signifies the extraordinary presence of God in the holy place ; and that S. Paul in Rom. xv. 20, adopts the expression to the countries in which were Churches reverencing CHRIST'S Name, and further couples the use of this Name with purity of life in 2 Tim. ii. 19, as Isaiah (xxvi. 13,) and David (Ps. xix. 18,) had done before him. On the title of God as "*the Lord of Hosts*," when the *tsava* of the Hebrew is sometimes translated by *δυνάμεις*,

and sometimes by *στραταί*, Mr. Churton says that this twofold rendering of Sabaoth,

"thus furnished the language by which the inspired teachers of the Gospel made known a fuller and clearer revelation of things in heaven; the latter representing the angels as succouring and defending God's servants, and the ministers of His vengeance against His enemies; the former indicating their exalted position in the universe of creation. At the same time this multiplication of terms aided in throwing some light upon the obscurity which may have arisen from the similarity of the language concerning the stars of heaven to the names by which the heavenly host of God were represented."—(P. 96.)

The words *παντοκράτωρ*; Rock; ὁ ἅγιος Ἰσραὴλ; the term *δόξα* as applied to God too, with the epithet *ὁ ποιῶν*, and the distinction between *ποιεῖν* and *κτίζειν*; all tend to shed a halo of light upon the actual phraseology of Holy Writ. The Creed next defines the nature of the SON, and Mr. Churton explains the words *ἀγαπητός* and *μονογενής*; it proceeds to enunciate the doctrine of the Incarnation, and the word *σὰρξ* is proved in its highest use to include both a *ψυχὴ* and a *νοῦς*; in opposition to the Docetæ and to certain restricted renderings that it received from the Arians. The succeeding three articles of the Creed bring out the meaning of the words *λυτρώω* and *μεσίτης*, to which there is no Hebrew word that exactly corresponds. "The adoption," says Mr. Churton, "by the Alexandrian Jews of this word, so important in its relation to Christian doctrine, can only be traced to the ordering of Divine Providence; by which men were led to a sense of their need of a Mediator, and were thus prepared to receive the truths of the Gospel." (P. 111.) It has two meanings; an interpreter of Divine revelation, or as a champion between hostile armies. "In any case the word represented a great and important idea concerning the relation of man to God; and S. Paul appealed to a thought already known to the Hellenists, when he spoke of the one *μεσίτης* "between God and man:" (P. 112.) The HOLY SPIRIT is now spoken of, and the connection between the Hebrew Kiddash and the Greek *ἀγιάζω* is explained; while with less minuteness of detail the words *ἐκκλησία*, *συναγωγή*, *πανήγυρις*, *ἄφεςις*, *ἰλασμός*, *δικαίωσις*, *διάβολος*, *δαιμόνιον*, are elucidated. We wish to see this section of the Essay much enlarged. Dean Trench has not exhausted the words that he has examined. There is abundance of room for more labourers in this wide field of fruitful working. We believe that the more the strict language of the New Testament is studied, with reference to the Alexandrian School, whence this peculiar dialect arose, with its combined Hebrew and Greek idioms, the more shall we be able to see written in inspired Scripture all those glorious and profound doctrines which the Church has taught from the beginning, and the sum of which forms the Catholic faith. In conclusion, we thank Mr. Churton most heartily for his Essay, which has so richly deserved the Hulsean prize for the year 1859.

## S. JOHN'S IDEA OF THE PERSON OF CHRIST.

IN remarks which we have offered on former occasions respecting the theology of S. John, we have expressed strong opinions as to the suitableness of that theology to the age in which we live, as being of a character calculated to meet much of the tendency which exists in a large class of minds at the present time towards lowering the idea of our LORD's Person and Work; and thus striking at the root of what may be called the supernaturalism of Christianity. We are about to supplement those remarks with a few observations on a subject about which much has been written, and about which it is yet possible to write without feeling that it has already been exhausted,—the title with which the theological Gospel commences. In doing so, we shall not pretend either to exhaust the subject ourselves, or to be exclusively original. It will be necessary for us to state what has been the general course of thought respecting it for the elucidation of our own opinion; and when that opinion has been stated, we must still be open, as others have been, to the criticism of our readers.

The prefatory passage with which the Gospel of S. John opens, may be considered either as a condensed statement of the principle on which the whole treatise is based; or as a preliminary definition necessary to the proper understanding of its general subject, the Person of CHRIST. Supposing ourselves, as rational believers in Holy Scripture, to come for the first time to the consideration of this passage, our first inquiry would certainly be as to the meaning which must be attached to the monosyllable which forms the subject of the statement contained in it, and of which such remarkable circumstances are predicated. A reference to the original language, and to the various versions of the New Testament, early and modern, would show us that the English version fairly represents them all, and that an appeal to these languages gives us, in this case, no substantial advantage over the mere English reader. The question then may be fairly argued out on vernacular ground, and resolves itself into the inquiry, What meaning, or what special application of a meaning is to be taken as the true sense of The Word as here used.

There is a desire among some writers of our day to minimize the mystery of the expression to the utmost. Mr. Maurice even ventures to say respecting it, in his Lectures on S. John (p. 472), that some of us are not eager to import the term *Logos*, seeing that our home manufacture of cant is quite prolific enough already:<sup>1</sup> but apart from the irreverence belonging to the supposition, it is

<sup>1</sup> According to Mr. Maurice's theory, S. John "imported" the term from Philo.



clearly unreasonable to look on this as a mere local or temporary expression fitted into the system of a writer for mere convenience or fancy. Take the Gospel of S. John as we would any common book, and yet as fair critics, we must acknowledge that the writer evidently used an expression which had unusual importance in his own eyes at least; and that he used it as a kind of starting point for that which was to follow.

With others again there is a desire to play round the expression. The received interpretation of it as a personal title of our LORD is based on too reasonable grounds to be set aside; but there is an undercurrent of wish that it were not so, and as a result of such an undercurrent, an endeavour to involve the expression itself in a mist through which the only idea evident is that the Word is some communication passing from God to man, as Conscience, or the Gospel, or abstract Truth. We can hardly illustrate this better than by some verses of Longfellow's, in which he has very fairly caught hold of this substitution of sentiment for Personality, and which we therefore quote at length.

"THE WORD.

"In the beginning was the Word,  
Athwart the chaos-night  
It gleamed with quick, creative power,  
And there was life and light.

"Thy Word, O God! is living yet;  
Amid earth's restless strife  
New harmony creating still,  
And ever higher life.

"And as that Word moves surely on,  
The light, ray after ray,  
Streams further out athwart the dark,  
And night grows into day.

"O Word that broke the stillness first,  
Sound on, and never cease  
Till all earth's darkness be made light,  
And all her discord, peace!

"Till wail of woe and clank of chain  
And burst of battle stilled,  
The world, with Thy great music's pulse,  
O Word of Love! be thrilled.

"Till selfishness, and strife, and wrong,  
Thy summons shall have heard;  
And Thy creation be complete,  
O Thou Eternal Word."

But a consideration of the expression from a point of view unbiassed by preconceptions shuts out any impression that this title is not used in a strictly technical sense. This may be tested by examining the possibility of making it consist with the customary use of it elsewhere.

1. Take it in its simply ordinary and untechnical sense, and we find it utterly impossible to work it up at all consistently with the passage in which it occurs. Nor indeed, would there be any reason at all in attempting to do so, for the definite article—as distinct in the original as it is in our translation—gives it a plainly special application to some particular “word,” a kind of application which would lose all sense if used respecting a word spoken or written, unless something antecedently showed to what it was intended to refer.

2. Or again, take the expression within a more limited sphere, and suppose it to be used as the “Word of God” is frequently used in Holy Scripture, to intimate the Divine origin of a message or revelation. Sometimes in the Old Testament, for instance, it means a message given *viva voce*, “The Word which God spake unto the Children of Israel.” Sometimes, again, it is used of a communication from God, the exact manner of the delivery of which is not recorded, “Hear ye the Word of the LORD.” Our LORD also, speaking to the Pharisees, tells them that they made “the Word of God of none effect by their traditions,” by which He seems to refer generally to the commandments given to them by God through Moses, and particularly to those commandments which He had just referred to as being perverted and corrupted by the Pharisees. The Apostles sometimes signify by the same expression the message of the Gospel, an usage almost identical with that adopted by our LORD Himself on the occasion referred to. Now such a mode of using the expression is the very nearest approach made in the Old or New Testament to that application of the term which may be called almost exclusively modern, (though exceptionally adopted by Origen,) in which “the Word of God” becomes synonymous with “the Holy Bible;” but neither as used by our LORD or by His Apostles is it so identical with this modern application of the phrase as to give us a scriptural warrant for that application. Much less does it warrant the supposition that “the Holy Bible” can in any sense be intended when S. John speaks of “the Word,” or the “Word of God.” Yet it is surprising to see how often such a sense is the one used in sermons as if it was the most natural one possible.

Thus the expression “the Word,” as used by S. John, is entirely disconnected from its ordinary meaning, or from its inexact yet technical application as a name of the Holy Bible. The next point is to see whether there is any use of it elsewhere which seems similar to that made of it in the Gospel, and whether that use

throws any light on its meaning. We find, then, that in the Book of the Revelation, which was written by S. John before he wrote either his Epistles or the Gospel, he has already given "the Word of God" as one of the names belonging to Him Who appeared to the Divine, riding on a white horse. (Rev. xix. 11—16.) Whatever mystery these verses contain, they show that S. John before writing "In the beginning was the Word" in the Gospel, had written of a Person Whose Name he recorded as "the Word of God" in his Revelation. And although the title thus given is not entirely identical with that in the Gospel, the singularity of it as the Name of a Person is such as to lead us at once to the conviction that the same idea was present to the mind of the writer when he wrote of the "Word of God" at Patmos, (probably A.D. 69,) and when he wrote "In the beginning was the Word," at Ephesus, A.D. 97, in the Gospel. And hence alone we might conclude that when he used the expression in the latter place he used it as the Name of a Person.

Such a conclusion will be corroborated,—if it really needs strengthening,—by the usual philological arguments with reference to the context. "The Word was *with* God" is a mode of speech which seems natural when it is intended to convey the idea of one Person being in company with another Person; but not at all natural if "the Word" means only a verbal sound, a thought, or a manifestation of will. One could hardly say that a person's thought or verbal sound was "*with*" him, even if any possessive relation were indicated between the sound or thought of the person named, of which in this case there is no trace whatever.

Moreover it is immediately afterwards asserted that the Word was God, and again that the Word which was God, was in the beginning with God; both which passages distinctly indicate that (1) Personality belongs to the Word, and (2) a Personality distinct from that of God the FATHER Who is undoubtedly the Person named in the second verse, for a person cannot seriously be said to be in company with himself. In the third verse the work of Creation is attributed to the Word: "All things were made by Him," (the antecedent of Him being "the Word," not "God.") And there are but two ways of explaining this,—either (1) by saying that it is only one way of expressing the idea that God created all things, without any reference to a second Person; or (2) that it is an assertion that a Second Person, distinct from the Person previously named as the God *with* Whom the Word was, was the Creator of all things that are and were created. If the first explanation is brought into court at all, it must be supported by two clear pieces of evidence before it can be received, (1) proving why so singular a circumlocution is used, and (2) why any reference is thus made at all to the creation. And neither of these necessary pieces of evidence are forthcoming. We may also add,

that the cumulative force of this argument is increased by the fourteenth verse of the chapter with which S. John's Gospel begins, for there, too, the personal pronoun is again used with marked distinctness.<sup>1</sup>

Separating then from the question before us the difficulty arising from the use of such an expression under such circumstances, which must be considered afterwards, the rational conclusions which we must draw from a rational examination of this opening passage of S. John's treatise are these:—

1. The Word is said to be Eternal. "In the beginning was the Word."

2. The Word is said to have a Personality of its own. "The Word was with God. The same was in the beginning with God."

"All things were made by Him, 'the Word,' and without Him was not anything made that was made."

3. The Word is said to be Divine.<sup>2</sup> "The Word was God."

. But when we have reached these inevitable conclusions, there is still some unwillingness in the reason to receive them as the true ones, unless some explanation can be given of the way in which the Evangelist came to use so very peculiar a designation for a Divine Person. Did S. John originate the term? Or did he import it into his Revelation, Epistles, and Gospel from some earlier terminology? And, in either case, why did he use so remarkable a designation for the Divine Person referred to rather than one which would at once indicate his meaning?

One class of critics endeavours to show that "The Word" was

<sup>1</sup> Some confirmation of the frequent and not rare personal application of the phrase *ὁ Λόγος* is to be found in the juxtaposition of sword and word which occurs several times in the New Testament. The "Word of God is sharper than any two-edged sword." (Heb. iv. 12.) "The Sword of the Spirit is the Word of God." (Eph. vi. 17.) So also in Rev. i. 16; ii. 12; xix. 15, 21. The undoubtedly Personal Word is represented as having a sword proceeding from His Mouth, a figure not used of any other person in that or any other book of the Holy Bible; though Isaiah, speaking as in the Person of CHRIST (Isa. xlix. 2), says, "He hath made My mouth like a sharp sword." The idea of one being made the sword of God is not exclusively confined to CHRIST (see Zech. ix. 13); but that of the organ from which speech proceeds giving forth a sword is so with one exception (Ps. lvii. 4), and there (as somewhat similarly in Prov. xii. 18; xxv. 18) the evil or cruel character of the sword is the phase plainly shown, not its power, as in the other passages. It is singular that another *sharp* instrument of a severing or destructive character is also used as a figure of the Word—at least by Irenæus, though in our translation the instrument is a hammer. (Jer. xxiii. 29.) Irenæus quotes it, "The Word of the Lord is an axe cleaving a rock." He applies to CHRIST S. John Baptist's expression of the *axe* laid to the root, and traces a parabolic meaning in the *axe* sunk by neglect and raised by the wood of the tree in Elisha's miracle. "By the Tree we have lost Him, by the Tree He has become manifest to all."—*Irenæus*, v. 17.

<sup>2</sup> S. John does not however speak of a *Λόγος Θεός*.

a designation of the Second Person in the Blessed TRINITY well known to the Jews: that Ps. xxxiii. 6, "By the Word of the LORD were the heavens made," or Ps. cxix. 89, "For ever, O LORD, Thy Word is settled in Heaven," were familiar examples of such a designation. But although "The Word" in these passages may now be properly interpreted of the SON of GOD, there is no proof that the Jews so understood them. Such an understanding has come upon us with the light of a later Theology than theirs: and if, therefore, S. John adopted the Title because he found it in the Psalms, he could not have adopted it because the meaning he intended was already known to the readers of those Psalms. Another Jewish origin for it has been found in "*Memra*," the Hebrew equivalent of *Λόγος*, which was substituted by the Scribes for the Sacred Tetragrammaton in their Targums or Commentaries, and perhaps in their copies of the Old Testament books. But the most learned men have concluded that there is little probability in the supposition that "*Memra*" had any reference to the Second Person of the Blessed TRINITY.

Another set of critics trace out a heathen origin for the *Λόγος* of S. John, *ὁ Λόγος* holding a prominent place as a manifestation of, or emanation from the Supreme Being, in the theological system of Plato: and this theory has been adopted so generally that it is perhaps difficult to convince one's mind of the extreme unreasonableness that there is in the supposition. Yet it is most unreasonable. For when the phrase was first used by the Apostle, he had not been long a resident in a Gentile land, and it is very improbable that he had become acquainted with Plato's writings. He had been for many years before the guardian of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and having attained manhood when he was called an "ignorant and unlearned" man, it is very improbable that either his office, his inclination, or his intellectual gifts (for he would hardly read Plato by miracle) would have suffered him to acquire such familiarity then, or during the few years of his residence at Ephesus, with the philosopher's writings as to make him introduce the expression, as it is introduced in the Revelation; and that, too, when he was writing in Patmos, where he was little likely to have a volume of Plato to refer to.

Moreover, in this first mention of "The Word," there is nothing of philosophy. It is an abstract personal Name, given without introduction or explanation, and in such a manner as if the writer was naming the Person by a Name which was absolutely and inalienably His distinctive appellation. That S. John should take an *idea* out of the book of a philosophical heathen and apply it in the personal manner in which he has used the term in the Apocalypse is past all rational belief. That he should take it out of a heathen writer and apply it to CHRIST is equally incredible. And almost as incredible is it that he should master this treatise of

Plato so far as to be able thus to extract a portion of its theory, and yet extract only this one word ; for no one will aver probably, in these days, that this is only one small portion of evidence which shows S. John to have been a Platonist altogether.<sup>1</sup>

The improbability of a Christian Apostle borrowing directly so important a part of his system from a heathen writer has been felt to be so great, that a connecting link has been supposed in the Gnostics, or in the Jew Philo. It is said that these adopted the term from Plato, and that S. John took it from one or both of them, and gave it his own sense. There is not a particle of evidence to prove this ; nor any pretence of evidence beyond the common use of the phrase by S. John and by the others. And until such evidence is produced the reverent student of Holy Scripture will certainly withhold his assent from the theory.

A much more probable idea is, that the Evangelist was inspired to use the term because it is very expressive of what he intended to convey by means of it, a knowledge of the relation between God the FATHER and GOD the SON. This theory is given in such clear and condensed language by S. Augustine, that our purpose will be best answered by quoting his words : "The SON is called the Word of GOD because His FATHER makes known His Will by Him, in the same manner that a man makes known his mind by words." This explanation has the advantage that it is applicable to the senses "Reason" and "Definition" as well as that of "Word;" the original being capable of all three : and most of what the Fathers have left on the subject is an expansion of this idea.

The primary object of S. John's opening verses, however, is assuredly not that of setting forth the relation which exists between GOD the FATHER and GOD the SON. The Person of the SON Himself, in its most exalted phase, is that which the Evangelist sets forth as the foundation of his whole Gospel and Theology. Although therefore, the analogies so largely followed up by theologians are indirectly deducible from the manner in which the Person of the SON is here spoken of, they do not possess that force which they would if the relation in question had been the first object of the statements respecting the Word.

What has been written by way of following up the line of ana-

<sup>1</sup> In few words Plato's theory of the *Λόγος* was that it was mind or reason generated from or by *τὸ Ἀγαθόν* and yet was self-subsisting : that it contained the seminal principles of all existing things and the original "*οὐσία*" of all existences. He seems to have spoken of it as self-begotten before time began. But he does not appear to have attributed personality to the *νοῦς* or *Λόγος* of his system.

Plotinus and other followers of Plato use the simile of light in reference to the Platonic Logos, but the manner in which they use it is strikingly inferior to that of S. John. The Second Being, or Logos, is like the effulgence surrounding and emanating from the body of the sun, the latter representing the first Being or *τὸ Ἀγαθόν*. S. John's "Light" is the cause not the result of the sun's splendour, Light pre-existing ever, now gathered into the Sun of Righteousness—the Incarnate Body—for the use of this dispensation.

logy between a word and the speaker or thinker of it really helps us very little towards conceiving of the eternal relation between these Persons of the Blessed Trinity. Such analogies are powerful in a destructive sense, overturning objections raised by opponents of the received doctrine: but constructively they do little. Perhaps the most striking of all is that by which S. Augustine confutes those who said that if the Word were begotten of the FATHER, He Who begat It must have existed before It was begotten. Augustine illustrates the Catholic doctrine of eternal generation and co-existence by the generation of Light by Fire. The most modern discoveries of science do not falsify this analogy; for there is no reason yet to deny that where Light proceeds from Flame, its emission is perfectly coincident with the existence of the Flame which sends it forth or generates it. Nor can the most subtle science attribute to the Light the property of separate existence from the Heat, or to the Flame that of separate existence from the Light; and yet the Flame is one thing and the Light another. Thus the perfectly coeval existence of the two in one illustrates the co-eternity in one *ὕψιστος* of the "Father of Lights" and of "the Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." This analogy is also sanctioned by the *ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης . . . αὐτοῦ* of Heb. i. 8.

But neither of the theories named, nor all combined seem to offer a satisfactory solution of the problem. That there is truth in the analogies developed out of the idea last named cannot, of course, be denied in the face of so large a use of them by the Fathers and all later Christian writers. But while they are often extremely finedrawn, we cannot help thinking that, at the best, they ought only to be received as *illustrations* suggested by S. John's use of the term, and not as *explanations* of it. There seems reason to believe that there is a mystery in the application of this name *ὁ Λόγος* to the Second Person in the HOLY TRINITY, which neither patristic nor other explanations and analogies have ever penetrated; and that when we have established the identity of the Word with the SON of GOD, we have gone as far as we were intended to go by the Inspirer of the Gospel, and try in vain to show why the SON of GOD is named the Word and is the Word. That the holy Name JEHOVAH contains a mystery not wholly explained by the Eternal Being indicated in the inspired explanation "I AM," is a very common opinion: and it seems quite likely that an analogous mystery should attach itself to the distinctive Name of GOD the SON. In Isaiah ix. 6, it is expressly said that His Name shall be called "Wonderful," and the Hebrew word so translated is the same *סֵתֵר* as is translated "Secret" in Judges xiii. 18, "Why askest thou thus after My Name, seeing it is secret?" In Rev. xix. 12, it is also said of One Whom no one can doubt to be the SON of GOD Incarnate, that "He had a name written, that no man knew but He Himself," which mysterious

name, to be *understood* by no man until its meaning is revealed, appears to be the same referred to in the following verse,—“And His Name shall be called the Word of God.” This all seems to make it probable that “The Word” is a “New Name,” (Rev. iii. 12) assumed by the SON of GOD Incarnate with reference to His Eternal Individual Existence, but that there is a Mystery in It which will not be wholly, if at all laid open until the time when we shall “know in part” no longer, and see no more “as through a glass, darkly.” It seems sufficient for us to know certainly that the Word is a Person, eternally co-existing with the FATHER, by which Word all things were made; contented to believe that what lies hidden under that Name is not yet known; nor therefore, why it is used as it is by S. John.

But though the Name must thus, probably, remain inexplicable, a Mystery from first to last, the Person to Whom that Name is applied, is too clearly indicated to allow of any doubt: and some of the attributes thus given by S. John as proper to that Person, are stated in language which can only bear one straightforward meaning, attaching to Him the notions of a distinct Personality, and an Eternal Being. On this foundation the whole structure of the Gospel rests: and as a philosophical treatise it would plainly be illogical without it. But we cannot now go into the subject further, and shall conclude by pointing out that the sequence of ideas as they run in the first chapter of S. John, is no doubt the one we should follow in interpreting its meaning and the bearings of that meaning: and that consequently the ideas of Light and Life as essential attributes of the Word ought to precede that of its Incarnation. We may have something to say on these at a future time.

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## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

*Christian Vestiges of Creation.* By W. SEWELL, D.D. Oxford: J. H. and J. Parker.

THIS Essay is full of deep and interesting thought. Its purpose is to show the harmony which exists between the structure of the created world cognizable by our own reason and the laws of spiritual life revealed to faith. It is very suggestive. Its value would indeed be enhanced by more clearness of subdivision and arrangement of parts. Many of the points of especial interest in the controversy of the day are touched upon; but the mind of the reader is led from one to another without sufficient indication of the culmination of the argument. The following extract upon the subject of miracles, will be a good illustration of the general character of the volume.

“And so with his moral nature. Hope, fear, faith, the struggle against despondency, the fortitude of duty, the stern principle of right maintained in



the face of all hazards, courage, self-denial, the rejection of the sophistries of temptation,—none of these could find a place in a system where all was immutable, that is, in a system of fatalism. And supposing there be a God, and supposing that a knowledge of that God and communion with His nature be a good (it may be the supreme good of man, his highest felicity and noblest perfection;) and supposing for the purpose of forming man himself into a free moral agent (as was shown before) it be necessary that he should be placed at first far off, and out of sight of God, that he may learn to love and obey God as a free moral agent, not as a machine; and that therefore in man's present condition it is necessary to place him under a different power, a power like that of a foster parent, the power of nature; suppose all this (and there is nothing in the hypothesis which has not been shown already to be consistent with the facts of experience) and then comes out distinctly another point of view in which the interruption of the course of nature by occasional miracles is not only probable, but absolutely necessary. For how else can the eye and the heart of man be raised from the contemplation of that power of nature under which he is placed as a foster-child, to his real Parent, his FATHER Which is in heaven? It is nature, the material world, the sun, the earth, the air, the heavens, which warm, and feed, and clothe him, wrapping him round with a thousand tender influences, or terrifying him with a stern discipline. Beyond this he cannot pierce. What can save him from making nature his God, from regarding it as the depository of all power, as the source of all his blessings, as the ultimate object of his affections or fears, unless he is reminded by some power which overrules and suspends the authority of nature, that nature possesses only a delegated authority, is only a menial servant? Are not miracles, that is, the interruption of the ordinary power of nature by extraordinary interventions from Him Who is the Author of nature, absolutely necessary to reveal the existence of that Author, the real character of nature, the true relation of man to both, and therefore the duties of man to God, and all that depends upon those duties?

"Instead, therefore, of any antecedent improbability being attached to the occurrence of miracles, occasional miracles, they are in the highest degree probable; they would seem to be even absolutely necessary, necessary to the education of man.

"It is indeed equally probable, both from *a priori* reasoning, and from experience, that when carefully analyzed and traced up to their ultimate principles, they would be found perfectly compatible with the immutability of the system of the universe; not perhaps the system of the material world, but the system of that moral government of God which we cannot conceive to admit of any variation without impugning the perfection of the Divine Being, and almost denying His existence."—P. 71.

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Mr. FLOWER has done an excellent thing in translating S. Bernard's *Sermons on the Seasons of the Church*, (Masters.) On the two points on which English sermons so generally fail, viz., exactness of doctrine and depth of practical piety, there is no greater master than S. Bernard. The translation is at once faithful and idiomatic.

*Daily Meditations for a Month*, edited by the Rev. ORBY SHIPLEY, (Masters,) is one of the most useful of the compilations from ancient sources, for which we are indebted to Mr. Shipley. It gives real and substantial assistance in the exercise of meditation—one of the most difficult of our religious duties. This volume, however, is only an amplification of a manual for the same purpose, which we noticed in these pages some months ago,—they have, doubtless, been compiled from the same sources.

## ARCHDEACON CHURTON'S MEMOIR OF JOSHUA WATSON.

*Memoir of Joshua Watson.* Edited by EDWARD CHURTON, Archdeacon of Cleveland. In Two Vols. Oxford and London. J. H. and Jas. Parker. 1861.

THE succession of non-juring Bishops expired with Gordon in 1779, or at latest with Boothe in 1805, the former being the last of the original line, the latter the final prelate of the separatists who seceded in the year following the death of Gordon. But though as a party the non-jurors became extinct by the beginning of the present century, they left behind them a body of opinions which has never since failed to enlist numerous supporters in the Church of England. The Marriotts, the Sykes', the Daubenies, Jones of Nayland, W. Stevens, and others, may be considered as the descendants of those sturdy Churchmen to whom we owe many valuable contributions to religious literature, though they too often misunderstood the spirit of the age in which they lived, and thought too lightly of the enormous evil which was perpetuated by their anomalous episcopate. In a lax and latitudinarian age, when the divine constitution of the Church was almost forgotten, and shallow assaults on Catholic truth abounded, it was well that champions should be found who, without claiming power and privileges which their opponents would never have allowed, maintained with firmness a moderate orthodoxy, so to speak, and by their writings, their words, and most of all by their lives, recalled men to the duties of practical Christianity. Indeed, the chief merit of this party was its active piety, its energetic benevolence.

The true idea of worship and the correlative view of the priestly character was not realized by them. The Daily Service and the Weekly Eucharist had not been kept up by them so far as we know, in one single instance. They were strangers altogether, as we shall presently see, to the Catholic view of Absolution. Neither had the true tradition concerning the structure and arrangement of Churches been preserved among them.

The Laity in fact of the party seem to have been in advance of the Clergy. Men of business habits, many of them actually engaged in important mercantile pursuits, and building up large fortunes by diligent work, these representatives of orthodoxy were of the utmost use in organizing societies, raising subscriptions, attending boards, and generally in controlling the machinery of the various bodies which they themselves founded for the furtherance of the Gospel of CHRIST. The three great societies, for Promoting Christian Knowledge, for the Propagation of the Gospel, for

VOL. XXIII.—AUGUST, 1861. 2 Y

Church Building, owe their foundation and success to the efforts and liberality of this School of English Churchmen. With no immoderate reverence for the Fathers, and no deep insight into the mind of primitive writers, they professed and adhered to a primitive standard of doctrine, so far as they had fathomed the depths of antiquity; for the most part ignorant of ritual, and opposed to æstheticism, they approved of a decent solemnity in the details of divine service, and hated all that was slovenly and mean in the House of God. Understanding full well the value of riches, and taking no small pains to find safe and profitable investments for their own hoards, they yet spent their money liberally and unostentatiously in furthering the good cause. Therefore they were courted and welcomed by all societies and degrees of Churchmen: Archbishops, and stipendiary Curates; the grey-haired Professor, and the youthful undergraduate; the Prime Minister, and the new-made Member of Parliament, consulted their opinion, or applied for their aid in emergencies. They were at the head of all the great movements in Church matters, starting Reviews, editing Quarterlies, succouring distressed Germans, sending forth Bishops, founding Colleges, building Churches. But with all this that was excellent there was among them a narrowness of mind and a want of Catholic views, that much detracted from the good effects of their self-denying labours. And when the Oxford Tracts awoke to life the Catholic principle in the Church of England, and set before the world the almost forgotten doctrines of priesthood and sacraments, very few of the old Orthodox party cast in their lot with the new reformers; a small number gave them a hesitating and timid welcome, the larger body standing resolutely aloof, if they did not actually join in persecuting the bold writers, who had presumed to enunciate such startling propositions.

Archdeacon Churton has done good service in editing the life of Joshua Watson. It is not only the record of the acts and sayings of one now gone to his rest who played a noble part on the Church's side amid the apathy and infidelity of a past age; it is not merely an interesting and trust-worthy account of the wise benevolence and energetic charity of an English merchant; the work is also very valuable for the many notices of others beside the immediate subject of the biography. Thus incidentally we have many interesting accounts of the sayings and doings of Archbishops Manners Sutton and Howley; Bishops Van Mildert, Broughton, Inglis, Lloyd, and Blomfield; Drs. Warneford, Mill, and Wordsworth, ("the old master,") and others of that time both laymen and clergy, as the poet Wordsworth, Hugh James Rose, H. H. Norris, and Dean Lyall. The information thus conveyed is chiefly extracted from genuine documents, preserved with the utmost care by Watson, and to which Archdeacon Churton, as a near relation of the deceased, has had free access. It may thus be implicitly relied on;

and were it our wish to write simply an amusing paper, there is an ample store of well authenticated and novel anecdotes about eminent characters, which would make a very interesting article. But our space forbids this, and we must leave our readers to search for such things themselves.

Joshua Watson, the subject of the memoir named above, is a favourable specimen of the party which we have ventured to term the successors of the non-jurors. Descended from a race of Cumberland 'statesmen, who had for many generations farmed their own land, living a peaceable and primitive life among their native hills, and educated by a father who to habits of simple piety joined notable prudence in conducting mercantile affairs, the younger Watson grew up a quiet, religious youth, a painstaking assistant in his father's counting-house; and on the latter retiring from business he became partner in a wine-merchant's house in Mark Lane, where he amassed a considerable fortune. When this was accomplished, he withdrew altogether from his city occupations with the view of devoting his time to those charitable labours which had long claimed his best energies. It is not our intention to follow this good man through his home or public life. The one is a record of sobriety, patience, cheerfulness, love, and unaffected piety, the other is written in every munificent act that adorned his age, and in the far-reaching and remarkable success of those societies with which his name is indissolubly connected. We will here exhibit only some few of the beauties of his character and of his well-grounded opinions, and then briefly point to some sentiments and practices with which a more accurate theology and wider sympathies with Catholic truth would never have allowed him and those who thought with him to remain content.

Amid a life much blessed with temporal and spiritual advantages Joshua Watson always preserved a simple humility and an unaffected gratitude which it was beautiful to witness. Expressions of thankfulness and unworthiness often rose involuntarily to his lips. When old age chained him to his chimney corner, he could not help thinking over God's many mercies, and giving occasional utterance to the feelings of his full heart. His was a temper utterly free from gloom. Heavy sorrows only softened and made him more loving unto every man. The deaths of his wife and children, though his tender heart felt these several blows intensely, he received in meekness, and could thank God for His chastening affliction. Thus at the funeral of his wife it is said of him,—

"As to the chief-mourner, as he followed the bier out of the church, there was an expression upon his countenance which those who noticed it could never forget. It was literally 'a beaming eye,' which spoke the calmness of a heart in which love and hope had subdued all feeling but that of thankfulness."—Vol. I., p. 328.

Few men have worked harder at voluntary labours than Watson. As an example of a day's work take the following extract from a diary kept for a short time by his wife.

"Thursday, April 9, [1829]. Mr. Watson was at home the greater part of this morning in conference with Dr. Mill on Indian affairs; then with the Bishop of Barbadoes about West Indian concerns, chiefly Dame Mico's charity; then with the Bishop of Lichfield about church building. Afterwards, he and the Principal went to S. Martin's Library, and then he held conferences in the Park with Messrs. Campbell and Lonsdale on S.P.C.K. subjects. He and Dr. Mill returned to dinner, and the evening was passed in conversation."—Vol. I., pp. 301, 302.

If ever a public man had reason to be unduly elated by the approbation of others, that man was the subject of the present memoir. "*In te domus inclinata recumbit*," said Archdeacon Bayley on one occasion, adding that it was his conviction that if the Church was to be saved under the present danger, it was to be done through him. (Vol. II., p. 18.) Van Mildert could not write his Boyle Lectures without submitting every sheet to Watson and making full use of his criticisms. Bishop Blomfield assures him that the two great Societies cannot go on without his experience and judgment to aid in their management. While Archbishop Howley said publicly, that "there never had been an occasion on which the best interests of Church and State could be advanced or secured, when Mr. Watson had not been the foremost, both with his means and with his counsels to aid their cause." (Vol. II., p. 22.)

When we consider that the subject of these eulogiums was a self-educated man, voluntarily exerting himself in the cause of CHRIST, with no peculiar talents, no specially original genius, possessed of little but an earnest and single-hearted intention of doing his duty as a Christian, and spending his time, means and strength in the service of God, we cannot but be struck with the reflection that to be eminent in holy ways needs but the will co-operating with God's grace, and that high mental powers and intellectual training are in no respect necessary to win the suffrages of good men. While engaged in these constant occupations, Watson was often haunted with the fear lest he might lose his devotion in the merely mental and mechanical parts of his duties, and although his friends, whom he consulted on the subject, endeavoured to assure him that there was time for both public requirements and personal sanctification, yet his humility was such that he was never satisfied on the one hand that he was not doing sacred works in a secular spirit, and on the other that his ecclesiastical business did not interfere with individual edification.

To turn from his character to his expressed opinions, we are at

once struck with the soundness of his views on many important points of Christian doctrine and practice. There is something in them better and deeper than the so-called moderation of the *via media* party. While there is no doubt that he was a thorough Anglican at heart, he yet was never uncharitable to those who differed from him, and if he could not fully enter into their views, it was rather from lack of ability than of desire to do so. He was one day reading a sermon in which the writer implied that salvation was impossible in the Roman Communion.

“‘This,’ he said, ‘he would not only refuse to affirm, he would entirely deny; there had been too many great and holy men within her pale to make such an assertion tenable. This was very different from believing, as he did, that those who desert to Rome are in great danger. The faithful watchman must,’ he continued, ‘cry aloud and spare not, to stay the flock from straying, but it requires very great discretion so to cry as not to make a harsh and uncharitable sound in their ears.’”—Vol. II., p. 272.

Again, he was most consistent in his opposition to Dissenters. A proposal had been made to place a certain religious manual of Dr. Watts on the list of the S.P.C.K. To this Watson offered a most strenuous opposition. He saw many objections to admitting the works of separatists among the books issued on the authority of the Society.

“‘Nothing short of necessity,’ he said, ‘nothing but that spiritual destitution which amounts almost to a famine of the words of instruction could justify a society like ours in sending its members to be taught by members of dissenting communions.’”

And although he was at the time considered to be bigoted and illiberal even by those who usually acted with him, he persevered in maintaining his objection, and in the end won over his opponents to his own side. It must be observed that his opposition was directed not against the doctrines enunciated in the work under dispute, but against the anomaly of a Church Society sanctioning the works of writers of a separate communion. His idea was, to use his own illustration, that if the Israelites went down to the Philistines to sharpen their axes and plowshares, “it was only when there was no smith in Israel.”<sup>1</sup> In the same spirit he objected to unite in the services of the Presbyterian community in Scotland, doubting the validity of Sacraments administered by such ministers; he reasoned that he could have better hope of grace without the use of outward means than by employing such as deviated from CHRIST’s command.<sup>2</sup>

His views on the Sunday question were equally free from Puritanical bias.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. pp. 11—15.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii. p. 232.

"One who was in those years a constant guest in Park Street, and was to him almost as a daughter, has recorded her impression of this point of character. 'I hope I shall ever remember his exemplary manner of spending Sunday. One thing that strikes me is his determination to avoid all discussion of worldly business of *any* kind, while he allows and encourages mirth and even playfulness in the intervals of serious employment.' His feeling of the frame of mind required for keeping the Christian weekly festival was entirely in harmony with the well-known words of Tertullian, '*Diem solis lætitiæ indulgemus.*' He called it the day of Eucharist; and would sometimes say he could wish the daily service to be so restored, that Litany and Confession might be omitted from the public prayers on the first day in the week, and all the service given up to thankful joy and praise."—Vol. I., p. 238.

Of his Catholic feeling there is one notable instance in his endeavour to promote unity by supplying the impoverished Christians of Greece with cheap reprints of selections from the Fathers. He rightly deemed that by the revival among them of primitive doctrine, a nearer approach might be made to many points of Anglican Orthodoxy. Unhappily this plan came to nothing from lack apparently of efficient agents to carry it into execution.<sup>1</sup>

There is another point in which he shone conspicuously; and that is, his reverence for authority. To do nothing without the Bishop was with him a fixed rule of action. It is to this that we owe the principle which has governed the proceedings of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and which has won for it the support of Churchmen. Watson struggled hard to effect this matter both in the case of the above Society and in that for the Employment of Additional Curates, and in both cases successfully. Of his labours in the cause of the Colonial Episcopate we have little space to speak. His utmost endeavours were exerted to arouse the inert East India Company to do its duty in the matter of the Sees of Madras and Bombay. He even went so far as to urge that one Bishop should be sent out with an express commission to consecrate a specified Priest, and that these two should consecrate a third, thinking that an uncanonical act was a less evil than leaving those immense provinces without ecclesiastical rulers. With the same care for the cause of Christianity, he used his best efforts to provide for the Episcopate in Nova Scotia and Australia; and the Episcopates of Bishops Inglis and Broughton attest the success of his labours and the lasting value of his services to those countries.

It is an invidious task to point to the errors of good men, and one which, in the case of Joshua Watson and many of his friends, we should have been thankful to be spared. To sit in judgment on persons of such eminent piety, and so raised above the multitude by their Christian graces, may seem not only undesirable but presumptuous. Yet does their very excellence in most

<sup>1</sup> Vol. i. p. 225.

things make their failure in others more conspicuous. "A city that is set upon a hill cannot be hid." The more danger that exists of being dazzled by their virtues, the more needful is it to call attention to those spots which marred the perfection of their Churchmanship. Tried by the standard of the Catholic Faith, tested by the plain teaching of our own formularies, which modern ritualists and divines have so deeply explored, their opinions on some important points will be found to have been somewhat warped by prejudice and narrowed by insular exclusiveness. These are hard words: we proceed to justify them.

Let us take the general question of the Oxford movement, and see in what way it was accepted by these good men. There is indeed some difficulty in arriving at the opinions of Joshua Watson upon this subject. It was one on which he practised much reserve: in his own words, "daring neither to argue nor speculate" about it. At first he looked upon the authors of that movement as merely in some degree overstepping the limit of the just mean in order to escape the tendency in the opposite side; making the stick straight, to use his own expression, by forcing it in the contrary direction to that in which it had before been bent. But the later Tracts roused him from his position; and No. 90 occasioned him severe distress and apprehension. He thought that, being such a work as it was, it ought to have been written in Latin and addressed *ad clerum*, and that it was unfair to make such an advance to Rome without some corresponding concessions emanating from that Communion. Whether the argument of that Tract were true or false, he did not seem capable of deciding: the practical question of whither it led was the only point which affected him; and because in his view it looked Romewards, it was therefore unfit for public discussion and unjust to the Church of England. In a similar spirit he regarded the conduct of the Hebdomadal Board as necessary, and such as alone they could rightly have pursued. So he could justify the sentence upon Dr. Pusey, in 1842, in the following strain: "It passes no judgment upon doctrine, but silences the preacher, not as an unsound, but as an unsafe, teacher of the youths committed to his [the Vice-Chancellor's] academical care, under the existing disposition to fall away to the Romish Church,"<sup>1</sup>—a defence which seems to partake somewhat of the character of special pleading. At the same time he had no wish to narrow unduly the limits of Christian truth. He asserted that Vincentius' rule was not to be taken as though nothing was to be believed but what had been universally received,<sup>2</sup> but only in the sense that what has been universally received must be believed; and he gathered from the study of the *Catena Aurea*, the translation of which had just appeared, that "different opinions and the exercise of private judgment should be tolerated in the Church,

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 153.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii. p. 185.



since each of the Fathers is shown to have had some opinions not shared by all." It is difficult to see what ultra-Protestant or semi-infidel speculations might not meet the requirements of a rule so unlimited. It seemed to him a great error in Newman to insinuate that we can only receive the Gospel at the hands and on the authority of the Church;<sup>1</sup> though if the Church be the witness and keeper of Holy Scripture, it is obvious that we must look to her to maintain its genuineness and preserve its integrity. But unhappily the views of Joshua Watson's age did not rise much above regarding the Church as an establishment. He himself used the term persistently all his life. He thought that Bishops could not be better chosen than by the government of the day. Popular election would occasion confusion and display of party feeling; election by ecclesiastics would be too near a copy of the appointment of the Pope; there was, therefore, in his view no alternative but to give the selection into the hands of the ministers, believing "that the act of consecration would repair any defect in the appointment."<sup>2</sup> We have seen the difficulty solved more satisfactorily in a colonial diocese, where the Clergy and Lay-delegates have chosen a Bishop without the necessity of copying an Italian precedent, and with none of that unseemly partisanship which Watson so much feared. But like all practical good men, not blest with very logical minds, his principles were happily inconsistent with his actions; for he was one of the first to warn the National Society against becoming dependent upon the Committee of Council, and laboured diligently to deliver parochial schools from State dictation.

There was in fact a straitness in Watson's opinions which led him to look upon existing circumstances with too favourable an eye, and prevented his seeing the remedy which a broader view would have at once suggested. On the question being raised about the administration of Holy Communion to one long confined to the house, yet not dangerously ill, he thought such Communion would be inexpedient and an infringement of the law of the Church which only contemplated extreme cases. Certainly, in a case like this, "Chinese exactness" would lead to great spiritual deprivation. But there is no authority for interpreting the rubric so strictly. Watson himself felt that the rubrical directions of the Prayer Book required explanation, and bestirred himself to procure from the Bishops a set of injunctions or instructions for the guidance of the Clergy in their ministrations. We may be thankful that our episcopal rulers at that time offered a *vis inertia* which was not easily to be overcome. With the reverence for the practice of the last century on the one hand, and the deep ignorance of ritualism on the other, we might have received a series of rubrical interpretations which would have occasioned infinite harm to the Catholic

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. p. 194.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ii. p. 155.

movement, and have still further puritanized the public rites of the Church.

With the timidity of old age and its natural repugnance to trying new measures, Joshua Watson shrank from the experiment of Convocation. He expected the revival to lead to disputes and inconveniences, among which he reckoned the foremost would be the introduction of the question of the lay element, the very agitation of which subject "might create a schism in the Establishment."<sup>1</sup> In a similar spirit he opposed the introduction of Church Unions. The fear of party spirit outweighed all consideration of their utility as a rallying-point in perilous times; and while he apprehended the fostering of a narrow and factious temper, he forgot the real comfort and assistance that might be found in them, and that if, as was allowed, their leaning was Catholic, the accusation of factiousness was unimportant. With all his zeal for building Churches, he had little regard for ritualistic arrangements. In a country Church restored under his auspices, we hear of a gallery at one end, and of a new chancel filled with Sunday-school boys, farmers' servant-lads, and deaf and infirm people; and in the churches erected with his aid there was little improvement upon the Georgian type. On other points of ritual he was a little apt to give a decision without knowing the merits of the case. On one occasion when S. Matthew's Day happened to fall upon Sunday, the officiating clergyman read the Lessons for the latter. A boy present showed some token of surprise at the mistake, and after service Watson, who was unconscious of the irregularity, called him and asked, him, "Whose day is this?" The boy readily answered "The Lord's Day." "Then," replied the old man, "the servant cannot be before his Lord."<sup>2</sup> He termed the offering of alms at the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, the oblation,<sup>3</sup> an error which will at once show how little he had studied ritualism. And with regard to Absolution he was of one opinion with his friends Norris, Wordsworth, and Bishop Lloyd, rejecting all idea of inquiring into the reality of a penitent's faith and repentance, and seeing nothing in the *Absolve te* but an assurance to the person that if he repented he was forgiven! The power of Absolution was in their view nothing but one mode of preaching the word, conveying no grace, and conducing in no respect to the effect of what it declared! It must be said that such opinions were but a small advance upon the Puritanism of a past age.

But we have done. The good that Joshua Watson accomplished far outweighs the ill effects of his narrowness and deficiency in some other particulars. The former lives in the most lasting of all memorials, while the latter will soon be forgotten by all who revere personal piety and unostentatious charity. May those who have been trained in more Catholic ways endeavour to equal him in holiness, self-denial, simplicity, and love.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ii. 154.<sup>2</sup> Vol. i. 197, 198.<sup>3</sup> Vol. ii. 314.

## TEETOTALISM.

*The Origin, Nature, and History of Wine; its use as a beverage lawful and needful to civilized man.* A Lecture by CHARLES ELLIS. London: F. S. Ellis, 33, King Street, Covent Garden. 1861. Pp. 56.

MR. ELLIS is a wine merchant, who finding himself condemned in no measured terms by certain good men, naturally enough, and most rightly, sought out the grounds of his condemnation. Finding himself, as he thinks, in the right, he has made known this result of his inquiries in the above lecture; and we thank him for it.

The lecture is temperate, much more so than the language of the so-called "Temperance" party. Mr. Ellis states that "Scripture is the foundation on which his argument is built," and his use of Scripture is reverent. Unlike some "Temperance" gentlemen, he seems to think the Bible entitled to more authority than that of "the most ancient book in the world." The satire in the Lecture is all playful, and good-tempered; wonderfully so, if we consider how very much the teetotallers have exposed themselves to ridicule. It is quite fair to call the Temperance gentlemen "intoxicated with water," (p. 7,) but we wish they had not been called "drunken, but not with wine," (p. 18.) "Wine and new wine take away the heart," (Hos. iv. 11,) and it would really seem as if water had a power of enfeebling the intellect, if we judge from most of the Temperance writers. We have a pennyworth of "stuff" before us, a Catechism for Bands of Hope, by one Mr. John P. Parker, new and *improved* edition. It is in four Parts: Part I. is Physiological and Explanatory—two hard words for youthful Bands of Hope,—and therefore of great weight. In this part we learn for the first time that "the soldiers who carried bows and arrows were called 'Toxitons' (sic) as 'toxon' was the Greek name for 'arrow' (!) and the Greeks called poison 'toxicos.'" (P. 5.)

Part II. teaches us of "the Laws of health and chemical analysis." Here we learn that "Gymnastics (pronounced Jim-nas-tiks,) is not an English, but a *Latin* word" (!) These errors do not lead us to hope for much correctness in his "chemical analyses," which perhaps are carefully compiled. Part III. "Fermentative process and its results." Here Mr. Ellis would break a lance with Mr. Parker. Fermentation, according to the latter, is "a decay or decomposition," (pp. 17, 18.) This is the language of all teetotallers, who call fermentation "a destruction of the vital principle," and therefore maintain that it is "an invention of the

devil," since the "vital principle was instilled by God." Mr. Ellis maintains that it is no decay, (p. 12,) only a transformation.<sup>1</sup> With regard to medicinal properties, we may remark that the practice of treating fever with port wine and brandy has obtained of late years, and has proved most successful.

Part IV. treats of "the Wines of Scripture." Here we should hope for temperate statements, inasmuch as Mr. Parker says "it is not right to be positive, without proof," (p. 26.) However, it is to be feared we are mistaken: for we read here that "malt liquors were not manufactured in the times of which the Bible speaks," (p. 28.) Now this does not seem accurately true. In the first place, "It is not right to be positive without proof." Mr. Parker cannot take the absence of all mention as "a proof" of their non-existence. But we do find them mentioned. We read in some fragments of Hecataeus (cit. Athenæo) of the Egyptians τὰς κριθὰς εἰς τὸ πῶμα καταλέουσι, i. e., "they grind down barley into a drink:" so too Herodotus (ii. 77.) οἶνον δ' ἐκ κριθέων πεποιημένον διαχρῶνται, i. e. they use a wine made of barley: still of the Egyptians. What can this be but "malt liquor"? Now Hecataeus lived about B.C. 540, i. e. about the beginning of the Babylonish Captivity, and Herodotus about B.C. 480, i. e. about the end of the Babylonish Captivity, and we hope Mr. Parker need not be reminded that these are "times of which the Bible speaks." As Bishop Lowth says, "strong drink, or beer, it is well known, was much used in Egypt:" so that in a difficult passage, the Septuagint translators prefer rendering the word, which our Authorized Version renders "sluices," by the semi-Egyptian word ζύθος "beer," (Isa. xix. 10.) If the Egyptians from such early times were acquainted with malt liquor, we should be surprised to find that the Israelites, their intimate neighbours, were unacquainted with it. We shall hereafter see reason for supposing that "strong drink" includes "malt liquor:" on the other points of Part IV. we shall also say a few words presently. Dean Close lays himself open to misconstruction at least. Whenever he has, in his cathedral, or elsewhere, celebrated the Lord's Supper, he has uniformly used the words (unless he has garbled his Prayer Book, which we cannot believe) "these *Thy creatures* of bread and wine." Yet he is reported to have said that "*wine* is not a creature of God, the *materials* only are: and that he believes wine to be an invention of Satan himself." Does Dean Close always consecrate "unfermented liquor?" He is also reported to have said, "That there is a whole class of texts in Scripture pronouncing wine as the greatest curse, denouncing wine itself a curse." This is a stronger statement of what Archdeacon Jeffreys says: "On intoxi-

<sup>1</sup> It is a favourite saying of the Teetotallers, that it is the work of the devil to take what was intended for good food (grapes or barley) and make poison of it (wine or beer). Mr. Ellis has a paragraph which meets this: "The choicest grapes as fruit-food are generally the least worth for producing wine, and *vice versa*."

cating wines Scripture has denounced the heaviest woes."<sup>1</sup> Yet there is more truth in the assertion of the layman, Mr. Ellis, that "wine is nowhere condemned in the Bible," (p. 7, note.) As we have said, with all these weak points Mr. Ellis deals tenderly, in conscious strength; it is when argument is weak, and knowledge weaker, that assumption becomes strong.

The historical part of the Lecture seems well done. That which concerns the modern usage in wine countries is especially valuable as correcting a false view prevalent among some persons. When, however, Mr. Ellis comes to the Scriptural argument, we cannot help thinking he has not made the most of it. He might have strengthened his argument perhaps from authors of more acknowledged learning than those he has chosen. But perhaps he had a wise purpose in his choice.

The inquiry is assuming some importance. Mr. Ellis is right, we think, in saying that the physicians of the soul and of the body "have seemed to wait;" looking to the fruit to know of what kind the movement really is; relying on the promise "by their fruits ye shall know them." What fruit do we see in Teetotalism? Some men, ignorant indeed, but misled by this view, refuse to partake of the Lord's Supper, because of the fermented wine in the chalice. Some ignorant persons have therefore presumptuously taken on themselves to offer in meeting-houses bread and water, under the name Bread of Life, and water of Life. Alas! we fear they will find them bread of affliction and water of affliction. Thus men revive the ancient heresies of certain sects of the Gnostics, Encratites, Manichees, &c. 'Is not this fruit enough?' It is of no use for some of the leaders of the movement to say that fermented wine need not be consecrated, or that *they* would not mind (!) to partake even of consecrated fermented wine. The blind leaders say that wine is a creature of the devil—the blind led venture to refuse to partake of 'a creature of the devil,' even though blessed by the priest. Thus does the weak brother perish for whom CHRIST died. Truly we think the physicians have waited long enough; the tumour is ready for the knife: let it be cut out.

The physicians of the body have made their attack on the mistakes of the Temperance party in their paper (*Med. Times*, Feb. 8, 1861, quoted by Mr. Ellis); let not the physicians of the soul wait longer.

In the mean time, a very limited amount of learning will help us to understand the teaching of the Old Testament on this subject. There seem to be ten words in Hebrew used in the Old Testament denoting wine or strong drink. Of these some denote mixed wines. Let us first examine those that mean unmixed wines.

1. יַיִן (yayin) from root יָנַן (yāvan) to ferment (Gesenius). This

<sup>1</sup> Extracts from a Sermon on the wine made and used by our Lord. By Ven. H. Jeffreys, Archdeacon of Bombay; with notes by W. C. Walters, Esq., M.A., late Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge. London. 1845.

is the most common word for *wine*, it is used about 140 times. The meaning of the word itself is evidently fermented liquor, and we see from its use in the Bible that it was *intoxicating*. It is with this that Noah, Lot, Nabal, and Amnon were intoxicated; so too in Isa. xxviii. 1, overcome with wine (*yayin*) as also in Jer. xxiii. 9, and other places. The use of it is distinctly *allowed*. Melchizedek brings it (Gen. xiv. 28); Isaac drinks it solemnly in the feast of blessing (Gen. xxviii. 25); Judah is blessed with it (Gen. xlix. 11, 12); it is offered before God as a drink-offering (Exod. xxix. 40; Lev. xxiii. 13, &c.); the tithe money may be spent in it to be drunk before the LORD (Deut. xiv. 26); when the Nazarites' vow is expired he may drink it (Numb. vi. 20). See too Eccles. ix. 7, "Drink thy wine with a merry heart, for God accepteth thy works;" Amos ix. 14; Zech. x. 7; Isa. lv. 1, &c. Sometimes, certainly, it is *disallowed*; let us see when. To the *priest when ministering in the temple* (Lev. x. 9; cf. Ezek. xlv. 21), lest there be anything unseemly. This command occurs directly after the error of Nadab and Abihu; and some have therefore thought that their error arose from drunkenness (Blunt, Undesigned Coincidences), but we learn that there was no wine or strong drink consumed in the wilderness. (Deut. xxix. 6.) To *Nazarites under their vow*. Cf. Numb. vi. 3; Judg. xiii. 4; cf. S. Luke i. 15. *In Fasting*. Here we think Mr. Ellis is misled. (P. 16.) Cf. Isa. xx. 12; Dan. x. 3; cf. S. Luke v. 33. *To kings*. Prov. xxxi. 4; xxiii. 31, is evidently against voluptuous feeding of the eye to lust after much wine; like Job's determination (xxxi. 1). *Excess* of "*yayin*" denounced. Joel i. 5 (LXX. *οἶνον εἰς μέθην*); Isa. v. 11, 22.

2. **תִּירוֹשׁ** (*tirôsh*.) This is the next most common word to "*yayin*," "must, new wine, so called from its taking possession of the brain, fr. rad. **יָרַשׁ** (*yarash*) to occupy." (Gesenius.) This name here also implies intoxicating power, and therefore fermentation. We see that it does *intoxicate*. Hosea iv. 11; LXX. *μέθυσμα*. It is especially *allowed*. It occurs twenty-two times in blessing, "corn, and *wine*, and oil:" this is "*tirôsh*." It is offered to God, and therefore part of the inheritance of the Levites. Numb. xviii. 12: cf. Prov. iii. 10; Joel ii. 19, 24; Zech. ix. 17, &c. (LXX. *οἶνος εὐαδιάζων*). The word is used about forty times. There is a text which has been misused by the teetotallers in which this word occurs, and helps us to understand that the view of our friends is not correct. It is in Isa. lxxv. 8: "As the new wine is found in the cluster, and one saith, Destroy it not," a teetotaler expounded this to us as follows: "The new wine is the fresh unfermented juice of the grape, one saith, Destroy it not, i.e. do not make it ferment, and so destroy its vital principle." The LXX. translate *ὁ ῥῶξ ἐν τῷ βότρπῳ*, and so Lowth, "as when

one findeth a good grape in a cluster." The meaning being apparently, that where there is a blight in the vineyard, and the bad grapes, which would not come to maturity, are being destroyed, then a good bunch, which would swell and grow ripe, is discovered with joy; "destroy it not, for a blessing is in it: so will I do for My servants' sake, that I may not destroy them all." (Vitranga.)

3. שֶׁכָּר (shêkar). This word is the next most in use. It is used about twenty-two times. It is translated "strong drink" always, except in Numb. xxviii. 7, "strong wine," and in Ps. lxi. 13, it is omitted, "the *drunkards* make songs upon me." The LXX. use σίκερα, except in six places, where the word is μέθυσμα, or μέθη, and once οἶνος. (Ps. lxi. 13.) This word we believe to mean beer. Wickliffe translated it "cider," not unhappily. Gesenius says: "wine, or intoxicating drink like wine made from barley, or distilled from honey or grapes." So S. Jerome (cit. Meibomio): "Sicera Hebræo sermone omnis potio nominatur, quæ inebriare potest, sive illa quæ *frumento* conficitur, sive pomorum succo," &c. S. Jerome's testimony is especially valuable, from his living in Palestine. So Hesychius: "πᾶν πόμα ἐμποιοῦν μέθην, μὴ ἐξ ἀμπέλου δὲ σκευαστόν," "all drink producing intoxication, but not prepared from grapes;" therefore we see the reason why this word is so often used in juxtaposition with יַיִן (yayin), "wine and strong drink," i.e. in our modern language "wine and beer." So Pasor of this word: "Quilibet potus inebrians præter vinum sicut apud nos cervisiæ pinguiore," i.e. any intoxicating drink except wine, such as our modern stronger beer. Bishop Lowth, on authority of Theodoret and S. John Chrysostom, says that it is made from the fruit of the palm-tree among other things.<sup>1</sup> We have seen before that malt liquor was known in the times of the Bible. That this liquor was *intoxicating* we see from the meaning of the word. It comes from שֶׁכָּר to drink oneself drunken. Again we see this from its use in the Bible. Cf. 1 Sam. i. 15; Ps. lxi. 13, "*Drunkards* make songs upon me;" Prov. xx. 1; Isa. xxviii. 7; xxix. 9, &c. It is specially *allowed*. Deut. xiv. 26. The tithe-money may be spent in strong drink, to be consumed solemnly before the LORD in the place that He shall choose. Prov. xxxi. 6. The daily sacrifice morning and evening was to be accompanied by a drink-offering of sicera. Numb. xxviii. 7, 8. This too is sometimes *disallowed*. Like yayin, it is to *Priests* ministering, Lev. x. 9: also to *Nazarites*, Numb. vi. 3; Judg. xiii. 4, 7, 14; S. Luke i. 15: and to *Princes*, cf. Prov. xxxi. 4. *Excess* is condemned. Isa. v. 11, 22.

4. חֶמֶר or חֶמֶר (khemer or khamar), wine so called from its

<sup>1</sup> Bishop Lowth quotes Pliny to show the intoxicating qualities of this palm-tree wine. "Ab his cariotæ maxime celebrantur; et cibo quidem, sed et succo uberimæ. Ex quibus præcipua vina Orienti; *iniqua* capiti, unde pomo nomen." Plin. xiii. 9, for κάπος signifies stupefaction.

fermenting; fr. **חָמַר** (khâmar) to ferment (Ges.); the latter is the Chaldee form, and is used in Ezra and Daniel five times. In Isa. xxvii. 2, some read **חֶמֶד** (khemed) a vineyard of delight, instead of a vineyard of red wine. In Deut. xxxii. 14, it is translated in our version "pure." "The pure blood of the grape." *Intoxicating*. It is the wine used at Belshazzar's impious feast. There can be little doubt that this was intoxicating, and it is *allowed*. Deut. xxxii. 14.

5. **שְׁמָרִים** (shemârim) "lees of wine, dregs, so called because wine kept upon them preserved its strength and colour; fr. **שָׁמַר** (shâmar) to keep." (Ges.) So a nation retaining its strength in quietude for a long time is represented under the figure of wine on its lees. Jer. xlviii. 11. These would be the strongest part of the wine (Lowth), therefore God's wrath is represented under this figure, as maddening or *intoxicating* the heathen. Ps. lxxv. 9. Yet this is *allowed*, as it is one of the types of the joys of heaven. Isa. xxv. 6.

6. **עֵסִיס** (gâsis) "new wine, fr. root **עָסַף** to tread out." (Ges.) This we should think, from its meaning, was not an intoxicating wine, if there were any such. But we learn that it was *intoxicating* from Isa. xlix. 26. It is *allowed* from its being a type of the joys of the redeemed. Joel iii. 18; Amos ix. 13.

7. **סִבְחָה** (sôbhah) wine, from root **סָבַח** (sâbhâh) to drink to excess, to tope, (Ges.) used Isa. i. 22.

Such is the teaching about unmixed wines. Of mixed wines there are the following:—

8. **מִמְסָח** (mimsâch), from root **מָסַח** to mix. "Mixed wine," (Ges.) "It is remarkable, that whereas the Greeks and Latins, by mixed wine, always understood wines mixed with water, the Hebrews, on the contrary, generally mean by it wine made stronger and more inebriating, by the addition of higher and more powerful ingredients." (Lowth, Com. Isa. i. 22.) Therefore this word is used, Prov. xxiii. 30, for the drink of the drunkard. But this is not, as Mr. Parker would have us believe, (pp. 24, 25, of "A Catechism,") a different mixture from that of our Lord, under the mystical name of Wisdom, in Prov. ix. 2, 5; for the Hebrew verb is the root of **מָסַח**, and therefore the same kind of mixture is implied. That the Hebrews did not usually at all like the mixture of water with their wine may perhaps be seen from the only place in the Bible where such mixture is mentioned, Isa. i. 22. Speaking of the deterioration of the "faithful city," the prophet shows this by forcible images: "Thy silver is become dross, thy wine mixed with water." **סִבְחָתְךָ מְרוּלָה בַּמַּיִם**, "Thy wine cut off, impoverished with water." Therefore we may say (i.) that this mixture is *intoxicating*, Prov. xxiii. 30; (ii.) that it is *allowed*, Prov. ix. 2, 5.



This mixture was known to the ancients. Homer (perhaps about the time of David), in a well-known passage, (Od. iv. 221, seq.,) makes Helen compound such a cup, saying she learnt that from Polydamna, an Egyptian. This helps us to learn whence the Hebrews had the art.

9. **יִצְוָה**, from the same root as the foregoing, and with the same meaning, used Ps. lxxv. 9. Bythner says of it, "diluted, a mixture of wine and water." But this weakens the force of the passage considerably. The wine of God's anger is not weakened, but strengthened by the mingling. "In the Hand of the LORD there is a cup, and the wine is red, (or fermenting, **יִצְוָה**.) It is full of mixture;" mingled with drugs, it makes the sinners tremble and stagger under it. "He poureth out of the same," i.e., as some say, pouring the mixture from vessel to vessel, to thoroughly mix the stupefying ingredients; "but the dregs thereof," the strongest part, "all the wicked of the earth shall drink them, and suck them out." Cf. Rev. xiv. 10. There is also the word **יִצְוָה** with the same meaning.

Of all these words, not one can mean especially unfermented liquor; probably they do not mean this, excepting *perhaps* **יִצְוָה** in some one doubtful instance. Where unfermented wine seems hinted at, Gen. xl. 11, there is no word for such juice, as if there were none to express the meaning.

Thus we have seen the mention and approval of most of the words for wine. Some such liquor is mentioned about two hundred and forty times in the Old Testament, and, as Mr. Ellis says, is nowhere condemned. Of the fifty-two books in the Old Testament, there are only two<sup>1</sup> where wine is not either mentioned or alluded to, so common and universal must have been its use. Surely, if the anathemas of the teetotallers are in any way true, there would have been some warning against "this creature of Satan" (as they most impiously call it) in one of the fifty books where it is alluded to. There is warning against excess in this as in everything; but the use is everywhere allowed, and made one of the types of the spiritual refreshment of the redeemed. Where this spiritual joy is most prophesied of, there wine is most used, as in the Song of Solomon and in Isaiah.

If we turn to the New Testament, the rule is in no wise altered. Still we find the Nazarite not allowed to partake of "wine or strong drink," (S. Luke i. 15,) and "John the Baptist came, neither eating bread nor drinking wine." To this is opposed our Blessed LORD's practice, that which should be our guide, Who came "eating and drinking,"—eating bread and drinking wine, that is,—and therefore incurred the blasphemy of the Pharisees, who called

<sup>1</sup> Jonah and Malachi. In Malachi the vine is spoken of as a blessing. (Mal. iii. 11.)

Him a wine-bibber. Nevertheless He said not that He drank no wine; He never refused an invitation to a feast, or at least it is not recorded that He did. On the contrary, from the marriage feast at Cana to the feast at Bethany the week before He suffered, He was constantly to be found at feasts. His Apostle S. Matthew, when called, makes "a great feast," to commemorate the event. Whether with publicans, as Zacchæus and S. Matthew, or Pharisees, as Simon, our LORD is continually feasted; and wine formed no small part of a Jewish feast. Their great care in making the wine clear, and free from any flies, lees, &c., seems alluded to in S. Matt. xxiii. 24, "which strain out a gnat;" cf. Amos vi. 6, "that drink wine in bowls," διῶλισμένον<sup>1</sup> οἶνον, LXX., "strained wine." Wine was in common use in our LORD's time, yet He never spake a word against it. He knew full well that the present controversy would arise. Did He leave one word, one act for the teetotallers to allege? We think not. We allege His miracle at Cana; His eating and *drinking*; His allowing the title "wine-bibber;" His allusions to the custom without one word of blame, S. Matt. ix. 17, S. Luke v. 39, vii. 33, x. 34; His accepting wine as the type of the joys of His kingdom, as it was also in the Old Testament, S. Luke xxii. 30, S. Matt. xxvi. 29; lastly, His choosing out wine to be the means of conveying to our souls the inestimable benefit of His most precious Blood. Surely, if our Example did this, and we follow Him herein, and accept this "good creature of God," "drinking our wine with a merry heart," and thanking God for His gift, we might be spared the fearful denunciations of these misguided men.

They, however, wish us to believe that the wine made miraculously by our Blessed LORD was unfermented. They thus seek an answer to this argument of invincible strength. For "if there were not wine enough, there was enough water; yet the Holy Virgin complains of the want of wine."<sup>2</sup> The quantity was indeed great, one hundred and thirty-five gallons; teaching, as Dean Trench points out, that temperance lies in strong self-restraint, and not in scanty supply. As a King, He gave; as also in the miracle of the loaves there were fragments left; but the barley bread would not keep, therefore we may suppose the surplus to have been less.<sup>3</sup> But of this "good wine" there was a supply for the newly-married couple which would keep; He would not have made for waste—He would have made that which would keep, if so large the quantity. Mr. Ellis writes: "Wine unfermented required various artificial modes of care and treatment, (sinking under water, burying in the

<sup>1</sup> "It was a practice in ancient days to filter wine through linen, to render it less intoxicating, that the luxurious drinker might indulge in a larger quantity." Ellis, p. 29. This might be the reason why the LXX. translate τὸν πρῶτον of the luxurious drinker διῶλισμένον οἶνον. But as the strongest and most esteemed wine was "kept on the lees," the lees (λαῖς) would be filtered off (διῶλίζω.)

<sup>2</sup> Bp. Hall.

VOL. XXIII.

3 A

<sup>3</sup> Wordsworth.

earth,) and objectionable additions, (pitch, resin, salt,) to prevent either fermentation or decay; and then, at best, seemed a flat, heavy syrup, of doubtful merit, sometimes pronounced execrable." With this testimony, we have little doubt in declaring the wine to have been most probably fermented. S. Augustine says of it, that it was "*tale vinum, quod ebrius etiam conviva laudaret,*" as Dean Trench quotes. But this, perhaps, goes a little beyond what is necessary. However, the ruler of the feast acknowledges that the palate had been blunted by the previous drinking, which implies a rich "bouquet," as Mr. Ellis would say, accompanying this "good wine," to give rise to his commendation of it. Again, the Jews liked strong wine, and mixed it to make it stronger; and this called for especial remark as "good wine," (cf. S. Luke v. 39,) even at a marriage feast, where the guests might look for the best.

In the wine of the Last Supper they wish to discover unfermented liquor, with very doubtful proof. Archdeacon Jeffreys, indeed, lays great stress upon our LORD's words, "fruit of the vine," saying that the Evangelists do not use the word "wine." Is not this a rather shallow interpretation? Surely our SAVIOUR used these words most advisedly. He does not call It wine, for It had become more than common wine. It is the fruit of the vine, the Blood of the True Vine, the LORD Himself, of Whom we are the branches, (S. John xv. 1, 5); and this Fruit of the Vine conveys to our souls the true Blood of the Vine, which keeps up our Union with the Vine, and so our life. They wish also to found a little argument upon the ancient practice of mingling water with the wine of the chalice. Those, however, who would gladly hail a return to this amongst ourselves, need not be taught the deep mystery therein symbolised, (S. John xix. 34; 1 S. John v. 6.)

S. Paul's advice to Timothy needs but little comment: the teetotallers seem to feel the difficulty of the place to them.

If we leave the sacred pages, the history of the Church tells us of those who were held heretics for holding that meat and wine, &c., were to be refused, as works of the devil. We read of severe judgments being passed upon those who refused these good creatures, as affording countenance to such evil persuasions. So we read in Bingham (xvii. cap. v. § 19):—

"The Apostolical Canons order, that, if any bishop, presbyter, deacon, or any other clerk abstain from marriage, flesh, or wine, not for exercise, but abhorrence, forgetting that GOD made all things very good, unless he correct his error, he shall be deposed, and cast out of the Church."

The reason being—

"Many heretics, such as Manichees, Priscillianists, &c., pretended to be more spiritual and refined, because they abstained from wine and flesh as things unlawful and unclean. If, therefore, any clergyman so

far complied with the heretics, as either in their judgment to approve their errors, or in their practice, by an universal abstinence, to give suspicion of their siding with them, they made themselves obnoxious to the highest censure."

Again, Eusebius shows how jealously the early Church regarded abstinence from any of God's gifts, (v. 3,) where a holy man is spoken of who had lived a very austere life, and having been accustomed to live only on bread and water, endeavoured to live in the same way in prison, when he was suffering for the truth's sake. But when one Attalus had undergone the first part of his martyrdom in the amphitheatre, it was revealed to him that Alcibiades was not doing well in rejecting God's creatures, and leaving behind an example of offence to others. Alcibiades then, being persuaded, partook of all kinds of food without restraint, and blessed God for them.

We should follow this example and the precept of our Lord, "eating and drinking such things as they give," whether fermented or not. Every owner of a common aquarium now-a-days knows what provision the good providence of God has made for preserving in still water the wholesome properties necessary for the life of the fish. They know that in the clearest and purest water, the light causes a wonderful growth of vegetable matter, crow-threads, &c., and the water "ferments" in order that it may preserve its wholesomeness. Similarly apparently has the good Providence of God appointed means to preserve the excess of His bounty in the fruit of the vine, for man's use and comfort; and the juice of the grape ferments, and the wine makes man's heart glad, when otherwise the grape would not keep.

The Teetotalers mean well no doubt. So did John Wesley. Their followers have gone mad after an idea. We cannot hope to make them see their error easily; for like the Swedenborgian heretics they insist that they hold the true Key of interpreting Scripture. Their argument starts from themselves. Hence its weakness. All wine is wrong, they say. Wine is praised in Scripture, therefore it *must* mean unfermented liquor, or "nice palm-jelly," or some other compound which exists perhaps only in their fancy. This is not the way to approach the Bible. We must find out its true teaching and then make our view coincide with this.

We cannot omit the words of good Bishop Hall, who lived before this theory of Teetotalism was invented: "We have now more scope than the ancient; not drinking of wine, but drunkenness with wine is forbidden to the Evangelical Nazarite; wine, wherein is excess. Oh, that ever Christians should quench the Spirit of God with a liquor of God's own making!" and we will conclude with the inspired words of warning—"See thou hurt not the oil and the wine."

## MANSEL'S LETTER TO PROFESSOR SMITH.

*A Letter to Professor Goldwin Smith, concerning the Postscript to his Lectures on the Study of History.* By H. L. MANSEL, B.D.  
Oxford : Hammans.

WHEN persons go out of their way to seek triumphs they ought to be thankful if they are defeated. Men of quick genius and profound research in one direction of thought are apt to imagine themselves competent judges of all that can be matter of thought at all. Professor Goldwin Smith seems to have imagined that he could overthrow Mr. Mansel's Lectures by a few casual remarks. Many people in Oxford thought that he had got a triumph. Few readers think really about what they read, and so it comes that anything showy wins allegiance at once if it can get a hearing. It was not an uncommon thing to hear men say in common rooms that he had certainly "hit the blot." The writer of a well-known article in the *Edinburgh*, with the usual effrontery of a shallow and reckless partisan, had caught the idea of a victory, and heralded the same in his wonted epigrammatic style of broad misrepresentations. "We refer our readers to an admirable refutation of Mr. Mansel's attack on the Divine Morality contained in the Appendix to Professor Goldwin Smith's Lectures on the Study of Modern History." Certainly in these days we may look for anything anywhere, but the appendix to Lectures on Modern History seems an unlikely place for such a solemn work as the refutation of an elaborate system of philosophical blasphemy. It is not wonderful if a writer who undertakes such a great work as a mere appendix to his own proper work, which, however great in itself, sinks into insignificance beside the new endeavour, should find that he really had undertaken what he had not fully contemplated. It may be useful to other men besides the writer himself to find out that intellectual greatness is not sufficient for everything. Some there are indeed who have so long habituated themselves to inaccuracies under the excitement of a love of the graphic that they will be unable to gather the moral lessons deducible from the fall of their betters, but a really great mind can acknowledge its mistake without mortification, when it has transgressed its proper sphere, and earnest minds of an inferior calibre will learn that humility and caution are the pre-requisites of reverence, and that without these we cannot speak truly about God. It would seem indeed as if to some persons the Divine Nature were a mere thing to be talked about. Let us remember that it demands our worship, and our words are only valuable in as far as they conduce to the worship of the Divine Being. The "free handling" of Divine things must be

such as is consistent with a Divinity objectively existent, independent of our ignorant speculations. We must not think that we are free to determine eternal things by our convictions, because we sometimes may feel our presentiments baffled, when we look beyond the temporal sphere of our moral action and probationary discipline. It is true that man was created in the Image of God, but the possession of that Image did not invest the creature (even when yet unfallen) with the attributes, or qualities of the Creator. He Who is the Author and the End of all creation must stand towards His creatures in a moral position altogether distinct, inconceivably different, from that in which any of His creatures stand one towards another.

We must not think ourselves so to be existent in the image of God as to reduce our idea of the Godhead to an image of ourselves. Indeed, if we think that we have the Divine perfections thus subject to our comprehension, we cease, properly speaking, to believe in God at all. We may conceive of a supreme volition, the image of which we have in our own hearts, but if it is only an image of our own wills, surrounded by attributes such as complete the moral being of a creature, it remains within the region of the conceivable, and therefore we are forced to acknowledge that beyond it lies an inconceivable fate or necessity to whose blank supremacy the true idea of Godhead must be relegated. The Person Whom we worship as supreme among personal beings is not after all very and eternal God. The idea of a Fatherly Personality, Whose image we bear, cheers to the true Christian the dark abyss of necessity by which mere philosophical thought is cowed. In that personality we know that all moral excellence is to be found, the scattered elements of which comfort us even now amidst the struggles of the world. That moral excellence is a matter of joy to us because God has pleased to take upon Him our nature in order by a special union with Himself to fit us for the perfect contemplation of His goodness in another sphere of being. Faith rests upon God's Word as the safest means of knowing Himself, convinced that every human presentiment not only may be, but must be utterly at fault in such speculation. All that we know about God comes from the fact that He Who left not Himself without a witness while He remained unrevealed, and therefore utterly unknown, has been pleased in these latter days to reveal Himself by His SON. As yet we know only in part—and if any man think that he knoweth anything, he knoweth nothing yet as he ought to know.

We shall give an extract from Mr. Mansel's Letter, ably showing the inadequacy of human morality to be the measure of the Divine.

"But if not 'identical with,' is human morality 'adequate to measure' that of God? Here again, before I can answer, I must know

definitely what is meant; and, to do this, I must come down from the abstract to the concrete. I must take a special instance of Morality, such as Justice, and a special case in which the measure is to be applied. An act implies an agent; and the act of measuring supposes a person capable of applying the measure. Let us then suppose two men, both perplexed by the same difficulty in the declarations of Scripture concerning the ways of God. They read, for example, 'God sent His Son to be the propitiation for our sins.' The first exclaims, 'I cannot believe this: God's justice must be identical with man's justice; and man's justice requires that every one should suffer for his own sins, not that the innocent should suffer for the guilty.' The other says, 'I am not able to judge by this criterion: there may be facts of which I am ignorant, which, if I knew them, might show the apparent injustice to be really just: or there may be other attributes of God, whose action I can but imperfectly understand, which, if I understood them better, might perhaps explain this apparent anomaly.' Now, which of these two men, think you, makes the justice of man a rule 'adequate to measure the justice of God?' In my opinion, decidedly the first, and not the second. I take your own positive assertion,—'a fragment of a rule is no rule at all:—a measure which requires to be supplemented by something of which we are ignorant, and which therefore we cannot supply, is no measure at all in its present state.

"I am not inquiring which of these two men is right or wrong in his judgment;—which would be rather justified by a complete examination of the whole course of God's dealings with men, as declared in the facts of nature as well as in the assertions of Scripture. I am not going to repeat the argument of Butler's Analogy. I only want to ascertain, by an instance, what is meant by 'measuring the morality of God:' and as far as I can understand the meaning of words, it is what the first of these men does, and the second does not. I venture to ask, therefore, whether the assertion that human morality is not adequate to measure the morality of God, necessarily amounts to a belief in the 'immorality of God,' and drives God, truth, and morality out of the world. In other words, I ask, whether the conduct of the first of my two men is in all cases to be commended as moral and pious, and that of the second to be condemned as immoral and impious; whether the former is a laudable faith, and the latter a culpable suppression of doubt. If so, you have proved your case; but not otherwise.

"Perhaps it may be owing to the want of definiteness in your general axiom, that your special applications of it exhibit some strange misapprehensions and some very questionable deductions. Referring to 'certain actions attributed to God, of which the morality is disputed,' you speak of me as 'introducing a doctrine of moral miracles, which isolates the actions in question from the Divine nature and character, and thus saves the Divine morality in human eyes. It would have been more consistent,' you continue, 'to say that the actions, being instances of Divine, not of human morality, were not to be reconciled with our moral perceptions. A miracle in the ordinary sense is a breach of the natural law: a moral miracle, by analogy, must be a breach of the moral law. Why should not a criminal at the bar, instead of making a bad defence, say that he has performed a moral miracle?'

"I confess I never before heard that a miracle of any kind was an act isolated from the Divine nature and character. I never before heard it maintained that GOD, in working a miracle, in any way departs from the laws of His own nature; though He may depart from the ordinary mode of His dealings with men. No such idea was intended to be conveyed by my language, however the misapprehension may have arisen.

"The expression, 'a moral miracle,' is open to a sneer, and you have not been slow to avail yourself of the opportunity. But is the thing signified equally open? The thing is simply this: that a man may be justified in doing, by the command of GOD, an act which he would not be justified in doing without such a command. This assertion, as you must well know, is no novelty of mine; but a defence as trite and common as the attack. All that I have added to it is the assertion that there is some analogy between this case and that of a physical miracle; the point of correspondence being, that in both alike a result is brought about by Divine interposition, which would not have been brought about by the ordinary working of the law. Whether the law is in either case really violated,—whether the rule and exception may not be reconciled from a higher point of view,—is a question which has recently been raised with regard to physical miracles, and which cannot be adequately discussed here. Nor yet shall I inquire whether my analogy is better or worse than yours, according to which a moral miracle is 'a breach of the moral law'—an occurrence unhappily too common to be considered miraculous in any sense. Whether my analogy and the name taken from it are good or bad, this only affects the language employed, and not the doctrine which that language is intended to convey.

"In fact, your instance of the 'criminal at the bar' is simply a case of undesigned coincidence with a writer whom you will probably not be very anxious to claim as an ally. Tindal in his *Christianity as old as the Creation*, comments on the destruction of the Canaanites in the following strain: 'Would not people, if, like the children of Israel, they were destitute of a habitation, be apt to think what the Israelites did to the Canaanites a good precedent; and that they might invade a neighbouring idolatrous nation, that never did them the least harm, and extirpate not only men and women, but even their innocent infants, in order to get possession of their country? And I question whether the Spaniards would have murdered so many millions in the Indies, had they not thought they might have used them like Canaanites.' To this Waterland, in his *Scripture Vindicated*, replies; 'No one would, no one could, fetch in this as a precedent for ill practices, who was not beforehand resolved, with or without precedent, to commit iniquity. The case is a very plain case. If any have such commission as the Israelites had, such express orders from Heaven, then this instance is a *precedent* to act by, if in such a case they could want any: but if any men have no such commission as the Israelites had, then this is no *precedent* for their acting as the Israelites did.' What then is the value of your supposed case of the 'criminal at the bar?' In point of reasoning, it amounts to just this: Because a creditor, on a certain occasion, has released a debtor from his debt, therefore all debtors, on all occasions, are at liberty to repudiate their obligations, whether their creditors consent



or no. I scarcely think this consequence will hold good, either in Law or Logic.

"To another remark of yours—'If we know nothing of the absolute justice of God, what presumption is there that it will lead Him to redress the sufferings of the good in a future state of existence?'—I am almost tempted to reply, with Bishop Copleston, 'When this author asks, 'How can men know they shall be rewarded or punished in a future state, but from the consideration of God's justice,' I answer confidently, We know it from the Scriptures, and we could know it in no other way.'<sup>1</sup> At any rate, I believe that, had the Christian revelation not been given, men's 'presumptions' on this point would be now, after eighteen centuries, as dark and doubtful as they were before that Revelation came. And when, even in this nineteenth century, I see one disciple of an advanced school of progress arguing that the human soul, as having a beginning and a development, must necessarily also have an end;<sup>2</sup> when I find another assuring me that the belief in the remedy of wrongs in a future life is a great hindrance to repentance and amendment in this life;<sup>3</sup> when a third asserts that the belief in a true death, which completely ends the life of the individual, can alone render man capable of true religion and self-denial;<sup>4</sup> when a fourth proclaims that the last enemy that shall be destroyed by Criticism is the belief in a future existence;<sup>5</sup> when a fifth teaches that individual existence is the error from which it should be the aim of life to extricate ourselves;<sup>6</sup> and a sixth boasts of the moral superiority of a subjective immortality in the minds of others, over the old objective immortality which is radically selfish;<sup>7</sup>—I am thankful that God has not left men, even in this enlightened age, to grope after their future destiny by the feeble rays of their unassisted reason, whether speculative or moral."—Pp. 24—31.

We owe Mr. Mansel many thanks for his Letter as well as for his Lectures. We also thank Mr. Smith very sincerely for having drawn out this *positive* statement of his views from Mr. Mansel. It is precisely what many readers of the Bampton Lectures desiderated. Whilst upon this subject we would suggest the value of S. Chrysostom's Sermons upon the Incomprehensibility of God as directly meeting the controversy of the day. It would be a good thing if they were translated in an accessible form.

<sup>1</sup> "Enquiry into the Doctrines of Necessity and Predestination," p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> "Blasche, 'Philosophische Unsterblichkeitlehre,' §. 16.

<sup>3</sup> "F. Richter, 'Lehre von den letzten Dingen,' i. p. 107.

<sup>4</sup> "Feuerbach, 'Ueber Tod und Unsterblichkeit,' p. 11.

<sup>5</sup> "Strauss, 'Glaubenslehre,' ii. p. 739.

<sup>6</sup> "Schopenhauer, 'Die Welt als Wille,' ii. p. 494.

<sup>7</sup> "Comte, 'Catéchisme Positiviste,' Préface, p. xxxvi."

## S. JOHN'S IDEA OF THE PERSON OF CHRIST.

## No. II.

SCIENCE has hitherto been thoroughly baffled in its inquiries as to the origin of life. It can tell us accurately of what essential elements all organic substances are composed, and how they are combined together, but it cannot tell us what constitutes the difference between those organic substances living, and the same dead. Again, science can tell us that there are certain things beside those component elements without which life becomes impossible, that no animal or plant can live *in vacuo*, and that so air is necessary; that desiccation soon reduces all living tissue to dead ashes, and that so water is necessary: it can point also to certain forces which are equally essential, as heat, and electricity, and a supposed nervous fluid: it can lay its hand besides, upon certain functions, as respiration and the pulsation of the heart, and say that they are absolutely indispensable conditions of animal vitality, as some analogous functions are of vegetable life. But it cannot say that air or water, heat, electricity or the nervous fluid are life: nor will it venture to assert that the mechanical movements by which the blood is circulated and oxydized are more than the results of some hidden power, the secret of which is as yet undiscovered.

In the same manner all the powers of science have hitherto proved ineffectual to a solution of the great problem of reproduction. We can no more tell now, how it is that any animal obtains its life than we could hundreds of years ago, before anatomy and physiology had any real existence. We may theorize on the subject, but we cannot support our theories with one real proof: and if we are honest, must confess that the springing up of life in any animal or vegetable embryo, is as much a creational miracle wrought by some higher power to the eyes of our modern science, as it was to the eyes of our ancient ignorance.

There is then a *tabula rasa* in this nineteenth century so far as science is concerned, as much as there ever was, on which to write the words of S. John respecting the Personal Eternally Existent Being Whom he calls the WORD, when he adds, "In Him was Life." If we were at once to take the statement that "all things were made by Him," we might be met by theories of creation, which would be entitled to respectful hearing; but here there is no such theory, and the man of science can hear what the theologian has to say without feeling that the ground of argument and evidence has been so strongly pre-occupied as to make all such argument and evidence unconvincing; even though he may feel, after all, that the appeal is made rather to a reason of which faith forms a compo-

nent part,—a Christian reason,—than to the wholly self-reliant faculty which too often goes by that name.

And when the Divine writes these words on the *tabula rasa* of our knowledge, or more properly speaking, of our ignorance, he seems to us to declare a fact respecting life in the physical world as well as in the spiritual. That there must be a connection of idea in the statement that “in Him was life,” with the previous assertion that “all things were made by Him” is clear ; and no one doubts that the latter statement refers to the physical creation ; nor do we see how we can do otherwise than consider them both as having such a reference and bearing. We do not, of course, mean to imply that the words apply to physical creation and physical life only : nor do we assert that we are to go to those writings for scientific information—however much such information may set forth the glory of God—which were given to us, primarily, for another purpose. But there is a peculiarity about some portions, at least, of Holy Scripture, which drives us to the alternative of attaching the highest importance to the literal truth, of every word, or else of attaching no value to them at all. In this opening passage of S. John's Gospel, for example, there is a kind of information given of which no human being could have had any knowledge from his own experience or observation. It is either information derived from the Eternal Being, Who only knows what took place “In the beginning,” or it is the mere speculation of the human writer. If it is information derived from God it is essentially true, and any apparent difficulty about it should be reckoned of less weight than the apparent general meaning, because the difficulty is consistent with our want of knowledge on the subject, while the dogmatic assertion is also consistent with a vast store of reserved knowledge of it on the part of Him from Whom the assertion comes.

We will illustrate this latter point by a comparison drawn from the almost every-day experience of busy and intellectual men of the world. It sometimes happens in political life that a responsible minister is compelled by reasons of state to give some important information in a few terse words unsupported by any evidence or explanation. Not unfrequently such a mode of statement fails to satisfy many minds, especially among his opponents, as to the absolute and simple truth of the information conveyed ; and the minister has to listen in silence to all kinds of speculations, which he could at once set at rest, and perhaps to contradiction, which he could at once disarm by means of detailed knowledge on which his assertion was really founded, and which his critics do not possess. At a future day, perhaps, the reasons for silence have passed away, the few dogmatic words are supported by a volume full of corroborative despatches and correspondence, and we are then able to see how much real knowledge and authority was condensed into the few words which were spoken, and which were disbelieved

or doubted because they seemed improbable, or because they were unsupported by evidence. Thus too, a flood of light is thrown upon the original words, and<sup>d</sup> also upon many other words and actions, to which those words now prove to be the key: and wise men are strengthened in the conviction that it is sometimes as wise to believe what is dogmatically asserted by those who are responsible for the results of their statements, and who probably possess information in support of those statements far beyond what they disclose, as it is in other cases to ask for full and minutely detailed proofs and explanations.

By this illustration we would suggest that on similar grounds we ought to accept in their simple form the words of which we are now treating, which assert that in the WORD was life. They are not the speculative conjecture of S. John, but they depend on far higher authority, an authority to which it is unreasonable for us as reasoning men not to bow. They are in fact a dogmatic statement of the nature we have indicated by the comparison just used; a statement made upon a subject of which neither S. John nor any one else could have information except from God Himself; and they are given by God out of the fulness of an Omniscience which comprehends infinitely beyond what He discloses. Our reason and powers of research fail when they try painfully to solve the question, What is life, and whence does it come? But God knows what and whence life is without research or reasoning. We do not say that He has imparted to us so much of His knowledge that we can, even by the light of the information given, solve these questions altogether: but we maintain that He has imparted to us some portion of that infinite knowledge, that what He has told us must be absolutely true, and that however improbable it may at first appear, it is certainly uncontaminated by the smallest grain of speculation or ignorance.

But that which we are thus maintaining of these few words, must also be maintained of much else in Holy Scripture. It must, in fact, be maintained of everything which can be concluded on satisfactory evidence to be substantially a communication from God. At present, however, we are concerned only with such communications as bear upon the subject immediately before us; and we do not expect to be under the necessity of using any portions of Holy Scripture which can be accounted otherwise by fair and well-informed critics.

The fact declared by the Divine, then, is this. There is a Person Whom He calls the WORD, a Person elsewhere known as SON of God, and Son of Man. In this Person the writer declares "was life," both that life which as the animating principle of our bodies we call physical or natural, and that which we call spiritual life because it is connected with our relations to the unseen world.

It is a very natural sequence of ideas by which we are led on to

this statement about Life through the statement about creation. The first function attributed to the Ever-Existing Word is Creation, because it is of His connection with a created world that the writer is about to treat in the subsequent pages of his Gospel : and the first quality attributed to the Creator is that of inherent and independent Life because all the created world teems with present life and with the memorials of former life, so that there is hardly anything in the world of which we can say certainly that it has not at some time or other been endowed with that gift.<sup>1</sup> And, moreover, as when the work of creation is spoken of, He is said to have made all things, that "all" (πάντα) including matter of every kind, organic or inorganic, but excluding Himself; so here in the statement that "in Him was life," it is signified that the origin of all life in all living things, that is all organic life from its lowest form to its highest, is to be traced up to the Being without Whom (χωρὶς αὐτοῦ) nothing came into existence that has a beginning of existence at all. And thus, it is evident, the philosophy of S. John connects closely together the Creative Power, and the Original Life which he attributes to the WORD.

The principles of that philosophy are to be traced in not a few places of the revelations which were made through holy men of old by the same Revealer who was now unveiling His mysteries to clearer view by S. John. Christian writers of good judgment<sup>2</sup> have generally concluded that some striking passages in the Old Testament in which the Word and Wisdom of God are spoken of ought to be taken as referring to a personal Being, the same Who is called the Word by S. John. When David chanted his praises "to Him that by Wisdom made the heavens ;"<sup>3</sup> or sang, "O LORD, how manifold are Thy works, in Wisdom hast Thou made them all ;"<sup>4</sup> or, "By the Word of the LORD were the heavens made, and all the host of them by the Breath of His mouth ;"<sup>5</sup> he was (probably unknown to himself) proclaiming a truth known to the Omniscience of God, but as yet revealed only in mystical phraseology, respecting the Office of the Eternal SON. Such too, is the same consistency of the language of revelation when Solomon is the instrument by which it is conveyed to us ; "the LORD by wisdom hath founded the earth ; by understanding hath He established the heavens ; by His knowledge the depths are broken up, and the clouds drop down the dew ;"<sup>6</sup> "wisdom giveth life to them that

<sup>1</sup> This is illustrated strongly by the well known discoveries of Ehrenberg, who proved that a very abundant hard mineral was made up of the mineralized remains of infinitely minute animals. Very modern theories have been started which make out that organic life has sprung originally from inorganic ; but the tendency of such discoveries as these of Ehrenberg is to lead to the opposite opinion.

<sup>2</sup> And we know not why their conclusions of this sort should be less valuable than those of writers who profess not to be biassed by their Christianity or not to possess any.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. cxxxvi. 5.

<sup>4</sup> Ps. civ. 24.

<sup>5</sup> Ps. xxxiii. 6.

<sup>6</sup> Prov. iii. 19.

have it ;"<sup>1</sup> passages the force of which can hardly be denied when it is remembered how distinctly the same writer personifies Wisdom throughout the Book of Proverbs. We do not indeed cite them as proving anything by themselves, but as confirming the truth afterwards given in more direct language, by showing that many things had been said before by the inspiration of God, which have a more than accidental appearance of consistency with it.

Of a similar character is the evidence given by the record of the first creation of man ; which seems very distinctly to imply in the manner by which the creational act that gave life to man was accomplished, that it involved some direct communication of the substance of the Creator. As it was the Spirit of God moving upon the face of the waters by which light and life came to the world, so it was the breath of God by which the as yet inanimate body of clay became a living man. Perhaps before the Mosaic record existed such a tradition of the truth was current among men, or else was put into their thoughts by God, as when Elihu said of man's origin, "The breath of the Almighty hath given me life :"<sup>2</sup> for certainly it is not a thought that would come unprompted into the mind. Perhaps too such a mystery of our physical life is told us in the saying of Moses, afterwards endorsed by our Lord, that "Man doth not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of the Lord doth man live."<sup>3</sup> And thus there may be the most literal truth in the words by which S. Paul strove to raise up the philosophic Athenians from nature-worship to a knowledge of the supernatural, when he said to them, "He is not far from every one of us, for in Him we live, and move, and have our being :"<sup>4</sup> or in those of the Psalmist when he said, "Thy Word hath quickened me ;"<sup>5</sup> and "With Thee is the Fountain of Life."<sup>6</sup>

It may further be observed that life is always connected with the highest ideas of sacredness, whether in respect to the all-holy Fountain of Life Himself or to the life of sinful man. The most exalted Name of God which is revealed to us is that one which contains the idea of perpetual life, a life eternal in the past, present, and future : and that name is not seldom applied to the Son of Man in the New Testament, in a more or less direct manner ; as in S. John iii. 13, "the Son of Man *which is* in heaven," where the very word *ὁ ὢν* is used, signifying "the Son of Man, the *ever existing One*," which is used by the LXX. in their venerable Greek version for the name "I am," in Exod. v. 14. The most sacred oath of all oaths, too, is when the ever-living One swore by Himself, "As *I live*, saith the Lord." And since the Fountain of our life is thus the essentially holy God, no wonder that the stream of life which flows down thence into this lower world of nature should also be

<sup>1</sup> Eccles. vii. 12.<sup>2</sup> Job xxxiii. 4.<sup>3</sup> Deut. viii. 3 ; S. Matt. iv. 4.<sup>4</sup> Acts xvii. 27, 28.<sup>5</sup> Ps. cxix. 50.<sup>6</sup> Ps. xxxvi. 9.

accounted sacred, whether it flow in man or in other creatures. Hence among the earliest laws given to the human race we find the strongest expressions used on this point. When permission is given to Noah and his posterity to eat of "every moving thing that liveth," a restriction of the licence is added in the words, "but flesh *with the life thereof*, which is the blood thereof, shall ye not eat;"<sup>1</sup> a command illustrated by the subsequent law given to the Israelites, in which it is said that blood "is the life of all flesh; the blood of it is for the life thereof; therefore I said unto the children of Israel, ye shall eat the blood of no manner of flesh; for the life of all flesh is the blood thereof; whosoever eateth thereof shall be cut off."<sup>2</sup> And later still by the Apostolic injunction to the Gentile Christians who were to be set free from all merely Jewish observances, that they too must "abstain from blood"<sup>3</sup> as one of the "necessary things" enjoined them. And if sacred in the lower animals still more in man, "surely your blood of your lives will I require; at the hand of every beast will I require it, and at the hand of man; at the hand of every man's brother will I require the life of man. Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed: for in the image of God made He man."<sup>4</sup> Why was life thus to be respected in all creatures but because it is something more than a gift from God only, which might be dealt with as other gifts are? It was indeed not a gift only, but a gift of that which has its origin and home in the Person of the One true and essential, and ever-abiding Life Himself. As time is born out of eternity, and space out of infinity, and yet we cannot truly say that they are parts of that which has no measure, so the life of all living creatures is hewn out of the life of their Creator, and yet we cannot define the exact relation which exists between their life and His. For the life of every living creature is the life of God, and yet no creature is God. Time comes out of eternity, and yet eternity is complete and undiminished: it will be absorbed into eternity again when "Time shall be no longer," and yet eternity will not be increased. So the drop of life is lent to the stream on earth from the fountain of life on high, and yet that fountain is not less full: it re-ascends thither when "the spirit returns to God Who gave it," and yet there is no increase in the Life eternal and immeasurable through its re-absorption into the ever-existent One from Whom it originally flowed.

It is this great truth, expressed in Holy Scripture by such words as those of S. John, "In Him was Life;" or of S. Paul, "In Him we live, and move, and have our being;" or of our LORD Himself,

<sup>1</sup> Gen. ix. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Levit. xvii. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Acts xv. 29.

<sup>4</sup> Gen. ix. 5, 6. It used to be the practice in England to put to death every animal which had caused the death of any person through viciousness or anything but mere accident. The animal was confiscated as a deodand, and we suppose on the principle enunciated in the words, "at the hand of every beast will I require" the blood of man's life. The practice does not seem to be observed of late years.

"I am the Life," it is this great truth of which the enduring dream of Pantheism is a distorted shadow. That God is everything, and everything is God, is but a perversion of the fact that in every living creature the principle of life is Divine; and that our very life itself is a proof that God is "not far from every one of us." Deep down in the instincts of mankind in all ages has lain their irradicable belief that God is everywhere. The modern American Indian intuitively recognizes the presence of Deity in the skies, the streams, the forest, the prairie, with which he is familiar, and which command his awe, just as the refined heathen of old recognized the same Presence with less purity in their gods of the woods, the waters, and the household. Wherever man lives or ever has lived, he has never failed to have with him in some way the conviction that God is present to him: and so the powers of universal nature have often been taken for Him, the manifestations of the Person for the Person Himself. Yet all have failed in reaching the Gospel idea of God in nature, the idea that it is His Life by which the whole of the animated world is vivified; and have failed to see that the highest presence of God in nature is the presence of that life in ourselves which links us on to the highest existence of the universe, and forms the mysterious bond between our invisible and our visible being.

We conclude then the subject immediately before us in the present portion of this article by summing up what we have already said, that there is evidence given to us in the Holy Scripture which goes far towards proving that the great problem of what is life is solved by the statement that life was and is in God the Word: that He is the fountain and origin of all vitality in all His creatures: that whatever the functions and laws by means of which, and in subjection to which any of them attain to substance and form, they each live, not through those functions or laws, but through a direct creational act by which each being receives its life out of the Fountain of His life, as the earth receives light and heat from the sun. And as the movement on the electric dial-plate ceases if its communication with the source of power is cut off, so what is called the extinction of the spark of life is in some manner the breaking of communication between the thing which has hitherto lived, and moved, and had its being, and that fountain from which its life, and motion, and being has been derived. Such ideas of physical life will give us great reverence for it, and will form the ground of many good actions, as they will furnish a restraint upon many bad ones. They will also help us towards a conviction that if our physical being is thus mixed up with the supernatural and the Divine, it is not irrational to look for the same supernaturalism and divinity in that less tangible region of which our Lord Himself said, "My kingdom is not of this world."

And thus we are led on to that higher mystery which has been



brought to light by the Gospel, that the Person of the WORD, the Eternal SON of GOD, is the Fountain of all supernatural existence in the spiritual world as well as in the physical, the Divine Life Giver or quickening spirit of our souls, as well as the source of life to our bodies. Were there nothing else to distinguish the writings of S. John, and especially his Gospel, from other portions of the New Testament, this must be a distinction that no thoughtful reader could pass over, that they abound so with references to this subject. We have altogether omitted hitherto to notice the many places in which the Divine takes up the key-note which he has sounded in the opening of each of his separate writings, because the application which such texts may possibly have to physical life must necessarily be brought out when considering them afterwards in greater detail in reference to their more evident application to the spiritual life which belongs to CHRIST's kingdom: and we shall only quote them now in illustration of the subject generally, previous to its future examination at greater length.

Taking the writings of S. John, then, in their probable chronological order, we find the Book of the Revelation open with a chapter in which the Divine is brought into the Presence of "One like unto the Son of Man," whom he describes by glowing symbols of His present glory and Majesty. The eighth verse appears to be a statement of the theme on which the book is to be founded, that CHRIST, the "Alpha and Omega, the Beginning and the Ending, Which is, and Which was, and Which is to come, the ALMIGHTY," is the Person the relation of Whom to Christians is to form the subject of the prophecy: but this verse is evidently an epitome, by anticipation, of words which are afterwards given as the actual words of the Alpha and Omega speaking to His prophet. And in those words, in which the "One like unto the Son of Man gives to His servant a description of His essential attributes, it is to be observed that as Eternity is the first, so Life is the second, and the power over "Hell and Death" the third: "Fear not; I am the First and the Last: I am *He that liveth*,<sup>1</sup> and was dead; and, behold, I am alive for evermore."<sup>2</sup> And the Person thus introduced is kept constantly before the eye in this wonderful Vision as the Originator of that spiritual existence which is called the "water of life," or the fruit of "the tree of life," and which is so intimately bound up with the ideas of probation, judgment, and reward, which run through the various scenes, real and symbolical, that are there represented.

This "Living One" of the Revelation, then, is clearly identical with that "Word of Life" "which," S. John says in his First Epistle, "we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled;" which he also calls "the Life," "that Eternal Life, which was with the FATHER,

<sup>1</sup> "ὁ ζῶν," the Living One.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. i. 18.

and was manifested unto us :"<sup>1</sup> and concerning which<sup>2</sup> that Epistle is written ; so that when he sums up the whole subject, his summary begins, "This is the record, that God hath given to us eternal life, and this life is in His SON."<sup>3</sup> It is the same also as "Him that is true," Who is named as the "SON of GOD," and GOD'S "SON JESUS CHRIST," at the end of the Epistle ; and of whom the writer concludes with the solemn words, "This is the true GOD, and Eternal Life. Little children, keep yourselves from idols ;"<sup>4</sup> as showing forth Him as the true source of all spiritual existence, and therefore the true Object of worship.

And if we go to the Gospel, the latest of S. John's writings, there we find perfect consistency with such ideas as those which occur as the leading ideas of the Revelation and the General Epistle. Starting with the Eternity and Godhead of the Word, the Evangelist declares, "In Him was life ; and the life was the light of men ;"<sup>5</sup> and important words of our LORD as recorded by him declare the same truth. Thus, in asserting that He really was what the Jews had thought it blasphemy for Him to say, "equal with GOD,"<sup>6</sup> it is the "quickenening" or life-giving power of Himself as well as of the FATHER to which He points as the proof. And going on, as was our LORD'S custom, to still harder sayings, He declares, "For as the FATHER hath life in Himself, so hath He given to the SON to have life in Himself."<sup>7</sup> Nor was this the only occasion on which our LORD thus assumed this Divine form of self-assertion ; for at the grave of Lazarus He said with even more directness of meaning, "I am the Resurrection and the Life ;"<sup>8</sup> and again, "I am . . . the Life,"<sup>9</sup> when He was bringing His Apostles by means of His last discourse to a more perfect recognition of what He was.

Thus there is a perfect consistency of expression running through all the writings of S. John, with reference to our LORD as essential Life ; and the same may also be observed with respect to the relation declared to exist between Him and men. So the opening theme of the Gospel which declares that "the Life was the light of men,"—indicating such a relation, though leaving the indication of it under some mystery,—is borne out by such sayings of our LORD'S own, as "the SON quickeneth whom He will,"<sup>10</sup> "the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of Man, and they that hear shall live ;"<sup>11</sup> "I am come that they might have life, and have it more abundantly."<sup>12</sup> And again, these sayings are plainly the foundation for the doctrine set forth in the General Epistle as well as in

<sup>1</sup> 1 S. John i. 1, 2.

<sup>2</sup> *περὶ*. This "of" is not very intelligible in our English Version at the present day, as our modern way of expressing the meaning intended, is by the word "concerning," as we have here used it. "De Verbo Vitæ" is the Latin of the Vulgate.

<sup>3</sup> 1 S. John v. 11.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* v. 20, 21.

<sup>5</sup> S. John i. 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* v. 18.

<sup>7</sup> S. John v. 26.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* xi. 25.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* xiv. 6.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* v. 21.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* v. 25.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* x. 10.

the Gospel by S. John's words, "God sent His Only-Begotten SON into the world that we might live through Him;"<sup>1</sup> "these are written, that ye might believe that JESUS is the SON of God; and that, believing, ye might have life through His Name;"<sup>2</sup> and with awful distinctness in another passage, "He that hath the SON hath life; and he that hath not the SON of God hath not life."<sup>3</sup>

Such expressions speak of the relation between our LORD's essential Life and the life derived to us from Him, in the abstract: there are others, however, which speak of it in other ways, still pointing out the great gift of God to us as a gift of life in connection with the Person of Him Who said, "I am the Life." Some of these may be found, of a very direct character, in the chapter of the Gospel which follows our LORD's great declaration of His own life-giving power, and equality with the FATHER, and in which the miracle of feeding the five thousand is narrated. "The Bread of God," said our LORD, "is He which cometh down from Heaven, and giveth life unto the world;"<sup>4</sup> and when those who heard, looking for some gift at His hands, such as the manna of their ancient history, said to Him, "LORD, evermore give us this Bread," He replied by drawing their thoughts to His own Person, "I am the Bread of Life;" and, after more of their doubts, He repeats the assertion, with the solemn preface, "Verily, verily I say unto you," declaring, "he that believeth on Me hath everlasting life. I am that Bread of Life:"<sup>5</sup> "I am the Living Bread . . . the Bread that I will give is My Flesh which I will give for the life of the world."<sup>6</sup> . . . Except ye eat the Flesh of the Son of Man and drink His Blood, ye have no life in you. Whoso eateth My Flesh and drinketh My Blood hath eternal life."<sup>7</sup> With the full meaning of these passages we are not now dealing; but they are cited as showing how our LORD Himself makes our thoughts to centre in His own Person as having not only a relation with us from external circumstances or laws, but how that relation is represented as comprised in the mysterious gift of Himself to us. Such, too, to end these quotations, is the less direct, but not less certain tendency of other words, both of our LORD and of His Apostle, in which reference is made to "living waters" and the "water of life;"<sup>8</sup> to the "Tree of Life"<sup>9</sup> which stands in the midst of the regenerated Paradise; and perhaps to the "crown of life,"<sup>10</sup> which is to be the final glory of those whose names are written in the Book of Life.<sup>11</sup>

We might go on to show that the actions of our LORD, as recorded

<sup>1</sup> 1 S. John iv. 9.

<sup>2</sup> S. John xx. 31.

<sup>3</sup> 1 S. John v. 12.

<sup>4</sup> S. John vi. 33.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. 47.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. 51.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. 54.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid. iv. 10; vii. 38; Rev. xxi. 6; xxii. 1, 17.

<sup>9</sup> Rev. ii. 7; xxii. 2, 14.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. ii. 10; S. James i. 12.

<sup>11</sup> Nor is it trifling to notice that "Eternal" and "Everlasting Life" are expressions used more frequently by S. John than by all the other writers of the New Testament put together.

by S. John, and by others also, are of a character which strongly corroborates their view of His Person thus given in the verbal statements made by His own mouth, or by the pen of the inspired Divine. Creational and Life-giving Power are illustrated most plainly by those miracles especially which are handed down to us by S. John ; and we cannot but think that they have been selected by him for the very purpose of exhibiting the Worker of them as the Life of the world. But as these miracles will be treated of in future pages, it would be out of place to go into any detail respecting them here. We will therefore only remark further, that the conclusion to which we are reasonably led by the characteristic and consistent language which is thus used in the writings of S. John not only sets forth our LORD as a self-existing Being, but also as One Who, having life in Himself, communicates that life to those who could not otherwise possess it. Thus the central Person of the Christian Religion comes before us not principally as a Teacher, but as a Person ; not pointing chiefly to any things which He has said or done, but to Himself. Thus, too, a Christian is not only a man, *plus* good morals and charity, but one who is actually participating in the life of the Life-Giver. And thus, too, Christianity is not only a special code of laws ; but, what is still more important to us, it is a special state of existence.

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### THE CATHEDRAL SYSTEM.

*The English Cathedral of the Nineteenth Century.* By A. J. B. BERESFORD HOPE, M.A., D.C.L. London : Murray.

THERE are few men who have earned a greater right to be heard than Mr. Hope, when he speaks of practical matters affecting the welfare of the Church. To his munificence and zeal we owe the Missionary College of S. Augustine at Canterbury. Under his patient supervision All Saints, Margaret Street, has grown into that goodly and beautiful Temple, which is the greatest achievement of Christian art in our day ; and the Cambridge Camden Society, to which the revival of Church architecture is so largely indebted, to Mr. Hope owes no small portion of its life. But in all that he has done, correct principles of taste in art have been made subservient to great practical ends. Neither S. Augustine's nor All Saints' are mere architectural buildings. The one sends forth a continuous stream of missionaries to foreign lands, whilst the other has proved a most successful attempt to deepen reverence of devotion in the English Church, by proving that her Ritual, aided by the accessories of Christian Art, is as solemn and soul-stirring in its simplicity and grandeur as the more ornate

ceremonies with which our brethren of the sunny south approach their LORD.

And now that Mr. Hope has reared a fancy structure in the English Cathedral of the nineteenth century, one may expect to find that his building is not only something more than a mere æsthetic creation, but an erection from which the highest practical results may be expected. Nor are we disappointed, for we think that he has satisfactorily proved that the Cathedral institution is not only a memorial of the zeal of our forefathers, which we would not wish to sweep away, but the very best centre of operation from whence the Church may strike her roots amongst the masses who throng our populous cities.

The principle of centralization in the Church's work, both at home and in the colonies, has become generally admitted, since the failure of individual and unorganized efforts is a patent and undeniable fact. If we compare the progress of missionary operations before and since the establishment of the Colonial Episcopate, no further argument can be needed to prove the advantage of centralization. At home again, although zeal in Church extension has been an encouraging sign during the last two decades, the means by which it has wrought need we think some amendment for the future. Churches have been built and parishes subdivided under the idea that, the cure of fewer souls devolving on each Incumbent, their duties would be better and more effectively performed; but the results have been in our opinion widely disproportioned to the expectation. The multiplication of small incumbencies, so far from increasing the efficiency of the Church, has proved, we believe, a serious hindrance to her usefulness. Our remarks do not, of course, apply to extensive agricultural parishes, which needed subdivision, in order that their inhabitants might be brought under the supervision of a Clergyman who was sufficiently near to be accessible, and that the church might not be too distant for their constant attendance. Even in this case the subdivision though necessary was an evil, since the funds at the disposal of the Incumbents of the several districts were generally inadequate to the demands on their resources, when the schools and other parochial institutions had to be maintained. These, in many instances have been necessarily neglected, and in others carried out at so great a charge on the purse of the slender-endowed Incumbent, as to entail the severest privations on himself and his family.

This system, however needful it might be in rural districts, had no such plea for its adoption in town parishes. The institution of small independent cures, commonly called Peel districts, has however there been tried and found wanting. It is a matter of regret that the courses of Christian munificence have run in channels which have failed to irrigate the fields which they were designed to water and fertilize, but the gifts were doubtless pleasing to God in

proportion not to their results so much as the intention which actuated the givers' hearts.

The multiplication of small independent cures has failed of its effects; the endowments were insufficient for the support of clergy who were expected to maintain the position of gentlemen, and who were perhaps surrounded by rising families who made their small incomes smaller still as their expenses were each year increasing. To this cause are due many of those cases of clerical destitution which are a source of humiliation to the Church of England. Under such trials the spirits of the most zealous often become depressed, and of those, who entered on their cures with ardent desire to fulfil their charge with diligence, many have grown to look with despair upon the work before them, and to satisfy themselves with the best which they could do, which best has become daily worse. Added to this, men associated together are more strong to labour than when they work in isolated positions. Union is strength. We see that even horses working together do it with more spirit than when alone, and on the same principle the combined efforts of men working in an organized society are likely to be more effective than the individual exertions of the same number working independently of each other. It was not thus the Apostles worked, nor thus that the leaven of Christianity spread itself through the masses of the old heathen cities. What is now the diocese was the parish of the ancient Church, and we believe that the enlargement and the rearrangement of churches and the increase of clergy under the guidance of one head would have been more likely to be productive of good than the multiplication of independent Peel districts.

These things were pointed out by Mr. Beresford Hope in a letter to the *Times* in December, 1857, showing the inconvenience which had resulted from the minute parochial system which was gaining ground, and the superior advantages of the Diocesan as distinguished from the Parochial system. Whilst we profess to regard Episcopacy as one of the notes of the Church, the office has grown to be viewed in a very different light from that in which it was regarded by the Ancient Church. The Bishop is still styled "*Father in God*," and yet how scanty are the paternal relations between himself and his children. Many clergymen have perhaps never spoken to their Bishop and numbers of the laity have never seen him; he is looked upon as an officer whose business it is to maintain discipline when the lives of the clergy are notoriously immoral, or to compel to their duty those who glaringly neglect it; but as the Father and Counsellor of all his Clergy, and the chief instigator of all spiritual work, how few know anything of their Bishop. Practically the Incumbent is his own Bishop, and must act upon his own judgment and according to his own idiosyncrasy. To the Laity again what is the Bishop? He consecrates churches and

churchyards, ordains clergymen, and confirms the young,—but these offices are too much regarded as perfunctory. The building and endowment of the Church is provided for by the founder, and then when all is ready the Bishop comes to consecrate, arriving perhaps by one train and departing by the next. The Bishop's Chaplain is supposed to examine the candidates for ordination and to present to him such as he himself judges fit. The preparation of the young for a confirmation is conducted by the parish clergyman, and their intercourse with their Bishop only lasts during the administration of that holy rite. Such in modern times has been the popular view of the Bishop's office, and the Bishops of the last age were satisfied that it should be so. In our own days we have happily seen a growing improvement in this respect. Both clergy and laity are desiring more intercourse with their Bishop, and the Bishops are showing themselves to be more real fathers of their flocks. A bright example has been set by some Bishops of extraordinary zeal and indomitable energy, and though it is invidious to particularize, the dioceses of Oxford and Salisbury will occur to the minds of all our readers.

In the diocese of London also we observe a change. Bishop Blomfield, all honour to his memory, was a church-building Bishop. It was during his rule that the Peel districts were established, and the work left to the individual exertions of the incumbents; but Bishop Tait, although we cannot endorse all his actions with approval, seems now at length as though he would work on the same principle, preaching himself among the masses of the metropolis, and striving to re-organize the Parochial system. Bishop Tait endeavours to be the mainspring of all that is done in his diocese, and although sometimes his interference with the independence of the parochial clergy is carried to excess, yet this seems to be a collision between the diocesan and parochial systems arising from their ill-defined relations. The interference of the Bishop is repugnant to that idea from which the multiplication of ecclesiastical districts has arisen. With the Bishop as the practical head and organizer of the Church's work, the independence of the parochial clergy would be merged into the system, and the question is whether one centre of action is not better than a thousand. Since then the subdivision of parishes has proved a failure, we think the advocates for centralization are entitled to a hearing. Mr. Hope speaks on their behalf, and has performed his task with his usual ability. He begins from the root of the matter, and shows us the intimate union of episcopacy with the cathedral system from the first commencement of the Christian era.

When churches were established, the diocese was not at once divided into parishes, nor did one city contain many churches: the normal condition of the Church was, one Bishop, with a united body of clergy acting under his control, one congregation, and one Christian temple. From this centre gradually and by slow degrees,

as the synonym of Pagan for countryman and heathen indicates, the influence of the Church extended into the villages which surrounded the Bishop's see. When congregations were sufficiently large, and it was inconvenient for the villagers to resort to the neighbouring city for the means of grace, resident clergy were established among them, and then in time had each their district, though all were still acting in dependence on their Bishop. The origin of parishes in the modern sense of the word is found in this necessity; but in the cities the multiplication of churches was of a later date. In times of persecution large bodies could not safely congregate, and as the Christians themselves became more numerous it was impossible for one building to contain them all; but still in each new church the cathedral idea was carried out, for the Bishop had his throne within its precincts, and the clergy attached to it were still his chapter. Times indeed are changed, but we believe the principle which guided our fathers is a safe rule for us, and that a cathedral system at work in our large cities would be productive of greater results than the method of church extension which prevails in our day.

The reception which Lord Lyttelton's Bill for the increase of the Episcopate has met with in the House of Lords, proves that the desire for more Bishops is widely felt; but what is the Bishop without his cathedral? Give Bishops to our populous cities, but give them cathedrals too. Let us have buildings which in beauty of form and largeness of dimensions shall inspire reverence and awe. Let the service performed within their walls be worthy of Christian worship. There, and not in the private chapel of the Bishop, let episcopal functions be performed. The grace of ordination would become a reality in the sight of the people when it was conferred before their eyes. Visitations held within such a building would be more solemn. The clergy of the whole diocese might be convoked, and the spectacle of the Bishop surrounded by his clergy, as a father amongst his children, would be an edifying sight for the laity who were present. The Visitation held by the Bishop of London in the nave of S. Paul's, was a sufficiently striking example to be worthy of imitation. In a church of cathedral dimensions the Bishop would moreover have opportunity of preaching to his flock as the primitive Bishops preached to theirs, and such services might be held, as the experiments tried in Westminster Abbey and S. Paul's, as well as in the naves of some of our provincial cathedrals, lead us to believe would be productive of the happiest results. The English mind has declared in favour of choral services as well as of preaching to the masses. Even in country churches music is becoming daily more popular, and the flutes and violins of the past age have everywhere given place to the organ or harmonium. The choral festivals at Lichfield, Ely, Southwell, and Peterborough, exhibit the strength with which



really good church music is gaining a footing in the land, and the prevalent desire to regard the cathedral as the pattern church of the diocese. The cathedral of the 19th century to be suited to the requirements of the age, should therefore have an efficient choir which would at once render the services of the Church of England attractive to the people, and make the walls resound with such harmonious strains as shall be fitly emblematic of that higher service of which it is a type and shadow, the hymns of praise which the angels sing around the Throne of God in Heaven.

Nor will the choir need a rich endowment for its maintenance any more than the rifle corps requires the soldier's pay. A volunteer choir might be as easily obtained as a volunteer rifle corps, and the volunteers will have no more objection to wear the surplices, which are appropriate to their office, than the riflemen have to parade in cap and tunic. The experiment has been often tried, and by none with more success than by Dean Hook at Leeds, a town admirably suited to be the location of the new cathedral. A large body of the laity would thus be attached to the Church, and made to feel that they were really using their powers and their energies in her service. The esprit de corps thus created, would result in the increase of Church feeling, much as the rifle movement has been productive of an increased spirit of hearty loyalty throughout all classes in the land.

Around the cathedral would be grouped many an institution of social and moral benefit to the people, all of which would be carried out under the immediate auspices of the Bishop and his clergy. There would be not only the chapter room for meetings of the clergy, and the cathedral library for the use of the theological college, but the town grammar school, training schools for masters and mistresses, hospitals where the pastor is as much needed as the physician, penitentiaries and homes of charity, almshouses and middle-class schools, day and night schools for the poor, infant schools, mechanics' institutes and lending libraries, organizations of young men for practical work, such as we rejoice to recognize in the guild of S. Alban's, and every conceivable institution of usefulness which would thus be combined within the system of the Church of England. And on what a scale might not all these be carried out, when the means of their maintenance, instead of being diverted into the many channels which the parochial system demands, were gathered into one stream which flowed from one source. Happily the utility of cathedral establishments is already being exhibited. At Chichester, Wells, and now at Salisbury, theological colleges have grown up under the shadow of the cathedrals, and within the last few weeks the venerable Bishop of Exeter has presented to the Church a munificent donation for the establishment of such another seminary under the auspices of the newly appointed dean of his cathedral church.

In our great towns we do not despair of seeing noble cathedrals rising, which shall contain the thrones of new Bishops, under whose fostering care the many institutions which should radiate round the cathedral shall be carried on. In these days what schemes cannot be accomplished? What engineering wonders do we not see? What palaces and public buildings! and how richly adorned are all! If so much is spent on public enterprises, the ends of which are gained in the temporal welfare of the people, what may we not dare to hope, shall be done for the everlasting benefit of immortal souls and the glory of the Redeemer? It needs but the presence of faith and love, and all other means are ready to the hand. A few years ago we might have regarded Mr. Hope's scheme as visionary, but we cannot do so now. Munificent donations have been presented to the Church by those whose hearts have been stirred by the hand of God; and are these the only rich men in the land, or is the hand of God powerless, we would ask before we despond, with the hearts of others? Surely we will rather expect that such noble examples will be followed, and that many only wait for the suggestion of such a means of expending their wealth for God's glory to answer to the call, and raise with liberal hands such cathedrals in the midst of our overpeopled cities, as shall be second to none of those which their remote ancestors have raised before them. Of old the returning merchant-venturer built his votive chapel on the first spot of land which met his eye, and may not the same feeling induce the successful tradesman who has amassed his hoards of wealth to set up a thank-offering and an altar to his LORD in the midst of those swarms of busy men by whose hands his stores have been gathered in?

For the artistic details of Mr. Hope's cathedral, we must refer our readers to the book itself, which will amply repay perusal, even to those who are but slightly acquainted with the principles of architecture. To the fulness of these details we could scarce do justice within the limits of a brief review; but one subject connected with internal decoration we cannot pass without remark. Mr. Hope entertains the idea of making sepulchral monuments minister to the internal decoration of the cathedral. This they could scarcely do, if they were indiscriminately dispersed everywhere, because the unity of design would then be marred, nor could such monuments as those with which we are chiefly familiar be anything but a blister and an eyesore to the cathedral wall. And yet we would not abolish them altogether, although they have deservedly grown so unpopular with men of correct taste. Mr. Hope recognises the good which has been done by the movement in favour of memorial windows, which was commenced by Mr. Markland and Dean Chandler, both in what it has checked and in what it has produced; but at the same time he considers there are many cases in which a more solid and palpable memorial is desirable. For this

purpose he would set apart the eastern apsidal wall, which should always be a part of the new cathedral. The successful design for the Memorial Church at Constantinople proposed the eastern aisle for such a purpose, and the judges accepted the suggestion with approbation, and still, although the present form has been reduced, that church retains this feature. That the great and good should be so commemorated will appear just and reasonable to all, only let them have Christian monuments, and not the unmeaning statues which would adorn Trafalgar Square with better taste than Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's. Many a tomb will be found in our Gothic cathedrals which add to their grace without diminishing their sublimity, and the present age has not been wanting in successful copies of these examples. Recumbent statues which recal the features of the departed, monumental crosses and altar tombs, as well as brasses on the ground, are all admissible, and would serve to render the apsidal aisle a place of instructive contemplation to the passers by, while the sculptor's art would unite the decoration of God's house with those natural feelings which the hallowed memory of the dead calls forth.

With respect to the form of the cathedral best suited to the requirements of the age, there is much in Mr. Hope's book which is most interesting and suggestive. With a graceful tribute of filial affection, he cites his father's words in his *Historical Essay on Architecture*, which was posthumously published, to prove that the Basilican form was the normal type of the Christian cathedral. When Rome became Christian, it was the Basilica rather than the heathen temple which was found best suited for divine worship. The Basilica first appears to have been the hall, which formed part of the sovereign's palace, where they or their deputies administered justice. These had gradually increased in Rome to the number of eighteen, and though originally used as courts of justice, many of them had become halls of commerce and places of exchange. They consisted of three longitudinal divisions, analogous to a nave and aisles, separated by a double range of columns. These three longitudinal divisions were terminated by another of a transverse direction which formed the transept, while opposite the central avenue, this transept swelled out into one of those semicircular recesses, with a ceiling rounded off like the head of a niche, which are so frequently seen in the later Roman buildings, called in Greek *Absis* and in Latin *Tribuna*. In this sat the magistrate with his assessors, and this is the origin of the designation *tribunal* for our courts of justice.

Here we have the groundplan of the Christian church, and the Basilica needed little alteration to fit it for its new and holier uses. Into the porch, and no further, penitents and catechumens were admitted. In the centre avenue the choir were stationed, where a division of the nave near its upper end was railed in, and raised by

a few steps into a somewhat elevated platform for the exclusive use of the minor clergy and the singers. During the service the laity occupied the aisles, the men being disposed on the right hand, and the women on the left. The Bema, or sanctuary, was placed in the transept, immediately in front of the Absis. In the centre of the absis stood the marble seat or throne of the Bishop, whilst around were ranged the seats of the higher clergy, who now occupied that which once had been the tribune of the magistrate. In the magisterial session of the clergy, immediately behind the altar, a symbol was seen of the SAVIOUR in judgment, which symbol was often intensified by the mural painting behind, portraying the great and awful scene of the last day. The Bishop's throne was thus essential to the Basilican idea of the cathedral, which in another view comprehended the whole "*Civitas Dei*," Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, with the faithful laity, the penitents, and catechumens.

The history of the form of the altar connects itself in a remarkable manner with the multiplication of churches, and gradual formation of the parochial system, by which the unity of the idea of the *Civitas Dei* was broken up. When the Christians worshipped in the Catacombs, the martyr's tomb was generally used as the altar of the Sacrament; and when persecution ceased the tomb-like form was introduced into the Basilican church, but it was now an empty tomb, and remembering former associations, the Christians, naturally perhaps, removed the martyrs' bones to the place beneath the altar. Special affection for individual saints would next lead different persons to that church in which the object of their regard was laid. Then no church was consecrated without the relics of a saint being deposited beneath its altar. But as the saints were more numerous than the churches, the multiplication of altars grew up in the same church, and for the same reason a multiplication of side chapels to receive them. Besides this, new churches arose in every quarter of the city, some being erected over the martyr's tomb, whilst the remains of saints were removed to others. And now the unity of the *Civitas Dei* was broken up. Instead of one church being the common home of all, or the multiplication of churches being only a matter of necessity, Christians selected that one which was dedicated to their favourite saint, much as in our days people choose their church according to the acceptability of the preacher. At the Reformation in England, all but the high altars were removed, and as the use of side chapels therefore ceased, Mr. Hope does not propose to reconstruct them in the cathedral of the nineteenth century.

The indulgence of this partiality which preferred one altar to another and one church to all others was doubtless antagonistic to the vivid realization of the Unity of the Church, but the evil was greater when the high purpose of the altar in being the receptacle

of the Blessed Sacrament seemed to bow before the veneration felt towards the relics of the saint which were deposited beneath. Human nature is the same, however diverse the streams in which it flows, and the sight of divided families which is daily seen in our cities, where some members attend one church and some another, attracted by the preacher whom each prefers, is but a reproduction of the feeling which led their ancestors to worship at different altars and in different churches according to the veneration with which they regarded particular saints. The reconstruction of the old cathedral system would be a bar to this breach of unity. A church of sufficient dimensions to hold all, and where the services were sufficiently attractive to draw all, would re-establish the idea of unity which Christian Worship symbolizes, and the place where all orders of the Christian ministry joined in the celebration of God's service with laymen of all degrees would reproduce the image of the *Civitas Dei*, the earthly type of the heavenly Jerusalem, the city which is at unity with herself.

And now with reluctance we must conclude, regretting that we have neither time nor space to enter into the specialities of Christian art which Mr. Hope so elaborately discusses. We lay down a book of interest to all alike who are concerned in the extension of CHRIST's kingdom or in the advancement of Christian art, and in so doing we must thank Mr. Hope most sincerely for the lucid manner in which he has treated one of the most important subjects of the day, and for the beauty of the illustrations with which he has adorned it.

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## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

1. *Help to an Exposition of the Catechism.* By J. M. CHANTER, M.A., Vicar of Ilfracombe. Masters.
2. *The Church Catechism Explained.* By the Rev. EDWARD CHEERE, M.A., Incumbent of Little Drayton, Salop. J. H. Parker.

THESE are two new Editions, and they furnish an opportunity for observing the progress that has been effected in English elementary theology. Both authors have made considerable advances upon themselves; and, except in the last part, Mr. Chanter has now really made his little manual nearly all that we could wish.

Thus, for example, he now gives the divisions of the early part correctly as "The Benefits of Baptism," and "The Duties of the Baptized;" while Mr. Cheere adheres to the misleading division of "The Covenant of Baptism." Both maintain the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration; but Mr. Cheere evacuates the word of its true Catholic meaning by means of a doctrine of Conversion, which he invents for

the purpose. Mr. Cheere tells the child that it confirms its vows at its Confirmation: Mr. Chanter (rightly) that it confirms them whenever it says in the Catechism that it "thinks itself bound to believe and to do all that its Godfathers and Godmothers promised for it at its Baptism, and by God's help so it will." Mr. Chanter now (for the first time) explains rightly a Prophet as one who has authority to teach, which Mr. Cheere does not. Mr. Chanter rightly explains "generally" to mean for all persons: whereas before he once gave it in this sense, and once in a different sense. On this point Mr. Cheere is also right.

It is on the means of grace, and especially on the Eucharist, that both fail. Thus both (and especially Mr. Chanter) confound the sacraments or means of grace, by which God works, with the subjective conditions of our own minds—joining Prayer and Repentance (as well as man's work of preaching,) in the same category as Baptism, Confirmation, &c. In the same connection, neither of these commentators give any force at all to the words that there are two Sacraments *only, as necessary for all to Salvation*, and so they make no mention of inferior sacraments. Again, both seem to confound Sacramental Absolution with the Public Discipline of the Church. And lastly, both put a wrong interpretation on the term "Faithful," the one understanding it to mean those who have faith, and the other, the good. The term, we need scarcely tell our readers, is the translation of the Latin *Fideles*; and is never used to discriminate one Christian from another; but is the recognized designation of all the baptized. In this sense the Visible Church is said in our XIXth Article to be *cætus Fidelium*.

We have been particular in noticing these two books, because, although taken by themselves, they indicate a very satisfactory growth in theology during the last dozen years; yet, looking to the present stage of the Church-movement, authors who were usefully employed at earlier epochs, may not unreasonably be expected, before republishing works which prove that their own opinions are undergoing great change, to inquire if better manuals have not since appeared which should really supersede what they accomplished less perfectly.

As an Exposition of the Church Catechism, there is really only one work that is up to the present advance in theology—we mean *The Questions and Answers illustrative of the Catechism*, (it is a pity the Manual has not a briefer title,) published in "The Churchman's Library." This is now cheaper than either of the other two, and has nothing in it, we apprehend, to which either Mr. Chanter or Mr. Cheere would object on the score of doctrine. But the one is complete, exact, and consistent, the others are more or less incomplete, inexact, and inconsistent with themselves. Implicitly all the three authors may be said to agree together; but it will probably take another ten years before Mr. Chanter himself discovers as much, and half as much again before Mr. Cheere develops his ideas as far.

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*The Romance of Natural History.* By PHILIP HENRY GOSSE, F.R.S.  
London: James Nisbet and Co.

THIS is a most charming work, which will be found equally attractive to those who possess some scientific knowledge of the subject, and to

the cursory observers who can no less admire the wonders and glories of creation. The author has the gift, somewhat rare in these days, of examining into the works of creation in a spirit of perfect loyalty to the Creator; and although he makes no special professions, it is easy to see that his researches have only served to deepen his hearty faith and loving submission to the Author of all. He has succeeded in avoiding that high treason against the beautiful in nature which consists in giving mere dry statistics, and detailed classifications, with hard sounding names, as the sole result to be gained from the study of Natural History. Mr. Gosse has the soul of a poet, and is thus capable not only of appreciating the infinite loveliness in the changeful aspects of creation, but also of describing it to others in language of real eloquence. He is withal thoroughly master of his subject, and can discuss with equal learning the question as to whether the invisible atom, the *frustule* of the *arachnodiscus* is animal or vegetable, and that which still perplexes the world as to the existence of the gigantic sea-snake; certainly no work of fiction would produce greater contrasts of beauty, horror, and mystery, than the volume before us, and we will give one or two specimens of the pleasant variety of matter it contains.

Here is a picture of tropical beauty:—

“There, too, an almost death-like quietude reigns, but it is a quietude induced by the furnace-like heat of the sun, whose rays pour down with a direct fierceness, from which there is no shadow, except actually beneath some thick tree, such as the mango, whose dense and dark foliage affords an absolutely impenetrable umbrella in the brightest glare.

“Such, too, is the smooth-barked mangabeira, a tree of vast bulk, with a wide-spreading head of dense foliage, beneath which, when the sun strikes mercilessly on every other spot, all is coolness and repose. The birds are all silent, sitting with panting beaks in the thickest part of the foliage. No tramp or voice of beast is heard, for these are sleeping in their coverts. Ever and anon the seed-capsule of some forest tree bursts with a report like that of a musket, and the scattered seeds are heard pattering among the leaves, and then all relapses into silence again.

“Great butterflies, with wings of refulgent azure, almost too dazzling to look upon, flap lazily athwart the glade, or alight on the glorious flowers. Little bright-eyed lizards, clad in panoply that glitters in the sun, creep about the parasites of the great trees, or rustle the herbage, and start at the sounds themselves have made. Hark! there is the toll of a distant bell—two or three minutes pass—another toll! a like interval—then another toll. Surely it is the passing bell of some convent, announcing the departure of a soul. No such thing, it is the note of a bird; it is the campanero, or bell-bird of the Amazon, a gentle little creature, much like a snow-white pigeon, with a sort of soft fleshy horn on its forehead, three inches high. This appendage is black, clothed with a few scattered white feathers, and being hollow, and communicating with the palate, it can be inflated at will. The solemn, clear, bell-note, uttered at regular intervals by the bird, is believed to be connected with this structure. Be this as it may, the silvery sound, heard only in the depth of the forest, and scarcely ever except at midday, when other voices are mute, falls on the ear of the traveller with a thrilling and romantic effect. The jealously recluse habits of the bird have thrown an air of mystery over its economy which heightens the interest with which it is invested.”

The following extract, of a very different description, is interesting as a further advance on the recent discovery of the Gorilla.

"It is, however, possible that a great anthropoid ape may exist as yet undiscovered by zoologists. On the cataracts of the Upper Orinoco, Humboldt heard reports of a 'hairy man of the woods,' which was reputed to build huts, to carry off women, and to devour human flesh. The first and second of these attributes are so characteristic of the great anthropoid *Simia* of Africa, that unless the belief had been transferred from the one continent to the other (a circumstance little probable, when we think of the seat of the report in the very heart of the forests of Venezuela) their abduction gives a measure of authority to the statement; while the third would be a natural inference from such ferocity as animates the Gorilla. Both Indians and missionaries firmly believe in the existence of this dreaded creature, which they call *Vasistri*, or 'the great devil.' Humboldt suggests that the original of what he boldly calls the 'fable,' may exist in the person of one of those large bears, the footsteps of which resemble those of man, and which are believed in every country to attack women, and he seems to claim credit for being the only person to doubt the existence of the great anthropomorphous monkey of America. But it might be permitted in return to ask what large bear is known to inhabit Venezuela, and whether it is true that bears' footsteps have a signal resemblance to those of a man, and that bears specially attack women. Is not such a bear in South America quite as gratuitous as the monkey itself? And since species of *Quadrumana* are characteristic of the forests of that region, may it not be possible that some one rivalling man in stature and strength, may there exist as well as in Africa, and the oriental Archipelago. The mighty Gorilla himself has only just been introduced to us."

We regret that we have not earlier seen this volume, which is enriched with some excellent plates. We should have been glad to have introduced it to the notice of our readers on its first appearance.

*The Help of Women in English Parishes*, (Murray,) is a theme which we are truly glad to see discussed in the quarter whence this pamphlet emanates. It is not, as might have been expected, very catholic in tone, but it contains much earnest feeling and good sense; and will have its weight in advancing the movement, where works of a higher character could not penetrate.

We are glad to be able to commend Mr. C. J. PLUMTREE's *Oxford Lectures on Elocution*, (J. H. Parker.) It is a subject that has been too little attended to.

*S. Nicolas College and its Schools*, forms the subject of an interesting letter from Dr. LOWE to Sir John Coleridge, (J. H. Parker.) We very heartily wish increased success to this most excellent Institution; and we were disappointed to find that it was not proposed at the recent meeting in London, at once to send out branches into the manufacturing districts.

*Contes Faciles*, selected by the author of "Amy Herbert," (Longman,) forms an unexceptional volume of French reading for the use of children. On pages 198 and 190, we have observed grammatical errors nevertheless, which must have escaped the notice of the editor in correcting the press, and should be corrected in a new edition.

*The Story of Golden Water*, (Masters,) is a pretty fanciful little Allegory, designed to inculcate the virtue of humility.



Again we have to thank Mr. ORBY SHIPLEY for a very acceptable little volume, a translation of part of Rodriguez' *Treatise on Humility*, (Masters.) The type and paper are indeed a luxury to look at. But we hope that Mr. Shipley will also go on to give us some cheap and common-looking manuals.

In *Julia Bridgenorth*, (Mozleys,) the author of "Stories on the Catechism," has been as thoroughly successful in the object she has proposed for herself as in the larger works by which she is known. This little tale directed against the sin of pride, will tell powerfully on young readers, and displays much of that which is the author's peculiar gift, the art of giving practical instruction in an attractive manner.

It may be necessary to explain to many of our readers that the *Viri Venerabiles* is a metrical charge to the priesthood, of uncertain authorship. There is no doubt, however, of its beauty, and we are much obliged to the anonymous author of the translation, which has just been published by Mr. Hayes. The original Latin is also added, as well as the better known "*Christe decreto Patris institutus.*"

*The Law of Divorce*, (Newby,) is a work of some talent, though bearing unmistakeable signs of being written by an unpractised hand. The story and the moral which the author seeks to draw from it, are alike somewhat singular. The hero is a weak undecided man, who has married a woman he ardently loves; she proves unfaithful, he divorces her and marries a second wife for whom he has no affection. A fortnight after the second marriage he receives a letter of the deepest penitence from his first wife, who has awakened to a sense of her sin, has abandoned her lover, and returns to implore the husband she has never ceased to love, to receive her once again. The affection of the husband resumes all its former passionate strength, while his indifference to his second wife grows into dislike. He becomes convinced by the arguments of his first wife and her sister, and by a sermon he hears in a Roman Catholic church, that his original marriage cannot be dissolved in the sight of God, and that the second is null, and at once returns to his first love. His new wife, however, has the law on her side and asserts it. The husband loses his senses between the two, and the first wife dies broken-hearted. Now we entirely concur in all that the author urges against the iniquitous Law of Divorce; but we cannot agree with him in thinking that a man would be justified in leaving the woman he had married, to return to the one from whom he had been divorced. Nor can we think it right that the sin of unfaithfulness should be supposed to make no difference whatever in the husband's happiness with his penitent wife; but the tale shows forcibly one of the evils of this odious law, in the great probability that the love once felt for the first wife should retain its power after marriage with the second.

*The York Journal of Convocation*, edited by CANON TREVOR, (Mozleys,) is an epoch in the Church-movement, which should not be passed by without acknowledgment. The "Notices of Motions" for the next Session look very business-like.

## EXPOSITION OF I. CORINTHIANS VI. 9—20.

Μὴ πλανᾶσθε· οὔτε πόρνοι, οὔτε εἰδωλόλατραι, οὔτε μοιχοί, κ.τ.λ.

THIS passage treats of a painful subject, and is, on more than one account, of great moral and doctrinal significance. S. Paul, after his manner, combines here with practical exhortation and warning the deepest views of Divine Truth as the substance and groundwork of his admonitions. His special purpose is to show the exceeding sinfulness of sins against the Seventh Commandment. But he accomplishes far more than that purpose. Indeed if we regard this passage in its connection with others in the part of the Epistle to which it belongs, and especially with the following seventh chapter, we may say that most of the Apostle's great lines of teaching,—the doctrines, for example, of our union with CHRIST, of the Grace bestowed in the Sacraments, of the glorious change which awaits our mortal bodies in the world to come, of the sanctity and blessedness of the married state under the New Covenant, and of the religious advantages incidental to single life,—here meet as in a focus, and mutually illustrate one another.

We shall keep these several points in view in the following attempt at Exposition.

S. Paul is engaged in this part of his Epistle in reproving various disorders and iniquities in the Church of Corinth. After pointing out in the first paragraph of the chapter (1 Cor. vi. 1—8,) the want of Christian charity manifested by the Corinthians in carrying their disputes before heathen Courts of Justice, instead of arranging the settlement of them among themselves, he recurs in vv. 9—11 (compare c. v. 9—13,) to the reproof of aberrations of a far more serious kind.

*“Be not deceived: neither fornicators nor idolaters, nor adulterers, nor effeminate, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, (or, foul-mouthed persons,) nor extortioners shall inherit the Kingdom of God. And these things were some of you, but ye have been washed from them, but ye have been sanctified, but ye have been justified (or, acquitted of them) in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God.”* vv. 9—11.

The reference to their first conversion and Baptism is here unmistakeable. The Apostle plainly declares all kinds of gross sins and sensual indulgences to exclude from the benefits of the Christian Covenant, and to be irreconcilable with the state of Baptismal Grace. “Some of you, Corinthians, indeed, once lived in such sins, but, when you were baptized, you were cleansed (or, cleansed yourselves) from them, you were sanctified, you were justified

from them, in the Name of the LORD JESUS then invoked upon you, and by the HOLY SPIRIT which you then received."

The doctrine and the whole line of thought is similar to that of the longer passage in the Epistle to the Romans, (vi. 2—11,) where S. Paul again appeals to the peculiar nature of the grace received in Baptism as the strongest motive to abhorrence of sin.

"How shall we that (once) died to sin, (now) any longer live therein? Know ye not then that so many of us as were baptised into CHRIST JESUS, were baptised into His Death? Co-buried, therefore, we were (then) with Him by our Baptism into death, that like as CHRIST was raised from the dead by the Glory of the FATHER, so also we might walk in newness of life. For if we have become congenerate with the likeness of His Death, so also shall we be with that of His Resurrection. Knowing this, that our old man was con-crucified (with Him) that the Body of Sin might be brought to nought, in order that we might no longer be in bondage to sin. For he that died to it (once) has been justified from sin. And if we died (that once) with CHRIST, we believe that we shall also co-live with Him. For whereas He died, it was to sin He died once, (and once only,) but whereas He liveth, He liveth to GOD. So also ye, account yourselves both dead to sin and living unto GOD, in CHRIST JESUS." (Rom. vi. 2—11.)

The general meaning in this passage is evidently the same as in the admonition to the Corinthians; but the expressions are much stronger and more adequately represent the truth of things. S. Paul, for instance, does not here speak of our having been washed or sanctified in Baptism, but more expressively of our having then died to sin, and of the old man having been crucified to it—while the term "justified" or acquitted of sin occurs in both passages. So again, he does not tell the Romans that they had been baptized "in the Name of CHRIST," merely, but with more significance, that they had been baptized into CHRIST Himself, *con-crucified* with Him in a like passion, *co-buried* with Him in a common grave.

It is of great importance that we rightly apprehend the Apostle's meaning. Must we not understand quite literally the term *συμβάπτεται* in its application to Baptism here? The Baptismal Ceremony in the completeness of its primitive form, (that of Immersion into, and Emersion from a liquid Grave,) expressed to all the senses of the Neophyte the inward gracious reality of the blessing then conferred upon him. Baptism indeed, in this respect, forms, as has been well observed, a complete counterpart to the Sacrament of the LORD'S Supper. In the one Sacrament the outward Element *invests* the Recipient, in the other it is *partaken* of by him. So likewise with the spiritual grace. As in the Holy Communion, the Christian receives CHRIST, so in Baptism CHRIST first *receives* and makes the Christian. There, in the literal sense of the Apos-

tle's words (Gal. iii. 27) we "*put on CHRIST*," we are *invested* as it were with Him in His Divine Power and Presence, we cease by the terms of the Covenant expressed in the baptismal action to be our own in order that we may become altogether His, and that all He is or has may become ours. In Him therefore, as the Apostle further teaches, there is not either Jew or Greek, either bondsman or freeman, there is not even male and female, but all are one man in CHRIST JESUS, and as His, are sons of God, children of Abraham, and heirs of the Promise (Gal. iii. 26, 28, 29). The Church Catechism sets forth the doctrine with that perfect truth of theological expression by which every part of it is characterised:—first, we are made in Baptism, *Members of CHRIST*; then *children* in virtue of that membership, (*Sons in the Son*); then *heirs*. So also when it describes the inward grace of Baptism as "a death unto sin and a new Birth unto Righteousness," its doctrine exactly agrees with itself and with the Apostle's teaching. It is of necessity that we die to sin in Baptism if we are there united to CHRIST, because we are made one with Him who has died to Sin once for all and ever liveth now to God. But it is not of necessity that we should affirm or expect (what is contradicted by all experience) a perfect and immediate energy of the grace so given. The *death unto Sin* and the *New Life unto Holiness* find indeed their commencement in Baptism (as now commonly administered before the possible exercise of conscious faith), are given to us *potentially* and *in principio* in that Holy Sacrament; but their full realisation is the work of the whole Christian Life, and, we may add, of Christian Death too:—natural death being a necessary stage in our spiritual development.—

"Is that a death bed where the Christian lies?  
Yes, but not his—'tis Death itself there dies."

Nor is even this all. The full unfolding of that which was given in Baptism will not be seen in this world, nor even in Paradise, but only in the New Birth of Body and Soul (the *παλιγγενεσία* of S. Matt. xix. 28) the Manifestation of the Sons of God, (the *ἀποκάλυψις* of Romans viii. 19,) which will first take place in the Resurrection, when we shall see Him and become perfectly like Him, whose Image we bear, because we shall then for the first time see Him, "*as He is*."

It must be borne in mind that the peculiar grace of Baptism, like that of the other Sacrament, consists in a hidden union with the Humanity of the LORD JESUS CHRIST. Want of Faith, where Faith may and ought to be exercised, is a bar to such union, but Faith alone cannot claim it. It is a free gift of the Word made Flesh sealed to us in the Sacraments. All this will appear more clearly to be S. Paul's doctrine as we proceed.

We return to our original passage, (1 Cor. vi. 9, &c.) where we

have seen the Apostle urging most earnestly on the Corinthian Christians avoidance of such gross and acknowledged sins as they daily witnessed in the heathen around them, by the remembrance of a cleansing, sanctification, and justification once vouchsafed, which would be lost by such acts and indulgences.

He goes on (vv. 12, 13) to draw a distinction between some of these sins and others, in order to show the exceeding sinfulness of one class.

*"All things are in my power, but it is not all things that are expedient (or profitable for me). All things are in my power, but I will not be brought under the power of any (one of them.) Meats are (provided) for the Belly and the Belly is (formed) for its Meats : and God moreover shall bring to nought both it and them. But the Body is not for fornication but for the Lord, and the Lord for the Body."*—vv. 12, 13.

The Apostle's meaning appears to be this. Excess in eating and drinking (the allusion being perhaps to the μέθυστοι of v. 10) is sinful just so far as it is *excess*. There is no sin in eating and drinking now, as under the law, from the nature of the things eaten. πάντα μοι ἔξεστιν—I am free to make use of any thing I please—there is no real distinction of meats under the Gospel—ἀλλ' οὐ πάντα συμφέρει—but it is not every thing that is profitable or expedient. I may err in ignoring all restrictions, even though they be virtually removed, if I thereby hurt the consciences of weaker brethren, and so on. Again, all things are in my power to use aright as their master, but I will not put myself under the power of any one of these lower things. It is sinful for instance so to eat and drink as to be governed by the appetite and lose self-command.

The former part of this doctrine gave serious offence at that time to many Christians, accustomed before their conversion to the distinction of meats into clean and unclean made by the Mosaic Law. The Apostle's words, in verse 13, might be meant to show why such distinction ought not any longer to be made, at any rate in the Mosaic sense. That distinction was for the most part merely positive or symbolical, not deeply rooted in the nature of things, and therefore (even in the analogous but not identical case of meats offered to idols which is dealt with in the tenth chapter) a distinction of merely temporary significance.

"Meats are merely for the belly, and the belly is merely for its meats,"—neither have a higher significance than is implied in that natural relation—"and God will put an end to both,"—both the natural bodily organism and the food by which it is sustained will endure only for this life. "Hence (we may infer) it is unreasonable to lay so much stress upon distinctions in such matters as some do."

This meaning may be found in or attached to the Apostle's words ; but it is evidently not that which is uppermost in his

mind. He is not here concerned so much to correct a Judaizing error, as to encounter one yet more serious into which some Gentile converts at Corinth appear to have fallen. The heathen population of that luxurious city were, as is well known, pre-eminently addicted at this time to gross sensual indulgences, and there appears to have been, even in the new-formed Church itself, an Antinomian party, which made light of such indulgences, perhaps as not involving danger to the soul of the Christian, inasmuch as they only concerned his body. This party, we may suppose, included some at least of those hyper-spiritualists against whose denial of the bodily resurrection S. Paul argues in the fifteenth chapter; and to them he now proceeds, on the ground of the deepest Christian virtues, to show the greatness of their error. "*The Body,*" he says, "*is not for fornication but for the Lord, and the Lord for the body.*"

Observe here the very significant change in the correlative words, while the same form of expression is retained as in the former clause of the verse (v. 13.) There in speaking of "Meats" he used the word *κοιλία* to indicate the gross material organism which is necessary indeed for this life, but is destined to perish with it. This is all, he argues, which is primarily concerned in the use of food. But it is otherwise with the sin of fornication; which involves not only the natural and material organism (*κοιλία*) but also something higher and more precious, the *σῶμα*, that which is to rise again (compare v. 14,) and live for ever. Herein consists the peculiar sinfulness and power for harm of that sin. In this use of the word *σῶμα*, the Apostle has undoubtedly in view his own great doctrine of the *σῶμα ψυχικόν*, and *σῶμα πνευματικόν* developed in the 15th chapter. The *σῶμα* is for S. Paul not merely a visible and palpable organism, but includes that internal form or principle, a kind of middle thing between the material and spiritual worlds, by which the outward organism is developed, on which it depends, and which constitutes its proper self, the true Body, capable on the one hand of degradation and corruption, as *ψυχικόν*, on the other of being raised and glorified, even so as to become *πνευματικόν*. It is the whole *σῶμα* as thus defined, not the mere *κοιλία*, or outermost part of man's complex being which is involved in the sins against which the Apostle is here protesting. The very form of the expression remaining the same as in the former clause, makes it evident, we think, that the Apostle meant to direct attention to this distinction between *σῶμα* and *κοιλία*, though our translators seem not to have felt it. "Meats," he exclaims, "for the *κοιλία*, and the *κοιλία* for meats, but not the *σῶμα* for fornication! The *σῶμα* is for the LORD, and the LORD for the *σῶμα*." I.e., to partake of food, to eat and drink, is natural and necessary: it is not natural or necessary to commit fornication. The Body was not made for that end, (as the *κοιλία* was made for receiving and digesting food) but for something higher. Let us first see what that higher purpose

is: "The Body is for the LORD, and the LORD is for the Body." That is: what meats are for the *κοιλία*, that the LORD is for the *σῶμα*; what the *κοιλία* is for the meats by which it is sustained, that the *σῶμα* is for the LORD. Here the Apostle touches on a doctrine of infinite depth and of the greatest practical importance. We shall not fully understand this "hard saying" unless we connect it with the Primitive Belief on the nature and operation of the inward gift sacramentally bestowed on us in the Holy Eucharist, formed and based as that Belief was on our LORD's own words in the sixth chapter of S. John. There He teaches that a real union with Himself and with His Sacred Body is the necessary ground of our Eternal Life in and through Him, and that this union is spiritual. (S. John vi. 63.) But as it is a Union with the Body of CHRIST which is there insisted on, it cannot be the Human Soul or Spirit only which participates in it. "Our sinful bodies" must "be made clean by His Body," as well as "our souls washed through His most precious Blood," if we would "evermore dwell in Him," and have Him "dwelling in us." It is also further evident from one particular consequence (the Bodily Resurrection,) expressly attached to this union by our LORD Himself, that the bodies of the faithful must be really and substantially united to His. "He that eateth My Flesh, and drinketh My Blood hath Eternal Life," (*hath* already in having Me,) "and I" (i.e., I as his own indwelling life) "will raise him up at the last day, for My Flesh is really Meat, and My Blood is really Drink," i.e., the power of preserving life, which is common to all food, is found in My Flesh in the highest degree. I am the true Food—the Bread of all true Life—spiritual, eternal, and divine. (S. John vi. 54, 55.)

It seems impossible to read those gracious words of our Blessed LORD without thus understanding them, and discerning in them a promise that His Own Body—spiritual and glorified—should become in its impartation to us the germ of eternal life, and of that spiritual heavenly body in which we shall be clothed and manifested at the Resurrection, that "Body of Glory" "fashioned" like the LORD's, that "House from Heaven," "not made with hands," with which S. Paul desired to be "clothed upon," and of which we may say with the Psalmist, "When I awake up after Thy likeness, I shall be satisfied with it."

We call this future Body SPIRITUAL, as S. Paul calls it, (1 Cor. xv. 44,) and in the same sense as our LORD is now called *Spirit* (2 Cor. iii. 17), because His very Body is now spiritual. Were it not so it could not have this wonderful working in our Bodies. It is only that which is spiritual which without losing its own identity and individuality, can interpenetrate and quicken other substances. So indeed the LORD Himself says, (S. John vi. 63,) "It is the Spirit which is the quickening power, the Flesh" (as flesh not filled like Mine with the Divine Life of the Word) "pro-

fiteth nothing: the words which I have spoken unto you are Spirit and are Life." And if the Body of CHRIST now given to us is spiritual, it follows that it must already attach itself to, quicken, and feed an inward spiritual Body, existing already, and as it were, carried about within the shell of our natural bodies, and constituting already even now their proper ground, their true selves, but which, as we have seen, will not be manifested till the Day of the Resurrection.

These remarks will throw sufficient light on the words of the Apostle which we are now considering: "*The Body is for the Lord, and the Lord is for the Body.*" The meaning now evidently is, that the main purpose for which we are endowed with this wonderful bodily organism is that we may yield it in its innermost ground as an offering to the LORD, and that He has assumed our Nature in order to give Himself therein to us for the good of this Body. As if to leave no possibility of doubt that such is His meaning, S. Paul adds a direct reference to the bodily resurrection in the following verse:

"*But God both raised up the Lord, and also will raise up us (i.e. our σώματα) by His own power*"—and proceeds—"Know ye not that your bodies are the Members of Christ?" vv. 14, 15.

"Your bodies," i.e. the members of your bodies, in their complex unity are all "*Members of CHRIST,*" by virtue of the Union between His Body and yours.

Such then is the relation in which every faithful Christian, every baptised person, and every Communicant of the Altar stands to CHRIST.

S. Paul goes on to show, that one sin above all others from its peculiar nature disturbs that relation.

"*Shall I then take away the Members of Christ, and make them members of an harlot? God forbid! Or do ye not know, that he that cleaveth to the harlot is one body (with her)? 'For the two shall be' (or shall become) as (the Scripture) saith, 'one Flesh.' But he that cleaveth to the Lord is with Him One Spirit.*" vv. 15—17.

Again the Apostle's meaning may be made more clear by illustrations from other parts of his writings. We select two; one from the Epistle to the Ephesians treating of the Sacramental Mystery of Marriage, and the other an utterance on the same subject in the following seventh chapter of this Epistle. We begin with the quotation from Ephes. v. 25—32.

"Husbands, love your own wives even as CHRIST also loved the Church,<sup>1</sup> and delivered up Himself for her sake, that He might sanctify her, cleansing her by the Laver of water in the Word, (i.e. by the Divine Power now dwelling in her, just as His Deity once dwelt

<sup>1</sup> S. Paul denominates the union of CHRIST with His Church a Mystery; just as much as the Incarnation itself. "Great is the Mystery of Godliness, God manifest in the Flesh."



visibly in a human body,) that He might Himself present unto Himself the Church in a glorious condition, not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing, but that she might be holy and without blemish. So also ought husbands to love their own wives as their own bodies. He that loveth his own wife is (in fact) loving himself. For no one ever yet hated his own flesh, but (every one) is wont to nourish and cherish it, even as also the LORD (is wont to deal with) the Church, because we are members of His Body (being) from His Flesh and from His Bones. 'For this cause (saith the Scripture) shall a man leave father and mother and shall cleave unto his wife, and they two shall be (or, 'shall become') one flesh.' The Mystery (involved in) this is great, but I am speaking in reference to CHRIST and the Church."

It is impossible for us to go into the details of interpretation with regard to this passage, but what we are now most concerned to insist on is self-evident. The Apostle's argument proceeds on the assumption, that the union between two persons constituted by marriage exceeds all other earthly unions in closeness and intensity. Common experience teaches us that what we call spiritual or mental bonds of connection are not, when taken by themselves, so strong or so enduring as those which have a natural basis. The union formed by friendship for instance between like-minded persons may be very close and dear, but it is not so close, it does not strike its roots so deep in our whole nature, as that between near related members of the same family, even where there may be less of mental congeniality. How often has the friend been sacrificed from a natural instinct for the sake of the brother, the parent, or the child. But the Marriage union is closer still. Body and Soul in their innermost ground and place of junction are, in ways we cannot fathom, and as it would seem permanently, affected by it. On this principle the Apostle grounds his moral precept, that *Husbands ought to love their wives as their own bodies*—adding—"FOR he that loveth his wife loveth himself." In this he discerns the Sacramental mystery—"I speak in reference to CHRIST and the Church," i.e., I use the words which primarily referred to one relation, for the purpose of expressing the sacred intensity of the other.

It is from the same conviction that in our second reference (1 Cor. vii. 32—34,) he acknowledges the existence of certain religious dangers incidental to the marriage state founded on this its characteristic intensity and the greatness of its claims.

"I wish you to be without anxiety. The unmarried man is anxious about the LORD's things, how to please the LORD, but he that is married is anxious about the world's things how to please his wife. A line of separation has been also drawn between the wife and the virgin. The unmarried woman is anxious about the LORD's things that she may be holy (devoted to Him) both in body

and in spirit; but she that is married is anxious about the world's things how to please her husband." 1 Cor. vii. 32—34.

Here it is unquestionable that the Apostle means to recognize certain religious advantages (or if you will prerogatives) belonging from its very nature to the unmarried state, while he points out certain dangers incidental by the like necessity to that of marriage. The husband and wife are no longer independent personalities. They belong one to the other, and cannot either of them deny the other's claim to an absorbing care and an exclusive affection, without doing violence both to the reality of their personal union, and infringing the precepts grounded upon that reality. S. Paul does not speak of this "carefulness" or "anxiety" characteristic of the married state as being in itself *sinful*, but only as liable to become so, as a source of danger. He acknowledges its necessity while warning against the possibility of evil consequences. At the same time marriage in itself is for him as for his fellow-Apostle S. Peter, a Divine and holy Institution blessed by CHRIST, and so far from necessarily being a cause of separation from Him, that in CHRIST, "in the LORD" it is a source not only of the purest earthly happiness but of spiritual blessings too.

Quite otherwise, however, is it (we return now from this digression to our original passage, 1 Cor. vi. 15—17,) with an *unlawful* union. The effect of that union is indeed the same. The same mysterious bond is established between two persons in the innermost ground of their being—ὁ κολλώμενος τῇ πόρνῃ ἐν σῶμά ἐστιν. How can this take place without violating in the most tender point that mysterious union with the LORD, which is the covenanted and Sacramental privilege of every Christian? Shall I then take away or alienate the members of CHRIST, τὰ μέλη τοῦ Χριστοῦ, i.e., the members of my body which are CHRIST's because my whole body is His, and make them πόρνης μέλη? That be far from me! S. Paul is speaking of one who has been once washed and justified, and sanctified, that is, who was in Baptism united to CHRIST, and has since been fed at CHRIST's Table with His Body and Blood. We see from the form of the expression and the whole argument how intensely he felt the truth and reality of the union thus established between the Christian and the LORD. And so he proceeds: "Know ye not that ὁ κολλώμενος τῇ πόρνῃ is with her one σῶμα?" For as in the sacred marriage union, so here the natural effects are the same, (as the Scripture saith, ἔσονται οἱ δύο εἰς σάρκα μίαν) so here also the union between two personalities is a deep and comprehensive, perhaps an abiding one. Then he adds: But ὁ κολλώμενος (repeating the word to mark the reality of the union) τῷ Κυρίῳ is with Him ἐν πνεῦμα, i.e., the LORD's spiritual Body is united to and imparts a spiritual character to the body of His faithful servant, as well as constitutes the cleansing and refreshing of his soul.

Now we see the full force and significance of the following exhortation :

*"Flee fornication ! Every sin whatsoever a man committeth is done apart from his body : but he that committeth fornication sinneth against his own body."*—v. 18.

I.e. Every other sin affects only a portion of a man's nature—the heart, or mind, or *merely* the outward organism, the *κοιλία* ; but this sin affects *the whole body* down to the central seat of the man's personal being. The sinner, in this case, has no longer the right to command over himself. He belongs, (however sadly and sinfully, yet truly) to another, to an impure and sinful being ; and so it is that *ὁ πορνεύων εἰς τὸ ἴδιον σῶμα ἁμαρτάνει*.

S. Paul adds one warning more. In the indulgence of such sins we sin not only against CHRIST and His Sacred Body with which we are united, but also against the HOLY SPIRIT, who by virtue of that union, and in order to maintain it dwells in our bodies as in a temple.

*"Know ye not also that your body is a temple of the Holy Ghost in you, which ye have (as a gift) from God, and that ye are not (any more) your own ? For ye were bought with a price. Glorify therefore God in your body."*—vv. 19, 20.

*"Ye are not your own."* God's mercy has taken you out of yourselves and deprived you of all claims to the wretched independence of the natural man—"for ye were bought with a price ;" not only what is given to you, but also what was once given *for you*, that "precious Blood" deprives you now of this imagined freedom to do, as you please, with any part of your complex being. *"Glorify therefore God in your body :"* that is the conclusion of the whole matter ; not only the soul and spirit, the heart and mind, the will and the affections are to be devoted to God's love and service, but this poor mortal body too must share in the same sacrifice and be prepared for the same heavenly exaltation. Joined to CHRIST, indwelt by the HOLY SPIRIT, bought with a great price, and bearing already in itself the seed of Resurrection, this body also is a sacred thing, to be sanctified and given up to His service, and used for His glory, Who, by all these mercies, has reclaimed it for Himself.

## THE OXFORD TRANSLATION OF S. JUSTIN.

*The Works now extant of S. Justin the Martyr. Translated with Notes and Indices.* Oxford: J. H. and Jas. Parker. F. and J. Rivington, London; 1861.

So many hallowed memories and associations group themselves around the "LIBRARY OF THE FATHERS," that we can hardly bring ourselves to subject the volumes as they are published, to the ordinary processes of review and criticism. The additions to the Library are made now at irregular intervals, and the gift as it comes by its very tarrying bears its own record—it tells us how God is dealing with our national Church; how some, sinking under the burden of the day, have tried to find a solace for their weary spirits in other folds, in alien scenes "among foreign peoples." Meanwhile others have been taken to join the general assembly of the elect in their waiting place of "light and refreshment," they have passed away into the Church Invisible, they have entered into that "rest that remaineth for the people of God." The twain, upon whom successively devolved the responsibility of presenting the Church with the writings of S. Justin in this English form, have been taken from us, ere the work was finished; one called already to Paradise, to share in a closer communion with the crowned soul of this early Saint; the other waiting for his call under the mysterious discipline of a most sad disease. As we read we would bless the lamented names of Charles Marriot and John Barrow. Yet if each volume of the Library of the Fathers entwines around it recollections, sad, mournful, and humbling, it nevertheless comes to us with a good omen—it is a pledge to us, that the work of the Church is still going on, that we are not living upon the echo merely of brighter and happier days which are past, but that *now* the Blessed Paraclete is warming new souls and energizing in new hearts, stirring up men to bear an open witness without fear and without shame to the fundamental verities of the Catholic Faith—so that the promise on the strength of which the Editors at the beginning entered upon their task, that the Church's "teachers should not be removed into a corner any more," will never wane or wax feeble until its final purpose be fulfilled, and the evil work which was wrought in the Church of God by "men of corrupt minds and reprobate concerning the faith" shall have utterly perished and come to nought. We write thus solemnly because we regard the publication of this 'Library of the Fathers' as one of the greatest and one of the holiest works that it has ever been permitted to the English Church to carry on, and we joy to see it advancing. It is a work per-

manent and lasting in its effects. It places the doctrine of the primitive Church within the reach of all—it forms a substantial, ever living and witnessing, body of evidence against modern tamperings with the Faith from whatever source they spring. It condemns the fallacious spiritualism and fatalism of the Puritans, it bids us reject the supplementary articles of belief with which the Churches of the East and of the West have encumbered their creeds. Besides being used as a body of evidence these volumes also enable us to enter into the *spirit* of the sub-apostolical and succeeding times of the Church: we breathe the same air which sustained Tertullian, SS. Justin, Cyril, Athanasius, and Chrysostom, and the results which they obtained are just those same results according to their measure and degree, which we may expect will flow from the revival of their writings amongst ourselves. Like begets like, contemplation of holiness is the way to learn sanctity, communion with the learned to obtain knowledge. We believe that the mind of the Church at any particular past time can be for the most part acquired by the reproduction of that mind by a few, who labour to make it the common property of all.

The special subject of this new volume also calls for some remark. It is a translation of the *earliest* Father which has as yet appeared in the series, and of writings which are not sermons but polemical treatises; and they belong to the same school of writings as Mr. Dodgson's selected translations from Tertullian—both books contain an elaborate Apology, though S. Justin's Dialogue with Trypho is wider in its range than any single tract of Tertullian with which we are acquainted. We may argue of the usefulness from the sale in some degree, and we find that S. Cyril's Catechetical lectures and the Tertullian have had a double and a triple demand made for them over the majority of the other volumes. S. Justin's works will be sure to meet with a large circulation, for to the student of ecclesiastical history they are of more moment than others of the volumes of the Library that might be mentioned—S. Gregory's Morals on the Book of Job, for example. It makes us regret that long ago a volume had not been published containing a translation of the works of Athenagoras, Tatian, and of S. Theophilus, and above all, that the translation of *S. Irenæus*, which was to have been executed by Mr. Keble, was never carried out; for though some of these wants have been supplied and the others will ere long be removed, no mere private translation carries the weight with it that is attached to publications issued by a combination of scholars of known reputation under the guidance and direction of such a deservedly venerated name as that of Dr. Pusey.

S. Justin seems to have been thought most highly of from his own times to the present. Eusebius speaks of him as ὁ φιλοσοφώτατος ταῖς ἀληθείαις (Hist. iv. 16) as a γνήσιος ἐραστής τῆς ἀληθοῦς φιλοσοφίας (Ib. iv. 8). His contemporary and disciple Tatian in

the "Oratio ad Græcos" calls him ὁ θαυμασιώτατος Ἰουστίνος (§ 18, p. 81, c.) S. Epiphanius (Petav. vol. i. p. 391, Δ) says that he was *μεγάλως ἐξασκηθεὶς, ἀρετῆς τε βίον ἰνδείζόμενος*; while Photius ends his enumeration of his knowledge, as having ascended to the highest point of profane learning, with the expression, *πολυμαθεὶς τε καὶ ἱστοριῶν περιβρέμενος πλούτῳ* (Cod. cxxv.) Yet it is not so much with S. Justin himself as with his two undoubted works, the Apologies and the Dialogue with Trypho, that we have now to deal.

We by no means subscribe the opinion, that the treatises which we have mentioned form the whole of the existing remains of S. Justin, for Semisch has most satisfactorily demonstrated the authenticity of the "Exhortation to the Greeks;" still the Dialogue with the two Apologies, form by far the most important of his writings.

We will notice in the first place, the *larger Apology* of S. Justin. The Apologetic form of writing forms a very marked era in Christian literature—it opens with Quadratus and Aristides, A.D. 126; and closes with Tertullian, A.D. 200; S. Justin, S. Athenagoras, S. Theophilus, and Tertullian, are its principal illustrators. All the Apologies are formed for the most part on the same type: we may justly take S. Justin's as a model of the rest.

The Apology admits of three natural divisions; the first part contains an argument against condemning the Christians for their name, and without proven accusations; the second section proves by very sound arguments the truth of the Christian religion; and the third division gives an account in detail of some of the Christian services. It commences thus, "To the Emperor Titus Ælius Adrianus Antoninus Pius Augustus Cæsar, to his son Verissimus the philosopher, and Lucius the philosopher, the natural son of Cæsar, but the adopted son of Pius, and the lover of learning, and to the Sacred Senate and to the whole people of Rome, in favour of those men of all nations who are unjustly hated and oppressed, I, Justin, the son of Priscus and grandson of Bacchius, natives of Flavia Neapolis, a city of Palestine, being one of them, have composed this address and petition." (p. 1.) This *Verissimus* is Marcus Ælius Verus, or Marcus Aurelius the philosopher. It may surprise those who are not conversant with studies of this nature to learn that this short section contains more than enough materials of discussion to fill the whole of our paper. The editors of S. Justin, whose editions lie open before us as we write, have all most copious notes on this exordium. Grabe, Styan Thirlby, Semisch, Otto, Braun, Lumper, contain several long examinations of separate portions of it taken in detail. What can there be in this simple address to have so occupied so many scholars? the *form* of the dedication has to be supported by inscriptions, for one thing, and then, the very *date* of the apology is gleaned from the words "Verissimus the Philosopher,"—who received the title of Cæsar in

the year A.D. 139, so that this Apology must have been written and presented to the Emperor in the interval between the accession of Antoninus Pius and the elevation of Marcus Aurelius to the dignity of Cæsar, that is in 138 or 139. Then again, there was a long discussion as to what reading of the text supported the fact that Bacchius was the grandfather of S. Justin. Braun and Semisch both discuss at length whether the reading of Eusebius shall be followed, which gives the appellation of philosopher not to Lucius Verus but to his father Cæsar Ælius Verus.

These are but a selection of the points of mark that are contained in the few lines of this short inscription. An appeal is next made to the justice of the case: if Christians teach what is right, they ought not to be punished, they are, moreover, bound to teach what they know, so "that by every means, and before his own life, the lover of truth ought, even if threatened with death, to choose to do and to speak what is right." These judges, who are called "pious, philosophers, guardians of truth, lovers of learning" ought to maintain this character by their actions, yet whatever they may do, no real harm can happen to the innocent, "you may slay us, but hurt us you cannot." It was just as Plato had spoken to his judges before: "Neither Meletus nor Anytus can harm me. No, a worse man cannot harm a better." (Apol. § 18.) Both S. Clement of Alexandria<sup>1</sup> and Origen<sup>2</sup> have echoed the same sentiment, which Plato again repeats towards the close of *his* apology, (§ 32,) "for a good man, no event can be evil, whether he lives or dies." S. Justin here demands that the charges against him be investigated, that he be not condemned by the name alone. "We are charged," he says, "with being Christians, (Χριστιανοί,) but it is not right to hate that which is good (χρηστόν)" which gives a play upon the words Χριστός and Χρηστός, which is of significance, as the latter became a false name which the heathen gave to our Blessed LORD. The malice of the evil spirits is then contrasted with the object of Christians' worship, their immoral tendencies are exposed, and a high compliment is paid to the great moralist. "When Socrates endeavoured, by true reason and judgment, to bring these things to light, and to deliver men from these evil devils, these devils themselves laboured through the agency of such men as delight in evil, to have him put to death as a godless and profane person, saying that he introduced new gods." (P. 4.) The Christian has to work, as Socrates before him, though with a less noble aim and a far less light, had worked. The God of the Christians is "the most true GOD, FATHER of righteousness, Him, and His SON Who came from Him, and taught us these truths, and the host of other good Angels who follow and imitate Him, and the *Spirit of Prophecy* we reverence and worship." (P. 4.) The title of the HOLY GHOST as the "πνεῦμα προφητικόν" occurs twenty-two times in this

<sup>1</sup> Strom. iv.

<sup>2</sup> C. Cel. viii.

Apology, and only five times in the Dialogue, in which He is twenty-eight times called the "*πνεῦμα ἄγιον*," the reason of this difference seems to be an obvious one, the gift of *prophecy* was one that came home with a great force to the heathen mind. A more open confession of faith then follows, and a contrast is drawn between the "God Who has a form and a glory ineffable," and the pagan idols. A God that requires not material sacrifices, seeing "He in His goodness created all things in the beginning from shapeless matter, for the sake of men, who, if by their works they approve themselves worthy of His design shall, we believe, be thought worthy of a dwelling with Him there to reign with Him, free henceforth from corruption and suffering." (P. 7.) We should rather prefer the words *ἀθάνατους καὶ ἀπαθείς*, rendered as *immortal* and *impassible*. A similar expression to this is met with in the Dialogue, (c. 124,) "Men will become like God, impassible and immortal, if they keep His commands." How opposed are such expressions as these to the modern notions about the necessity of good works. The reward expected is thus stated: "And when you hear that we look for a kingdom, you rashly conclude that we mean a human one, although we declare that it is to be that which is with God."

In the thirteenth section we have two remarkable statements, the one concerning Christian worship itself, and the other to whom this worship is given—we give the passage entire: "In speech to offer Him solemn acts of worship, hymns (*πομπὰς καὶ ὕμνους*) for our creation, for all our means of health, for the qualities of things, and for the changes of seasons, and putting up prayers that we may have a resurrection to incorruptibility through our faith in Him. Our Teacher of these things is JESUS CHRIST, Who was even born for that purpose, and was crucified under Pontius Pilate, procurator of Judæa in the reign of Tiberius Cæsar. Whom, having learned Him to be the SON of the Very God, and holding Him to be in the second place, and the Spirit of Prophecy in the third, I will prove that we worship with reason." What were those solemn acts of worship, these *πομπὰι*? Mr. Davie gives the following note upon this subject: "*πομπὰς καὶ ὕμνους*. The Benedictine says on these words, 'It is sufficiently plain that hymns and psalms are here meant, as well the Psalms of David, as the hymns composed by the Christians which used to be sung in churches. The *pompæ* are nothing more than those rites and ceremonies which were practised in the celebration of the Sacraments, especially Baptism and the Eucharist; but they are not commonly taken for the Sacraments themselves, (*mysteria*.)' He proceeds to cite the words of S. Cyril of Jerusalem. 'What are the *pompæ* [of the heathen] but the insanities of the theatres, the courses of the horses in the hippodromes, the huntings in the circus, and other vanities of the like kind.' And he continues,



'Because these things were done by them in honour of their gods: but the Christians who eschewed such superstitions appeared to retain no such worship: therefore S. Justin teaches, that they have their *pompæ*, but that they celebrate them with wisdom and truth.' Grabe, however, observes that '*pompæ*' means not as the Benedictine understands it, rites and ceremonies, but the solemn prayers which were uttered with great vehemence, and were chiefly used in the celebration of the Sacraments." (P. 9.) Now the reader will observe that Mr. Davie quotes exactly what Otto (vol. i. p. 163,) says that Dr. Grabe stated. "*Grabio observante hîc non ritus sunt vel ceremoniæ (ita intelligit Maranus) sed solemnes cum magno spiritu recitatæ preces, quales potissimum in mysteriorum celebratione fundebantur; eodem modo πομπή ad orationis splendorem transfertur in Plat. Axioch. p. 369, D. ed Steph.*" The Oxford Translator's statement is a counterpart of that of Otto's. But what does Grabe really say?—"Nisi me tamen animus fallit, S. Martyr significare voluit solemnes cum magno spiritu et EXTERNA QUOQUE POMPA ALIQUA recitatas preces quales illæ præcipue erant quæ *ad altare* in tremendorum mysteriorum celebratione fundebantur." (Grabe's Apology, p. 23, Oxf. 1700.) Both Mr. Davie and Otto talk about "Sacraments," Dr. Grabe about the tremendous mysteries involved in the celebration at the altar; both omit all mention of the portion of external pomp with which these mysteries were associated.

On two grounds then, we protest against Mr. Davie's note: firstly, as tending to overthrow the plain testimony that S. Justin bears to the Eucharistic ceremonial of the early Church; and secondly, as giving a garbled quotation from Dr. Grabe to support his opinion,—a quotation which seems to have been borrowed from Otto, and not from the Doctor himself. Of course the German reprints of the patristic treatises in a convenient form, in a clear modern type, and often with an emended text, are a very great convenience; but we have made it a practice never to work with such an edition *alone*, for the utter untrustworthiness of these editors in all doctrinal questions, most frequently renders their statements worse than useless.

The second portion of the section of the Apology which is cited is one of the few Trinitarian passages which are to be found in S. Justin; who here seems to state the subordination of the SON to the FATHER, and of the HOLY GHOST to both the FATHER and the SON. As he continues that there was a mystery, which the heathen did not know, in assigning to a crucified man (*ἀνθρώπου σταυρωθέντι*) "the second place after the Immutable and Eternal God." With this Christian worship was joined also holiness of life, and S. Justin brings forward several texts from the Gospels in which chastity is enforced, and then he adds these remarkable words. "And there are many men and women of sixty

and seventy years of age who were disciplined to CHRIST from their youth, and now remain spotless." (P. 11.) Mr. Davie has well rendered *μαθητεύθησαν* of the original by this word 'disciplined.' This passage which is standing witness to the high rank in which celibacy was held in the primitive Church has been forced into an argument in favour of infant baptism, of which, says Semisch, S. Justin knows nothing, and he continues: "The traces of it which some persons believe they have detected in his writings are soundless fancies artificially produced," . . . "nothing more is said than that many individuals of both sexes became disciples of CHRIST in early life. The idea of *μαθητεύεσθαι* does not necessarily include that of being baptized, it merely brings before our minds a catechumenate. And even admitting that the baptismal rite was included in *μαθητεύεσθαι*, this by no means is decisive of a reference to infant baptism. *Ἐκ παλδων* contrasted with *ἐξηκοντοῦται* and *ἐβδεμηκοντοῦται* may well denote the entrance on the period of youth."<sup>1</sup> The line which the Apology now takes is to commend the other Christian graces, such as patience, submission to the Emperor, the doctrine of the resurrection, its credibility, and its foreshadowings by the heathen, whose own deification of men, and traditions of gods, are next discussed. The twenty-eighth section asserts the freedom of the will combined with God's foreknowledge, very plainly. "He foreknows that some will be saved by repentance, some even that are not yet perhaps born: for in the beginning He made man with understanding, and with the power of choosing the truth and of acting uprightly, in order that all men might be without excuse before Him, for they were created with reason and contemplation." (P. 22.) A long series of the prophecies relative to our Blessed LORD next occurs. "The binding of His foal to the vine," &c. of Gen. xlix. 10, "was a symbol significative of the events which were to happen to CHRIST, and of the works that should be performed by Him." The washing His robe in the blood of the grape "was prophetic of the Passion that He was to undergo, cleansing by His Blood those who believed on Him." The star of Isaiah xi. 1 is thus interpreted, "A Star of light has arisen, and a flower has sprung up from the root of Jesse, this the CHRIST: for of a Virgin who was of the seed of Jacob, the father of Judah, whom we have shown to be the father of the Jews, through the power of God was He born, and Jesse was His forefather according to this prophecy, and He was the son of Jacob and Judah, according to the succession of generation." (P. 25.) Micah and the Psalms are commented on as well, but Isaiah the most of all. The following opinion upon the modes of expression in prophecy is worthy of note. "But when you hear the words of *the prophet*, spoken as by some Person, you should not suppose them to be spoken by those who are inspired, but by that Divine Word who moves them: for

<sup>1</sup> Semisch, S. Justin, iv. § iv. c. vi.

at one time he declares, as it were prophetically, what is to come to pass, at another he speaks as from the Person of GOD, the LORD and FATHER of all things : at another as from the Person of CHRIST, at another as from the person of the people, answering the LORD or His FATHER. Such as you may see even in your own writers, some one person being the writer of the whole, but introducing the persons who speak. Thus the Jews, who have the writings of the prophets, not understanding, acknowledged not CHRIST even when He came, but even hate us who affirm that He has come, and who prove that as was foretold He was crucified by them." (P. 28.)

We here incidentally touch a cord that binds S. Justin with most of the ecclesiastical writers of the first three centuries ; they all more or less treated of miracles as of common occurrence, they all also set the highest possible value upon the *evidence of prophecy*. Origen boldly states that the prophetic gift is the greatest, the strongest, the special evidence of the Spirit. Tertullian does not hesitate to say,<sup>1</sup> "Idoneum, opina, testimonium divinitatis, veritas *divinationis*." Lactantius will not allow the claims of our Blessed LORD's divinity to be admitted upon His own testimony alone, but on the witness of the Prophets who long before had sung of what He did, and of what He endured,—"*Non suo testimonio (cui enim de se dicenti potest credi ?) sed prophetarum testimonio, qui omnia quæ fecit ac passus est multo ante cecinerunt, fidem divinitatis accepit.*"<sup>2</sup> In this very Apology S. Justin asserts this high claim of prophecy in words which admit of no ambiguity. We read in the Thirtieth Section, "But lest any should ask us in objection, what prevents Him, Whom we call CHRIST, from being a man, of men, who performed what we term miracles by magic craft, and therefore appeared to be the SON of GOD, I will now offer my proof, not trusting to the words of those who affirm these things, but necessarily believing those who foretold what should happen *before it came to pass*, for we see with our very eyes that events have happened, and are happening *as was foretold*, and this I think will appear, even to you, the *greatest and truest proof*." Surely this passage exhibits the relative value which was attached by S. Justin to miracles and prophecies. Nor is it hard to account for the reason why the evidences of prophecy came home with almost irresistible force to the minds of the early Fathers : they were surrounded by the oracles of heathenism ; nay, believed too, that the dæmons had a faculty of dark divination, a faculty that was a corruption of that which once was God-sent and true just as the demoniacal nature itself arose from the fall of the angelic orders. The Gospel was a great restoration, the Church itself, whether Jewish or Christian, was an imitation on the small scale of the very angelic hierarchy itself, therefore the prophecies that are uttered whether by Prophet or by Apostle, were so many indications of a true faculty and inspiration derived from God

<sup>1</sup> Apol. § 20.

<sup>2</sup> De Inst. Div. v. 53.

Himself, the one great fruit and origin of all prophetic power. The real prophecies of the Old Testament as fulfilled in CHRIST were indeed in contrast to the unfulfilled predictions of the Sibyl and the soothsayer. Truly, in S. Justin allegory and type were raised to the dignity of a direct foretelling, and figures, many sided as they were, were fixed down to one rigid and unalterable form. And the *working* of this method of interpretation might almost be said to justify the means employed. Celsus might sneeringly say, (Origen. c. Cels. ii. § 30,) that "no one can prove that there is a God, and a SON of God, on the ground of such obscure images, such foolish interpretations, and such insignificant marks;" yet the impression which was made on the mind of the heathen Neophyte when the Old and New Testaments were thus compared and interpreted was a very striking one indeed: an impression tending in a remarkable degree to confirm his faith and to bring before him such a conception of the historical reality of the SON of GOD, that the image produced upon his mind must have been lasting and abiding indeed.

In a similar manner in the Dialogue with Trypho, after the stranger has been expounding his views upon the immortality of the soul, when S. Justin asks, whom he is to take as his master, what he is to learn, if the truth be not with the philosophers? the reply is, "There once lived men called *Prophets*, who were anterior to any of those who are considered philosophers, and who were blessed, just, and beloved of GOD; these spoke by the HOLY GHOST, and foretold what should happen thereafter, and what is now taking place. And they *alone* knew and taught the truth, neither regarding nor fearing any man, nor being themselves carried away by the love of glory, but declaring those things alone which they saw and heard when filled with the HOLY GHOST. And their writings still remain to us, and whoever reads them will derive much instruction about the first principles and the end of things, together with all that a philosopher ought to know when he believes them. They have not indeed given demonstrations in their writings, for they are in fact *above all demonstration* as faithful witnesses of the truth; but the events that have happened already, and those which are taking place even now, *compel* you to receive their testimony." (P. 80.) Yet elsewhere he confesses that the Prophets revealed in types and parables, veiling the truth which they contained, that the greater number of them should not be easily understood by the multitude, but that those who sought to discover and learn it should labour for it. (P. 196.)

This First Apology then proceeds to trace out the witness that prophecy bears to CHRIST, whether uttered by Moses, by Isaiah, by Micah, by David, or by Ezekiel, and as the authors were different, so were the subjects treated of by them various, yet all centred around the work and person of the Incarnate SON. An account is then given of the imitations of prophecy, (of which the

Cross alone formed a marvellous exception,) of the heretics, of Plato's cosmogony as compared with that of Moses, and of his doctrine of the Son in contrast to the revelations of Holy Writ. The Apology ends with the two well known and classical passages upon Christian Baptism and the Holy Eucharist. Before citing the paragraph upon the initiatory Sacrament of the new law, we must say that S. Justin did not regard Holy Baptism as a *symbol*, however significant it might be of a certain inward consecration of spirit, or as a *type*, however real, of the regeneration of the HOLY SPIRIT, but rather (as Semisch himself allows) as an *efficacious medium* by which the whole economy of the Incarnation was objectively communicated to the faithful catechumen. Its efficacy applied to the body as well as the soul, to the former it gave a capability of enjoying the resurrection state, to the latter it became the cause of remission of sins, of mental and moral regeneration; it was believed to ensure mental illumination, freedom from defilement of sin, a restoration to communion with God, the incorruptibility of body and soul, and eternal well-being and life.

Of S. Justin himself Semisch says that "his convictions on the subject embraced all the essential points which are comprised in the Church-dogma." In the dialogue S. Justin says, "that we who have been sinners receive spiritual circumcision by means of Baptism, through the mercy of God." (P. 122.) And again in his Apology he calls it "the laver for the remission of sins and for regeneration," (§ 66); and lastly, when speaking of Noah as a type of CHRIST, he says, "for CHRIST being the first-born of every creature was also made again the beginning of a new race which is regenerated by Him through water, and faith, and wood which contains the mystery of the Cross." (P. 239.) Holy Baptism is thus spoken of in this Apology, "How we dedicate ourselves to God, being new made through CHRIST, I will explain, lest if I omit this, I appear to be cheating (*παραποιεῖν τι*) in my explanation. All then who are persuaded, and believe that the things which are taught and affirmed by us are true, and who promise to be able to live accordingly, are taught to pray and beg God with fasting to grant them forgiveness of their former sins, and we pray and fast with them, then we bring them where there is water, and after the same manner of regeneration as we also were regenerated ourselves, they are regenerated; for in the Name of God, the FATHER and LORD of all things, and of our SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST, and of the HOLY GHOST, they then receive the washing of water: for indeed CHRIST also said, Except ye be born again, &c." (P. 46.) Isaiah i. 16—20, "Wash ye, make you clean," is then brought forward to give increased emphasis to this account. In the next section we read, "Now this washing is called *illumination*, because they who learn the meaning of these things are enlightened in their minds, and in the Name of JESUS CHRIST, Who was crucified

under Pontius Pilate, and in the Name of the HOLY GHOST, Who foretold by the Prophets all these things about JESUS, does he who is enlightened receive his washing." (P. 47.) The great distinction which obtains between the Blessed Eucharist and Holy Baptism consists in this, that in the former the grace is substantively conveyed to the soul through the very elements themselves, that in the latter the gift is less immediately associated with the water. This distinction S. Justin fully recognized. S. Justin asks in the Dialogue, "How can I require that baptism, who have been already baptized with the HOLY GHOST?" (P. 105.) And thus he very frequently associates the Baptism with the HOLY GHOST with the Baptism with water. S. Hermas had in his Shepherd, (I. iii. § 2,) and S. Clement of Alexandria had in his Eclogæ (c. 7,) both done this before him, while Tertullian, S. Cyprian, and S. Cyril of Jerusalem have followed in his wake. Yet is the very instrumental cause by no means lowered from its high office, it is ever as in this passage from the Dialogue, connected with the Sacrifice of Calvary. "For CHRIST has also freed us who were immersed in the very heinous sins which we had committed, through His crucifixion on the tree, and *His sanctifying us by water*, and made us a house of prayer and adoration." (P. 182.) This relation between the rite and the grace to make a perfect sacrament had been before the time of S. Justin enunciated by S. Ignatius (Ad Eph. 18), and after it by S. Gregory Nyssen (Catech. Orat. c. 88.)

With regard to the Blessed Eucharist the testimony of teaching is very plain. In the Dialogue, Malachi i. 10—12 is cited, and the Holy Sacrifice is thus mentioned, "God has therefore beforehand declared that all who through this name offer those *sacrifices* which JESUS, Who is the CHRIST, commanded to be offered, that is to say, in the Eucharist of the Bread and of the Cup which are offered in every part of the world by us Christians, are well-pleasing to Him." (P. 215.) Nothing can well be more explicit than this, it is the *θυσία* sacrifice which *προσφέρεται* is offered up. Again in the same treatise, "In like manner the oblation of the flour, my friends, I continued, which was commanded to be offered for those who were cleansed from leprosy, was a type of the Bread of the Eucharist, which JESUS CHRIST our LORD commanded us to offer in remembrance of the Passion which He underwent for those who purify their souls from all sins." "With regard to those sacrifices which are offered to Him in every place by us Gentiles, that is of the Eucharistical Bread and equally of the Eucharistical Cup, He then foretold that we should glorify His Name." (P. 121.) The *ἄpros* and the *ποτήριον τῆς εὐχαριστίας*, at first earthly and visible substances, a mere material substratum and means of embodying and representing to the senses the thanksgiving of the faithful, become *after consecration τροφή εὐχαριστηθεῖσα* of God, the very food and drink of immortality, to use Ignatian phraseology.

We feel bound to give the whole passage from the Apology upon this important subject :

" But after thus washing him who has professed, and given his assent, we bring him to those who are called brethren, where they are assembled together to offer prayers in common both for ourselves and for the person who has received illumination, and all others everywhere with all our hearts, that we might be vouchsafed now we have learnt the truth, by our works also to be found good citizens and keepers of the Commandments, that we may obtain eternal salvation. We salute one another with a kiss, when we have concluded our prayers : then is brought to the President of the brethren, bread, and a cup of water and wine, which he receives, and offers up praise and glory to the FATHER of all things, through the Name of His SON and of the HOLY GHOST, and he returns thanks at length for our being vouchsafed these things by Him. When he has concluded the prayer and thanksgiving, all the people who are present express their assent by saying, Amen. The word Amen means in the Greek language, So be it. And when the President has celebrated the Eucharist, and all the people have assented, they, whom we call Deacons give to each of them who are present a portion of the Eucharistic bread and wine and water, and carry them to those who are absent. And this food is called by us the Eucharist, of which no one is allowed to partake, but he who believes the truth of our doctrines, and who has been washed in the laver for the forgiveness of sins and his regeneration ; and who lives as CHRIST has directed. For we do not receive them as ordinary food, nor ordinary drink, but as by the Word of GOD, JESUS CHRIST our SAVIOUR was made flesh, and had both flesh and blood for our salvation ; so also the *food which was blended by the prayer of the Word which proceeded from Him, and from which our flesh and blood, by assimilation, receive nourishment, is, we are taught, both the flesh and blood of that Jesus, Who was made flesh.*"—P. 51.

Never has there been passage around which controversy has raged with fiercer strife, or disputation has dissected with a keener relish. All theologians have allowed but one meaning to S. Justin's words, " We do not receive these as common bread, or as common drink. (*Οὐ γὰρ ὡς κοινὸν ἄρτον, οὐδὲ κοινὸν πῶμα ταῦτα λαμβάνομεν.*)" That there is indeed a sacredness in the very bread and wine after consecration none have dared to deny. It is the other clause in this paragraph, about the interpretation of which the whole burden of the discussion hangs, concerning the action of that food, which blessed by the prayer of the word, that food which S. Justin says, without ambiguity, is " the flesh and blood of the Incarnate JESUS, food by which also our flesh and blood are nourished *by a transmutation,*" or, as Mr. Davie renders it, " by assimilation." There is no mere symbolism implied here, but the bread and wine of the Eucharist are not common bread and wine, but the Body and Blood of CHRIST.

To what are the words "by a transmutation" (*κατὰ μεταβολήν*,"") to be referred? In the first place we may observe, that if used in the sense of *digestion*, a meaning which Ernesti, Münscher, Münter, and Strauss, endeavour to attach to the word *μεταβολήν*, then it is altogether superfluous, for the same thing has been expressed by the verb *τρέφεσθαι*. Still we cannot deny that the material elements of the Blessed Eucharist do exercise a real influence upon the material bodies of the communicants, preparing the body for its future state of glory and incorruption. S. Ignatius does not shrink from saying this. "Breaking the one bread, which is the medicine of immortality, the antidote against death" (ad Eph. c. 20, *φάρμακον ἀθανασίας, ἀντίδοτος τοῦ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν*.) S. Irenæus, when speaking of the double element in the Eucharist, states that our bodies having received the Eucharist (*μηκέτι εἶναι φθαρτὰ*) are no longer corruptible, having received the hope of an eternal destination (lib. iv. 34). The word *μεταβολή* does there imply a certain "assimilation." But who, on the other hand, will be prepared to deny that it implies as well the conversion of the elements, after a Divine and spiritual manner, into the glorified body of the Incarnate Son? The Lutheran Semisch allows that S. Justin "regarded the Supper as a kind of *repeated Incarnation*. As the Incarnation was accomplished when the Divine Logos assumed flesh and blood, so he believes the Presence of CHRIST in the Supper is effected when the Divine Logos enters into connection with the bread and wine as His flesh and blood." (Semisch's S. Justin, iv. c. vi. § 2. B.) Surely this is strong testimony to be given by a theologian, who uniformly speaks of the Blessed Eucharist as the "Holy Supper." The Lutheran Professor would be no very willing witness to the testimony that S. Justin bears to the consecration in the Sacrament being a repetition of the Incarnation. We cannot dismiss this subject without just glancing at the completeness of S. Justin's views on this all-important subject. While he fully recognizes the awfulness of the Adorable Presence therein contained, he by no means loses sight of the SACRIFICE with which that Presence is ever associated. The sacrificial words *θύσια* and *ποιέω* are used again and again; and in the Dialogue (c. 41,) we meet with this statement: "With regard to those *sacrifices* which are offered to Him in every place by us Gentiles, that is of the Eucharistical Bread, and equally of the Eucharistical Cup, we were foretold that we should glorify His Name." Surely the whole tone of S. Justin is utterly at variance with the degrading views of the modern Protestant sectaries, who sublimate into a symbol, or a type, the one great act of Christian worship, and the one mighty deed and gift by which the perpetual intercession of our LORD in Glory is brought down to us the faithful members of His Mystical Body here on earth.

It seems hard to leave S. Justin without saying one word upon



his doctrine of the *Logos*. In the Old Testament the doctrine appears in its germ, here He was both Angel and Apostle. The bearer of all God's revelation and agency in the world, the beginnings of the later hypostasizing of the Divine Word. Solomon's "*Wisdom*" was not a substantive reality, it was a poetic personification, expanded as far as such a personification was capable of development. In the so-called Apocryphal Books, the personality becomes more fixed and distinct. Jesus the son of Sirach not boldly, but with caution develops the idea into a Person, there is a substantial distinctness given to the σοφία in the Wisdom of Solomon. It was reserved for Philo of the Alexandrian School, to fix this personal idea, and to concentrate round it the complex assemblage, the *pleroma* of the spiritual hierarchy. The Word was either unexpressed, the λόγος ἐνδιάθετος; or the Word pronounced of a substantive nature in λόγος προφορικός. It was, moreover, the likeness ἡ εἰκών, the glory ἡ δόξα, the shadow ἡ σκία of God. He was, indeed, the ὄργανον, and the ὑπηρέτης of the Most High; the divider ὁ τομεύς, the Archetypal Seal ἡ ἀρχέτυπος σφραγίς, the perfect High Priest ἀρχιερεύς, the Suppliant ἱκέτης, the Advocate παράκλητος, the Ambassador πρεσβευτής of the Heavenly King. The *Logos* was the great instrumental cause, by Which all that was incomprehensible to the creature of the invisible and unsearchable God was made manifest to man. Offices such as these, which Philo had assigned to the "δεύτερος Θεός," S. Justin gives to Him too. In the Christian Father much of the mysticism of the Alexandrian creation is simplified by the knowledge of a Personal ΜΕΣΣΙΑΣ, "Who had already come;" Who in Himself fulfilled what was before but an idea. There is something very noble in the way in which the speculations of men's minds were reaching forward towards a personal *Logos* and Redeemer, and speculations uncertain and unsatisfied, till the TRUE WORD became Incarnate, were then fully realized. Nay, He was more than all, far more than the few could ever have conceived of, the Very Person of the Word of the FATHER, Who was from the Beginning, the Great Prophet, Priest and King, "the Brightness of the FATHER's glory, the Impress of His Hypostasis, upholding all things by the word of His power." It does in very truth, form an instructive and a glorious lesson as to the Nature of our Blessed LORD, to compare the *Logos* of Philo with the "Word" of S. Justin.

In conclusion. The office of a translator is often but an unthankful one: yet of late days, the care and thought and judgment, the knowledge of the different languages which is required, are all being taken into account; and where the work is honestly and well done, it brings with it its due share of praise. Such we are sure will be the case with Mr. Davie. This translation will remain a lasting monument of his care and accuracy as a scholar, and of his high attainment as a theologian. He has well-con-

sidered and accurately rendered all the more difficult and the doctrinal passages in his Author. He has given a note just where it was most wanted. When we get a really good book we ought not to be niggard of our praise; yet if we could fill a sheet we think that we have said enough, when we express our honest conviction that Mr. Davie's translation of the works of S. Justin is well worthy of the important place which it will henceforth occupy in the "Library of the Fathers."

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### THE MONKS OF THE WEST.

*Les Moines d'Occident depuis Saint Benoit jusqu'à Saint Bernard.*

Par le COMTE DE MONTALEMBERT. Paris: Lecoffre et Cie.

*The Monks of the West.* Authorized Translation. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood.

WE have here a great subject from the hands of a great man. The growth of monasticism may be said to be almost identical with the growth of spiritual energy in the Church. Whatever it was to become in later ages, it did for many an age absorb well nigh into itself, or if it did not absorb, it regulated as dependent upon itself, all the earnest spirituality of Christendom. The lives of ascetics involve every imaginable variety of feature which can interest the human heart. If the wilderness blossomed with the rose according to the metaphor of a text often applied to the fathers of the desert, yet the fragrance of the rose spread from the wilderness and filled the world. They who had given up the world seemed indeed according to the promise to receive a hundredfold of that which they surrendered. They who might have seemed to the superficial glance of the religionists of expediency to be living only for themselves were found to be really the leaders of all the stirring thoughts which, hidden beneath the hotbed of the corruption of the decaying despotism of the later empire, were to find their way out to light and fruitfulness, and enrich the world with the lovely foliage of civilization, the blossoms of learning, and the fruit of piety. What is told in legends of savage animals crouching at the feet of the monk and ministering to his wants, is literally true—and perhaps the legends were often intended as symbolical expressions of the truth—of ruffian warriors who laid aside their barbarism at the presence of sanctity manifestly supernatural. The lives of the monks are a narrative of warfare in close conflict with every element of worldly greatness. More than that, the visions of poetry meet

us in their frequent experiences, not as empty sentiments called up for momentary gratification, but as great realities of life, realities palpable to the touch of faith, and felt to be infinitely more important and substantial, in a sense infinitely more true than the accidents of the outer world, the realities of the natural sense. All that is wild and all that is tender, all that is elevating through poetical sublimity, or practical through the humility of persevering endurance, all that the intellect of ages has to present for our admiration, all that from the ranks of ignorance and poverty has been rescued and made venerable by the fecundating power of devotion, the counsels of the legislator, the daring of the warrior, the rough life of the agricultural settler, the patient study of the scholar, the widespread acting of the philanthropist, the confident single-heartedness of the reformer, regardless of all men's persons in the consciousness of a mission which he must fulfil, all these elements of multitudinous interest associate themselves with the lives of those whom perhaps we might expect to find living simply in ideals, exiles from the world, forgetting it, and themselves forgotten. Strange it is that they should really have exercised the greatest influence on the history of the world, who desired to live solely for heaven. Amidst all the eccentricities, follies, errors, and superstitions which in some degree mingled with this life, even from the first, and which gradually developed into the most fearful inconsistency until the time comes when the sorrowing worshipper sighs forth an Ichabod as he passes from one house of so-called religion to another, and feels in the oppressiveness of a devotion chilled beneath the scowl of death the approach of the great storm of Divine vengeance which should make these holy houses desolate as Shiloh,—a storm whose last destructive and melancholy howlings we seem to be hearing in our own day in distant lands,—amidst all this evil, and all the more intensely because of it, we must remember that the growth, the vigour, the vitality of the monastic life consisted in the purity, the unworldliness, the simple faith, the Divine communion of those who as they sought this life, sought it not merely in order to fly from the world, but in order to claim the promises of their God, and to find in being alone with Him more than they had quitted when they undertook their solitude. To trace the extent of this life and not to bear continually in remembrance how they did indeed "live by faith," would be to miss the great lesson which we should learn from them, and must lead to a misconception of every incident of their story. Too often does the shallow narrator of monastic life discuss the details of its technical expressions without regard to the hidden motive which supplies the clue. When spiritual triumphs over the world have become idealized in some tale that is almost as much a parable as a memorial, it is easy to lose the profit by a sneer, but our real aim should be to discover what were those general principles of life

which on any particular occasion heaved up and burst in unexpected breakers, and which stand out to light, and are remembered just because of the grotesqueness which mingles itself with the habitual piety, and marks the strong emotions of the soul.

A grand subject is this then, which has fallen into the handling of a truly great writer. M. de Montalembert has thrown himself into his task with affectionate zeal. Many a well-known story has been told over again with a grace of language which makes it new. Yet we must confess to being disappointed with the book as a whole. Coming as it does from the pen of a statesman, we had expected that this history of monasticism would furnish a more philosophical review of the relationships between the busy world and these still busier recluses. We should like to have seen such a portraiture of the face both of nature and of society as would have shown the urgent necessity for those retreats, as the nurseries of peaceful thought and durable progress. We should like to have seen the contrast between the monastic agriculture and the more secular farmstead, between the home of piety where manual labour was accepted as of God's appointment, and the modern workshop from whence love has been eliminated, and where the sovereignty of money is felt with all its coercive exaction and bitterness of heart, the jealous sensitiveness of self-interest taking the place of the love of God. We should like to have seen why such establishments were possible then, and not now. Indeed we fear that even M. de Montalembert does not realise the impossibility of reproducing the same now. A modern monastery there may be, but it will be a very different thing from an ancient one. Turn the University Printing Press or the "Times" Office into a College, and you would have a large part of the monastic life reproduced. Why should not the material be the same now as then? Why should not the men who work hard to supply the wants of the age be as much governed by a religious bond now as then? Were they in those days really generally devout? Is religion now really a thing of the past, an archæological fancy of the few? Would it be possible to gather together a band of workmen to live by religious rule, and observe hours of prayer, and support themselves by their own labour? No doubt the growth of the domestic life makes it easier for persons to live tranquilly if they desire it in the world. The family has become in a great measure an ample substitute, perhaps even in some respects far healthier than the religious house. Here then, is one of those points which we should have liked to have seen worked out, the influence of the monastery in refining the domestic feelings, and fostering the growth of that which was afterwards to take its place. But there ought surely to have been a careful analysis of what made monasteries possible even then. They were not possible at that time, because they belonged to the age. They were in the age, but not of it, any more than of

ours. They developed a principle of life which was quite alien to the age. Would it be possible for a committee of twelve gentlemen, three clergymen, three members of parliament, three landed proprietors, and three leading manufacturers, to agree together and establish such an institution, and develop a principle contrary to this our own present age? No. The monasteries were the germination of individual holiness. Individuals living in opposition to the world around them, became the nucleus of a religious atmosphere which transformed others. This is a point then, which we should have liked to see worked out, not merely that there were many holy monks, but that there was a sort of spiritual genealogy, how the holiness of one entranced the many. That there are difficulties in the way of such influence now greater than of old need not be denied. Nay, it might be an interesting subject of inquiry, why commerce is so much more absorbing to the masses than the wild exciting life of the freebooter. A saint upon earth now-a-days would doubtless be regarded with a sort of reasonable scorn quite different from the dread of the lawless Goth. The growth of varied principles of society ought therefore to be traced, if we would understand the greater influence of saintly life then than now. Yet such influences have not been unknown in modern times. We remember establishments, some years ago, where hymns and scriptures formed the delight of servants at their work, probably very much in the same way in which the offices of the monastic life seized upon the affections of those earlier religious houses. It is not to be supposed that all were really religious at heart because they had caught the idea, nor that they were mere hypocrites because they were not practically devout. A good fashion is a good thing, even though it be only a fashion. Unless it is held up by some firm principle of sanctity, it will soon subside into mere cant, empty fashion, formalism, and will lose its goodness. So if we consider the more recent Oxford movement, we shall doubtless find a good deal of fashion mixed up with it. So with the present mania for undogmatic piety. Probably it is very much the same with the *famille Chretienne* movement in France. Why is there so little of the monastic spirit in all these religious movements of the present day? That is the question which should be borne in mind, in reviewing the monasticism of the past. The monastic idea has certainly risen up before the minds of men among us, Why does it die in their minds, without fruit? Surely the answer is, because this is a secular, philanthropist age, rather than an age in which God is recognized as the one object to be lived for. The monasteries were places of hard work, but not for the sake of producing great results. Having food and raiment the inhabitants were therewith content, but they worked for God, because idleness was sin. An institution would not be thought successful now which did not really effect great material results. Why? Because it is

an age in which rightly directed labour ought to produce great material results. The progress of social organization and mechanical power ought therefore to be taken into account, and the absence of these elements of life ought to be carefully examined into, if we would see what the monastic secret really was. They were able to live and work simply for God. The thought of greatness was not forced upon their minds. The reality of greatness came to them as God's gift to those who loved Him.

An historian of the monks ought thus to trace the development of much real good in society, this real good nevertheless becoming itself the great barrier in the way of a more complete spirituality. The earlier ages of monastic history would have shown how those religious houses had prepared the way for the more widely spread but less effective good of more mechanical appliances.

Civilization is the child of devotion, although in its maturity it seems to be the great antagonist of its parent. A review of the monastic system, as being not merely a retreat from the evil of the age, but the germinating faculty whence modern civilization was to issue, would have been very interesting.

Does not this again point to one reason why the present should not be, as the old, a monastic age? The modern monastery would be rather for retreat than for the growth of new principles of life. Is there anything now to which we can look forward as the probable successor of that effete civilization under which we dwell? What is the difference in kind between a monastery for the simple retreat of a suffering saintliness in an age when the world is permitted of God to have full sway, and a monastic movement gathering into itself all the germinant good of a young society? How far do the old monasteries supply us with types of recluse life suited for the meditation of our own time?

These are some of many questions which we should like to see answered in such a work as the history of monasticism. It seems to us that M. de Montalembert has allowed himself to become too much of a biographer. There is too much pretentiousness about his work. That some details may have caused him much labour is doubtless true, but the greater part of the two volumes might have been written with a mere perusal of well known and accessible works. In "Butler's Lives of the Saints" some of the characters are portrayed with less rhetoric, but more suitable simplicity and devotional profit. We do not think it fair to accuse M. de Montalembert of writing with the intention of sarcasm against the present government of France. The idea of a worn out social system gasping under the oppression of military despotism, could not fail to colour the narrative of those times. No need for the brush to be thought to be dipped in modern partizanship. There are many features of similarity between the present state of Europe and the latter years of the Roman Empire. Both are ages of decay. The

inroad of the Barbarians and the growth of the spiritual energies of the Church renovated the body and quickened it with a new soul. In the collapse which seems to be threatening Europe, we look in vain for any nation to rise up and give new vigour to coming centuries. It may be that there is an era of Slavonic development in store for the world. The elevation of the lower classes to a political power which they have not hitherto exercised, is not unhappily the infusion of new blood into society. The lower classes rising up from their depression may be intoxicated with the idea of liberty. But this again is not a real spiritual power like the grace which vivified Christendom. It is a mighty motive to give an impulse, but does not supply the spiritual stamina by which that impulse shall be carried on to lasting victories. The hatred of law may be a primary motive of action, but it fails by its very nature to supply a law of action. It takes away the one idea by which action can alone be sustained. The liberty of CHRIST was a constraining liberty. While it took away the law of usurpation, it supplied the law of truth. The monastic life developed that law in its most stringent conditions, at the same time that it awakened the deepest possible consciousness of the freedom of the spirit before GOD. The world saw the law of CHRIST exhibited, and seeing was believing. Had they merely heard with the hearing of the ear they would have refused obedience. When the rigour of life in religious houses declined, society naturally took a lower religious tone also. Now through the general declension, society seems to have become well-nigh deaf to supernatural truth, and society includes the Church. It does not seem that any mission from within, any resuscitation of Church energy, can by any natural process reinvigorate the palsied frame. M. de Montalembert is quite right in saying that the Goths from the North and the Monks from the South were the salvation of Europe. Amidst the many elements of parallelism we fear there are two great negative features to difference society now from what it was then. There is no new race to strengthen by natural conquest. There is no missionary body to strengthen by spiritual conquest. As far as we can form an estimate of the future, the high spiritual life can only be known in the retired life of some few, waiting for CHRIST to come and arouse mankind from the grave of death, both natural and social. The history of the monks is enough however to give encouragement to individuals who would thus try and live for CHRIST. They who will live for Him shall be found to have lived for others also. If He call not the masses now to a great social regeneration, yet will He call devout souls in living for Himself to be the strength of others also, and for their sakes the days of evil shall be shortened.

But it is time for us to give some Analysis of the work before us.

After explaining the motives which induced him to take this work in hand, M. de Montalembert goes on to consider the funda-

mental character of monastic institutions. He says well that their true service to mankind has consisted not in the material results which they have effected, but in the war of the spirit against the flesh which they carried on in their own persons, a witness to all men of the fall.

"In the eyes of one who does not admit the combined necessity of human effort and divine grace in order to our rising above the condition of fallen nature, it is clear that the monastic life can only be a lamentable delusion. He who does not know nor understand the struggles of the soul when she seeks in the love of God, in its most heroic efforts, a victorious arm, a sovereign remedy whereby to triumph over the ill regulated love of the creature, can certainly never understand that mysterious reverence of virginity which is the essential condition of the cloistered life. But to such a one, the Christian revelation, the priesthood instituted by JESUS CHRIST, are equally inadmissible. So on the other hand, any one who believes in the incarnation of the SON of GOD and the Divinity of the Gospel ought to recognize in the monastic life the most noble effort which has ever been made to struggle against the corruption of nature and approach Christian perfection. Every Christian, who believes in the perpetuity of the Church ought to discern and venerate in this institution the imperishable germ of sacerdotal devotion in spite of all the scandals and all the abuses that one cannot seek to deny."—Vol. i. p. 14

It is unhappily because so much evil has to be taken count of that the true excellences of monasticism are forgotten. Our author makes great demonstrations of allowing all the evil. We cannot say that he has fulfilled them. "The true vocation of the work" is the subject of his third chapter. Unhappily the true vocation was too often forgotten. The fourth and fifth chapters on "the services rendered to Christianity by the monks," and "happiness in the Cloister," are positive and true. The devotion, the toil, the actual benefits, conferred not only on the spiritual life of society but also on its material wellbeing, benefits not limited to the life of the individual, but handed on unceasingly from age to age—these are the true defence of the monastic order; but it is only damaging to their cause to ignore the large extent to which almost from the first, many principles of their true vocation were set aside, or to treat the grievances against them as they are treated in Chapter VI. While monasteries achieved wealth and kept distributing their bounty, they earned for themselves a title to honour. It was the possession of wealth along with the profession of poverty which really made them obnoxious. They not only fell away from their true vocation, but fell into a double falsehood against Christianity by the titular acceptance of counsels which they practically disregarded. When obedience was exchanged for pride, poverty for wealth, and virginity endangered, if not forfeited, through sensuality, the occupiers of monasteries could no longer be considered



as the heirs of those holy men into the results of whose labours they had entered. Holiness in all its high counsels was the true monastic inheritance, all else was accidental. The later monasticism has been guilty of a double crime, in bartering its true inheritance so as to seize upon an inheritance which it really held only in trust for others, and involving in its own obloquy the memory of fathers gone to rest, as well as those who still continued amidst the general decay to represent their fathers' spirit. The true vindication of monasticism still must be in the careful searching out of actual reforms, and the careful noting of those yearnings after better things which rise up with a holy wail from the bondage of corruption like the sweet songs of the captives of Babylon. It is suicidal to the cause, to claim pardon for the evil by reason of the eminence of the good. True monasticism is a Divine Life, and life must be individually possessed, cannot be shared between two, cannot by its vigour in one body arrest the decay attendant upon death in another. Each monastery which cut itself off from the divine life of its earlier years, really ceased to be monastic although in temporal accidents it might occupy the old position. Monasticism might outlive spoliation, but the secularization of the spirit was death. Our author has scarcely sufficiently borne this in remembrance. Weep indeed we must most bitter, bitter tears as we visit many a monastic ruin, but if we weep for the sacrilege of the spoiler and the havoc of a holy home, our first and bitterest tears must be for the parricide of those who dwelling amid such holy associations could sacrifice their fathers' memory to present pleasure and live in sensual indulgence, amidst the very graves of the Fathers of asceticism.

The ninth chapter of the Introduction contains a good deal of important matter. The distinction between "the true and the false middle age" ought to be carefully borne in mind. It is far too common to look upon the *ancien régime* as an exponent of the middle age sentiments. Conservatism delights to imagine that all that does exist, existed always. It regards the future as the region of possible change, and takes no proper count of the recentness of many existing phenomena. The foibles of the recent past are thus thrown back upon an age altogether different. This makes many all the more timid in contemplating the possibilities of the future. We are naturally prone to think that generations which have kept their faith, and handed it on to ourselves, kept it without those difficulties which are in our own way. There is a tendency to think that religious and political security have been gradually becoming less, down to our own day, and so we forget very often that true security consists not in the absence of enemies, but in the inherent possession of power to overcome them. The period when all things seemed secure, the period whose security we are so apt to transfer to the battling time which preceded it, was just the time

when true security, true dignity, true government ceased to exist, because the enemies who developed its vitality, the upbraiders who contested its possession, the rebellious who brought its energies into activity, crushed in appearance but only soothed, in fact were no longer active so as to sustain its active life by opposition.

"In those times which are so ridiculously calumniated, an eager desire of knowledge and of action inflamed the souls of men. The heroic and persevering ardour which sent Marco Polo and Plancarpin to the extremities of the known world, to encounter distances and dangers of which our contemporaries can form no conception, animated explorers of equal intrepidity in the region of thought. The human intellect exercised itself with Gerbert and Duns Scotus in the most arduous and delicate problems. The most orthodox, such as S. Anselm and S. Thomas Aquinas shrank not from any of the difficulties of psychology or metaphysics. Some advanced to the investigation of these the most repugnant to the spirit of the Church and of the Gospel. One may safely say that none resigned themselves to part with reason, or to let it sleep.

"Let us go a step farther, and ask whether now, in spite of printing, in spite of the happy, but yet inadequate progress of popular education, in spite of the apparent universality of science and art, the necessary equilibrium between material preoccupations and the moral vitality of the world is as well maintained as it then was. Let us ask if the spiritual element of human nature, if the cultivation of ideas, if moral enthusiasm, if all which constitutes the noble life of thought is as well represented, as energetically developed, as abundantly operative among ourselves as it was among our ancestors. For my own part, I doubt it. I believe that if all be taken into consideration, the domain of the soul and of the intelligence was never more richly endowed than in the middle ages.

"True, religion reigned over all, but religion stifled nothing. Religion was not banished into a corner of society, sealed up in the inclosure of temples, or of the individual conscience. Rather her influence was sought in order to animate everything, to enlighten everything, and after the foundations of the edifice had been laid upon an indestructible basis, her maternal hand came to crown the summit with her own light and beauty. . . .

"Are we then to conclude that the Middle Ages constituted a sort of ideal of Christian society? that they presented a normal condition of the world? God forbid. First, we must never look to see a normal state, an irreproachable epoch here on earth, and secondly, we must candidly avow that the Middle Ages are far, very far from realizing it. These ages have been called 'the ages of faith,' and with good reason, for faith was more sovereign then than at any other period of history.

"But that is all. That is a great thing, but it is all that can be said. We must not attempt to maintain that virtue and happiness were on the same level as faith. A thousand testimonies would rise up against so rash an assertion, to recall the general insecurity, the too frequent triumphs of violence, iniquity, cruelty, artifice, and the most refined depravity, to demonstrate also that the human element, almost

the diabolical element, had only known too well how to claim ascendancy over the world. Yes ; where heaven is opened, we find hell opened also, and alongside of those prodigies of sanctity which can scarcely be paralleled elsewhere, we find wretches that were scarcely inferior to those Roman emperors whom Bossuet calls the monsters of the human race."

"All this brilliancy of virtue and sanctity must not blind us to the true condition of things. There were more saints then than now, more monks, and above all, more true faithful ; but I will be bold to say, there were fewer priests, fewer true-hearted priests. The secular clergy of the Middle Ages was less pure, less exemplary than our own, the episcopate less an object of respect, the spiritual authority of the Holy See much less sovereign. This assertion may astonish some fond admirers. It is none the less demonstrable : the pontifical power has now-a-days subjects far less numerous, but much more docile. Its dominion has lost in extent, it has been equally the gainer in intensity."—Vol. I. pp. cxxliii.—cxxlvii.

We pass now from the Introduction to the actual history. It opens with a description of the lamentable condition of the Church at the moment when her triumph seemed complete.

"A glorious battle had been maintained for three centuries. How will the Church meet the dangers of victory ? How shall her season of triumph correspond to the glory of her struggles ? How can she avoid succumbing as earthly conquerors succumb under the pride and intoxication of success ? A new line of action will be necessary, a new campaign must be initiated, altogether different to the watchful and fruitful education of conflict, the holy joy of persecution, the dignity of danger which was always evident and never intermitted. Henceforth she will be associated with that very imperial power which had in vain attempted to annihilate her. Henceforth she is to assume in some degree the responsible control of a social system enervated by three ages of servitude, and cankered by all the refinements of corruption. She has triumphed over the ancient world. That is not enough ; now her task is to transform it, and take its place."—Vol. I. p. 6.

The fallen state of society, and the evils resulting from the combination of political and ecclesiastical interests are well traced, and the inroad of the barbarians supplying a new and healthy material of population. But "soon," we read,

"the corruption of Roman manners presses upon and infects these young and impassioned races. Their energetic vitality abandons itself to the impure caresses of a decrepit civilization. A revel takes the place of conquest, and the world seems in danger of having only changed its masters, and not its destiny.

"Who then is to discipline these untamed races ? Who shall train them to the art of life and government ? Who shall teach them to found kingdoms and societies ? Who can mould without enervating them, preserve them from the contagion, stay them from a headlong

overthrow in the corrupt abyss, and keep them from rotting before they shall have come to ripeness?

"The Church is to do this. The monks are the instrument by which she is to do it. From the depth of the deserts of the East and of Africa God makes to issue forth a cloud of men of sombre hue, more intrepid, more patient, more untiring, more hard towards themselves than had been to them either Roman or barbarian. Noiselessly they spread through the empire; the hour of its ruin is struck, and they are found at their station in the West as in the East. The barbarians arrive: and as they advance, see how alongside of them, before them, behind them, in every place through which they have passed with devastation and death, other armies spread out their camp in silence, other colonies are formed, grouping themselves with devout zeal to repair the miseries of the invasion, and reap the fruits of victory. Then at length when all has been invaded, conquered by the exterminators, a great man shall appear and take the command. Benedict is to be the legislator of the labour, of the continence, of the poverty which those around him willingly espouse. By thousands shall his children be counted, his children who are also his soldiers. The barbarians themselves will supply his ranks. Their chief will bow before him. He will raise him from the ground, acknowledging him as a vassal and an ally. He shall write a rule which for six centuries is to shine throughout Europe as the beacon light of salvation, which is to be the law, the strength, the life of these pacific legions destined to spread their tide over Europe, not for desolation, but full of fertilizing power,—a multitude who shall raise up the ruinous heaps, cultivate the waste places, people the deserts, and conquer the conquerors.

"The Roman empire without the barbarians had been a quagmire of servitude and corruption. The barbarians without the monks had been a chaos. The barbarians and the monks are by their union to constitute a world which shall call itself Christendom."—Vol. I. pp. 35, 36.

In the second book we have the precursors of monasticism in the East; their life of hardness, of charity, of study, and of zeal. This embraces a period of history which cannot fail to be interesting. We fear we must say that the evils which were associated with the monastic movement from the first are not sufficiently pourtrayed. It is vain to ask one age to admire the eccentricities of an age that is past, and eccentricities even in the most holy persons and systems indicate certain radical evils of constitution. It is by a full acknowledgment, and investigation of those evils that the truest admiration is won, for much that seems utterly grotesque and unaccountable when regarded from a modern standpoint loses its wildness, and is felt to be the necessary operation of a higher law when regarded in connection with the circumstances and general habits of the time which produced it.

From S. Paul the hermit, S. Antony, S. Pachomius, Macarius the elder and the younger, Athanasius, Basil, Gregory, and Chrysostom, we are conducted in the third book to the precursors of

monasticism in the West. The life of S. Anthony, by S. Athanasius, which stimulated the monastic movement in Gaul, is a point of contact. S. Jerome's character comes before us; this again without sufficient notice of its defects. Ligugé, Marmoutier, and Lerins, light up the western world with a bright constellation of learned and holy names, training in prayer the men who afterwards were to occupy the great places of government and danger on episcopal thrones and in controversial battles.

So we arrive at the more detailed period of monastic development. The lives of S. Benedict, S. Gregory, and S. Columban, occupy the greater part of the second volume. With some extracts from the character of S. Gregory, we shall conclude.

"The supreme pontificate, perhaps never fell upon a soul more disturbed and afflicted than that of the monk who saw himself thus condemned to exchange the peace of the cloister for the cares of the government of the universal Church, and the special defence of the interests of Italy. Not only then, but during all his life, he did not cease to lament his fate. His sadness displayed itself first in his answers to the congratulations which reached him from all quarters. 'I have lost,' he wrote to the sister of the Emperor, 'the profound joy of repose. I seem to have been elevated in external things, but in spiritual I have fallen. . . . I endeavour daily to withdraw from the world and from the flesh to see heavenly joys in the spirit. . . . Neither desiring nor fearing anything in this world, I felt myself above everything. But the storm of temptation has cast me all at once among alarms and terrors; for though still I fear nothing for myself, I fear much for those of whom I have the charge.'" (Translation) Vol. II. p. 92.

The following paragraph illustrates the working of the first Monk-Pope after his elevation to the throne. He exemplifies how the monastic life, instead of having a narrowing tendency as some may think from distorted notions gathered from later times, really enlarged the sympathies and enlightened the political intuitions, training men not only for holiness, but for those wide-spread acts of beneficence which ever go along with a true development of the inner spiritual being.

"The devoted friend of the peasants, who had scarcely escaped from the deadly pressure of Roman taxation when they fell into the hands of the barbarian conquerors, less skilfully rapacious but more brutal, he especially employed his power in reducing their burdens, guaranteeing the freedom of their marriages, the security of their possessions, and the inviolability of their inheritances. He placed at the head of his domains, in each province, no longer laymen, but ecclesiastics imbued with his own spirit, from whom he exacted a promise before the tomb of S. Peter, that they would manage the patrimony of the Church as the treasury of labourers and the poor. He extended this solicitude even beyond the limits of his own possessions; and it is pleasant to see the head of the universal Church turn from her struggles with

Byzantium and the Lombards to take in hand the interests of some obscure husbandmen of the island of Sardinia. 'I have learned,' he wrote to the Bishop of Cagliari, 'that certain laymen, charged with the administration of your patrimony, have committed depredations to the detriment of your peasants, and refused to render an account : it becomes you after having examined into this with the utmost rigour, to decide, according to the justice of the case, between your peasants and these men, in order to make them if possible disgorge their prey.'

"He was everywhere the man of justice and freedom. It was not alone the interests of the Church, its possessions, and vassals, which inspired his zeal. He endeavoured to defend the rights and liberty of all, by the influence of his spiritual authority and the freedom of his pontifical language, against the exactions, the arbitrary violence and cruelty of the imperial magistrates ; and, addressing himself to the ex-consul Leontius, the envoy of the Emperor Maurice, he sets down this great principle of Christian polity, always ignored, but always undeniable : 'You should watch over the liberty of those whom you judge as over your own ; and if you would hinder your superiors from trampling your freedom under foot, know how to treasure and guard that of your inferiors.'

"All who were oppressed, all the victims of power or wickedness, found in him a champion.

"He interfered indignantly concerning 'the atrocious and unheard-of crime' committed by a vassal of the diocese of Messina, in carrying away his godson's young wife to sell her to another ; and threatened with canonical punishment not the guilty person only, but the bishop of the diocese who left such attempts unpunished.

"It might be said that he anticipated the abolition of slavery in this preamble to an act of enfranchisement. 'Since the Redeemer and Creator of the world made Himself incarnate in the form of humanity, in order to break the chain of our slavery by the grace of freedom, and to restore us to our pristine liberty, it is well and wise to restore the benefit of original liberty to men whom nature has made free, and whom the laws of men have bowed under the yoke of servitude. For this reason we make you, Montanus and Thomas, servants of the holy Roman Church, which we also serve with the help of God, free from this day, and Roman citizens, and we make over to you all your stock of money.' Even in his theological expositions, in his commentaries on Job, this image of slavery still pursues him. 'The penitent sinner here below,' says he, 'is like a slave who has fled from his master, but who is not yet free : he has deserted his sins by contrition, but he must still fear the chastisement. He will be truly enfranchised, truly free, only in heaven, where he can no longer doubt his pardon, where he shall lose even the recollection of his fault, and where he shall taste the serenity and joy of freedom.'

"Until this terrible stain of slavery could be entirely effaced in the full light of Christianity, Gregory ordained that every Pagan or Jewish slave who desired to become a Christian should be freed at the cost of the Church : above all, he would not suffer Christians to remain the slaves of Jews. When he could not free them otherwise by legal means he caused them to be redeemed out of the ecclesiastical treasury. How-

ever, he checked energetically the rigorous measures and popular violence to which the Jews, in the midst of new born Christendom, were already exposed. His conduct and precepts on this subject formed a striking contrast to the odious persecution there inflicted by the intolerant zeal of the new Christians in Gaul and Spain upon the children of Israel. He strictly interdicted the Bishops of Arles and Marseilles from baptising them by force. He obliged the Bishops of Terracina, of Palermo, and Cagliari to restore to them the synagogues from which they had been expelled. 'It is by gentleness,' he wrote to these prelates, 'by benevolence and exhortations that we must lead the unbelievers back to unity, lest we alienate by terrors and menaces those whom charitable preaching and the fear of the last Judgment shall not have established in the faith. We must use such moderation with them that they will not resist us; but we must never constrain them against their will, since it is written, 'Offer yourselves a willing sacrifice.'"

We shall fitly conclude with an extract illustrating this great man's care for the truth and reality of the monastic life. He was not so solicitous about external works as to forget the importance of sustaining the spiritual fervour in those communities whence great works were to emanate. The warning against an overhasty adoption of the contemplative life, the importance of practical training in order to become fit for it, is a valuable lesson which may abide with us now that we close for the present our study of the Monks of the West.

"The legitimacy and sincerity of religious vocations was still further the object of Gregory's special vigilance. It is evident from his writings that he had particularly studied the conditions proper to enlighten and decide Christians upon their spiritual vocation. In religious life itself, he would have none give himself up to a life of contemplation until he had been long and seriously tried in active life. 'In order,' he said, 'to attain the citadel of contemplation, you must begin by exercising yourself in the field of labour.' He insists at length upon the dangers of contemplative life for unquiet and presumptuous minds, who run the risk, by pride, of aspiring to surpass the powers of intellect, and of leading the weak astray, while they wandered astray themselves. 'Whoever,' he adds, 'would devote himself to contemplation ought necessarily to examine himself thoroughly, to ascertain to what point he can love. For it is love which is the lever of the soul. This alone can raise it up, and snatching it from the world, give it full power of wing, and make it soar into the skies.'"—Vol. II. p. 160.

## RECENT POETRY.

1. *The Sisters, Inisfail, and other poems.* By AUBREY DE VERE. London: Longmans. 1861.
2. *Edwin of Deira.* By ALEXANDER SMITH. Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. 1861.
3. *The Prophet Enoch; a poem.* By JAMES BURTON ROBERTSON, Esq. London: James Blackwood. 1861.

In the pages of the *Ecclesiastic*, six years ago, we introduced, with much commendation, a volume of poems, by the writer whose new book stands first in the above list—Mr. Aubrey de Vere. Since that time, he has published a collection of *May Carols*, by no means inferior to his first production, but unlikely, from the very subject of them, to become so generally popular as some of the sweet lyrics in his earlier volume. The book before us is more ambitious in its size and character than either of those already to, and is one upon which his future reputation will no doubt be permanently built. The first poem in order is by no means of the highest type. It is, nevertheless, pleasingly written, and contains many passages of great sweetness and beauty. If many passages remind us of Wordsworth, it is not that they are either plagiarisms or imitations, but that the author has clothed his production with that subjective simplicity which—while it sometimes degenerated into common-place in the late Laureate—was often the highest charm of his poems.

The second title of “*Inisfail*,” is “*Ireland in the olden time*,” and here—in a collection of miscellaneous poems, miscellaneous both in style, character, metre and power,—we find the author appearing to the very best advantage. The period of History which is illustrated in the First Part is that included between the latter part of the 12th century and the latter part of the 18th. Of the object of the poem, the author writes as follows in his Preface:—“*Inisfail* may be regarded as a sort of National Chronicle, cast in a form partly lyrical, partly narrative, and of which the spirit is mainly dramatic: The plan will account for the necessary exclusion of modern political subjects, however momentous. Its aim is to record the past alone, and that chiefly as its chances might have been sung by those old Bards who, consciously or unconsciously, uttered the voice which comes from a people’s heart, and is heard in festive hall and in the village circle, in the church porch, and on the battle-field. That voice includes many tones beside its sadder or more solemn ones; it changes also at different periods of a nation’s history; and this diversity I have endeavoured to mark by a corresponding change of tone in the three parts of the poem.



A national chronicle in verse would necessarily, so far as it was true to the spirit of history, include what may be called the biography of a people—its interior as well as its exterior. The annals of Ireland were stormy and strange after the lapse of those three golden centuries between her conversion to Christianity and the Danish inroads. But there were also great compensations—religion : natural ties so powerful that they long preserved a scheme of society almost patriarchal : an ever-buoyant imagination : and the inspiring influence of outward nature on a temperament as susceptible as the heart was deep. After the storms had rolled by, there still remained a people and a religion. So long as its life is mainly from within, a people works out its destiny.”

From this it may easily be seen how deeply the religious element is engraven upon the character of his productions, and how thoroughly they must be appreciated by the Irish. In truth, with the exception of Denis McCarthy—whose poems are of a remarkably high order—there is no other Irish writer who can so successfully command the attention, and win the sympathy of his fellow-countrymen.

The first poem that strikes as peculiarly worth quoting, is a “Hymn on the founding of the Abbey of S. Thomas the Martyr in Dublin, A.D. 1177.” As many of our readers will perceive, the ideas are, almost one and all, taken from the Church’s office of that Saint’s Day,—very well set, nevertheless in an English form. We quote two verses :—

“ Behold a great high priest with rays  
Of martyrdom’s red sunset crown’d !  
No other like him in the days  
Wherein he trod the earth was found.  
The swords of men unholy met  
Above him clashing, and he bled :  
But God, the God he served, hath set  
A wreath unfading on his head.”

“ Great is the priestly charge, and great  
The line to whom that charge is given !  
It comes not, that pontificate,  
Save from the Great High Priest in heaven !  
A frowning king no equal brook’d :—  
‘ Obey,’ he cried, ‘ my will, or die.’  
Thomas, like Stephen, heavenward look’d,  
And saw the Son of Man on high.”

“ A Christmas Carol,” “ The Epiphany,” “ The Bier that conquered,” and “ The Days of Outlawry,” are amongst the most beautiful and striking poems of the First Part of *Inisfail*. The latter we quote entire :—

## "THE DAYS OF OUTLAWRY.

- "A cry comes up from wood and wold,  
 A wail from fen and marish,  
 'Grant us your laws, and take our gold;  
 Like beasts dog-chased we perish'—  
 The hunters of their kind reply,  
 'Our sport we scorn to barter;  
 We rule! the Irish enemy  
 Partakes not England's charter.'
- "A cry comes up for ever new,  
 A wail of hopeless anguish,  
 'Your laws, your laws!—our laws ye slew:  
 In living death we languish'—  
 'Not so! We keep our hunting ground;  
 We chase the flying quarry.  
 Hark, hark, that sound! the horn and hound!  
 Away! we may not tarry!'
- "For Scotland England's king with glee  
 Forsakes his court and palace.  
 O Erin, if that hour in thee  
 A Bruce had risen—a Wallace!  
 For conquests new King Edward burns  
 In Scotland's farthest highland;  
 The forest lord the offal spurns  
 Of one subjected island.
- "Sad isle, thy laws are Norman lords  
 That, dower'd by Henry's bounty,  
 On cities sup 'mid famish'd hordes,  
 And dine on half a county!  
 A laughing Titan, Outlawry  
 Strides drunk o'er hill and heather;  
 Justice to him is as a fly  
 'Twixt mail'd hands clash'd together.
- "O memory, memory, leave the graves  
 Knee-deep in grass and darnel!  
 Wash from a kingdom, winds and waves,  
 The odour of the charnel!  
 Be dumb, red graves in valleys deep,  
 Black towers or plains blood-sloken:—  
 Dark fields, your thrilling secrets keep,  
 Nor speak till God hath spoken!"

A poem on "Compline," is sweet and peaceful in its character, and quite worth quoting also:—

"How oft her cradled babe beside,  
 Singing some mother kneeleth,

While dimpling o'er the darkening tide  
A ray from Hesper stealeth.

"Thus, but with sweeter song, the Church  
While shades the dark hills cumber  
Kneels in the twilight's starry porch,  
And sings her babes to slumber !

"The earth is vexed—her love gives rest,  
Sole love which cannot vary ;  
And those Sabæan hymns thrice blest  
The antiphons of Mary.

"Die, quiet day in blight or bloom  
Sweet anthems round thee ringing !  
The Pride of Heaven above the tomb  
Her compline rite is singing !"

The Second Part of "Inisfail" opens with the Reformation era,—the sorrows and excesses of which are continually brought before the reader with great and remarkable power.

"The Phantom Funeral," (p. 209,) "The Suppression of the Faith in Ulster," (p. 222,) and "The Intercession," (p. 231,) are all powerful poems. There is a grandeur in the stern ruggedness of the second, which adds considerably to its power. In some instances, however, there is a tendency in the author to become a little prosaic, and many of the ideas are not always as novel as they might be. Moreover, the very simplicity of some is their peculiar fault : for while the rhythm, of course, is tolerable, the poems might otherwise be written out into very perfect prose with no transfer of words,—a palpable and indisputable fault.

This is, however, far from being the case with a poem at page 295, which is certainly one of the gems of the whole volume. It is called "All-Hallows, or the Monk's Dream ; A Prophecy," and points out in what way Ireland may "accomplish her destiny," as the phrase runs, by simply holding fast to the good deposit, which from the earliest days of S. Patrick has brought the message and Presence of the Most High to a people whose faith the world calls superstition, and whose works—when the noblest Christian virtues have been sought after—have not been sought in vain from her truest and most Christian children. The author in the following, has written a truly national poem which will live :—

"I trod once more the place of tombs :  
Death-rooted elder, full in flower,  
Oppress'd me with its sad perfumes,  
Pathetic breath of arch and tower.

The ivy on the cloister wall  
 Waved, gusty, with the silver gleam :  
 The moon sank low : the billows' fall  
 In moulds of music shaped my dream.

" In sleep a funeral chaunt I heard,  
 A 'De profundis' far below ;  
 On the long grass the rain-drops stirr'd  
 As when the distant tempests blow.  
 Then slowly, like a heaving sea,  
 The graves were troubled all around !  
 And two by two, and three by three,  
 The monks ascended from the ground.

" From sin absolved, redeem'd from tears,  
 There stood they, beautiful and calm,  
 The brethren of a thousand years,  
 With lifted brows and palm to palm !  
 On heaven they gazed in holy trance ;  
 Low stream'd their aged tresses hoar :  
 And each transfigured countenance  
 The Benedictine impress bore.

" By angels borne the Holy Rood  
 Encircled thrice the church-yard bound :  
 They paced behind it, paced in blood,  
 With bleeding feet, but foreheads crown'd ;  
 And thrice they sang that hymn benign  
 Which Angels sang when CHRIST was born,  
 And thrice I wept ere yet the brine  
 Shook with the first white flakes of morn.

" Down on the earth my brows I laid ;  
 In these, His saints, I worshipp'd God :  
 And then return'd that grief which made  
 My heart since youth a frozen clod.  
 'O ye,' I wept, 'whose woes are past,  
 Behold these prostrate shrines and stones !  
 To these can Life return at last ?  
 Can spirit lift once more these bones ?'

" The smile of him the end who knows  
 Went luminous o'er them as I spake ;  
 Their white locks shone like mountain snows  
 O'er which the orient mornings break.  
 They stood : they pointed to the west :  
 And lo ! where darkness late had lain  
 Rose many a kingdom's citied crest  
 Heaven-girt, and imaged in the main !

" 'Not only these, the fanes o'erthrown,  
 Shall rise,' they said, 'but myriads more ;  
 The seed—far hence by tempests blown—  
 Still sleeps on yon expectant shore.

Send forth, sad Isle, thy reaper bands !  
 Assert and pass thine old renown :  
 Not here alone—in farthest lands  
 For thee thy sons shall wear a crown.'

"They spake ; and like a cloud down sank  
 The just and filial grief of years ;  
 And I that peace celestial drank  
 Which shines but o'er the seas of tears.  
 Thy mission flash'd before me plain,  
 O thou by many woes anneal'd !  
 And I discern'd how axe and chain  
 Had thy great destinies sign'd and seal'd !

"That seed which grows must seem to die ;—  
 In thee, when earthly hope was none,  
 The heaven-born faith of days gone by,  
 By martyrdom matured, lived on ;  
 Conceal'd, like limbs of Royal mould  
 'Neath some Egyptian pyramid,  
 Or statued shapes in cities old  
 Beneath Vesuvian ashes hid.

"For this cause by a power divine  
 Each temporal aid was frustrated :  
 Tirone, Tirconnell, Geraldine—  
 In vain they fought : in vain they bled.  
 Successive, 'neath th' usurping hand  
 Sank ill-starr'd Mary, erring James :—  
 Nor Spain nor France might wield the brand  
 Which for her own Religion claims.

"Arise, long stricken ! mightier far  
 Are they that fight for God and thee  
 Than those who head the adverse war !  
 Sad prophet ! raise thy face and see !  
 Behold, with eyes no longer wrong'd  
 By mists the sense exterior breeds,  
 The hills of heaven all round thee throng'd  
 With fiery chariots and with steeds !

"The years baptized in blood are thine ;  
 The exile's prayer from many a strand ;  
 The wrongs of those this hour who pine  
 Poor outcasts on their native land :  
 Angels and saints from heaven down-bent  
 Watch thy long conflict without pause ;  
 And the most Holy Sacrament  
 From all thine altars pleads thy cause !

"O great through Suffering, rise at last  
 Through kindred Action tenfold great !  
 Thy future calls on thee thy past  
 (Its soul survives) to consummate.

Let women weep ; let children moan :  
 Rise, men and brethren, to the fight :  
 One cause hath Earth, and one alone :  
 For it, the cause of God, unite !

“ Hope of my country ! House of God !  
 All-Hallows ! Blessed feet are those  
 By which thy courts shall yet be trod  
 Once more as ere the spoiler rose !  
 Blessed the winds that waft them forth  
 To victory o’er the rough sea foam ;  
 That race to God which conquers earth—  
 Can God forget that race at home ? ”

The second volume on our list, a poem in blank verse, by Mr. Alexander Smith, already known favourably to the public, is “ Edwin of Deira.” Before its perusal we advise our readers to refresh their memories with the simply-told details of the age in which that prince lived, so beautifully described in the earlier chapters of the Second Book of the Venerable Bede’s History ; and so they will be better able to appreciate the beauties of a poem which takes very few liberties with recognised ecclesiastical records, and is certainly one of the most chaste and simple productions that we have had the pleasure to read for some time. The Poem is divided into Four Books, in the narrative of which there is a remarkable simplicity of diction, coupled with some of the most telling and original passages of the highest power. At times, we meet with sentences that are somewhat lengthy, and consequently somewhat involved ; but on the whole the poem is by no means a literary puzzle—which cannot be said of all such productions now-a-days—nor is it in any way deficient in interest at any single point. Moreover, another striking charm it possesses lies in the fact that the subject is one which admirably suggests a religious treatment—a suggestion which the author has eagerly seized, and admirably carried out. In truth, the concluding portions are such as to warrant us in declaring that few writers have surpassed him in the very suggestive and attractive manner in which the poem is written. Some of the passages are of remarkable beauty, and will, we feel confident, be fully appreciated by our readers.

We give, in the first place, a few short extracts, mainly containing striking similes, of which most are thoroughly original both in substance and form :—

“ In at the door a moment peeped a girl,  
 Fair as a rose-tree growing ’thwart a gap  
 Of ruin, seen against the blue when one  
 Is dipped in dungeon gloom.”—P. 19.

“ For years within his dark and constant mind  
 The monstrous thing has grown. No hand but Death’s

Can root it out. 'Tis like a poisonous tree  
 For ages anchored in a castle wall,  
 Whose gnarled and fingery roots so clutch the stones,  
 That plucked up, all is ruin."—P. 24.

"Then with the rising of the third day's sun,  
 As wave doth shoulder wave toward an isle  
 When thither sets the tide and blows the breeze,  
 Till in the silence of its central vale  
 Is heard the surgy murmur, troop on troop  
 Pressed round the palace."—P. 78.

"Each morn and eve  
 He questioned, like a voyager who knows  
 That land is somewhere hidden in the sky,  
 And, weary of the ocean's silence, thrusts  
 A haggard face into the eyes of dawn  
 And reads no news, and, when the long day falls  
 With its great torch of sunset o'er the west,  
 Revealing nothing, sickens."—P. 83.

"all around  
 The voice of industry in wood and field  
 Came back again, like some old pleasant tune  
 Long broken off, renewed, or silver stream  
 That sinks in earth, then, reappearing, flows  
 A mirror for the flowers."—P. 92.

All these prove Mr. Smith's capacity for writing poetry; and disjointed as they must appear to our readers—seeing them thus isolated from the adjoining text, which adds to their force—they cannot but fail to bestow that admiration which is deserved.

The following passage from the fourth book describes the arrival of the Christian Missionaries,—a scene depicted with unusual beauty and effect.

"Once as he lay  
 Stretched weak in hall, there came a hasty man,  
 Astonishment depicted on his face,  
 And told the king a ship lay on the sands,  
 And from it issued strange and foreign men.  
 Unknowing what the strangers might portend,  
 Straightway he rose from couch and sat on steed,  
 Gaunt, fever-wasted, pale with conquered pain;  
 And as he rode adown the narrow street,  
 His lords behind, he broke the silent air  
 To murmured blessings, for at untoward sound  
 Of hoof, each window was with faces crammed;  
 The black-browed armourer on the anvil left  
 His hammer, and stood gazing from the door,  
 The woman held her child up as he passed,

The beggar's hand forgot to stretch for alms,  
 The girl laid down her pitcher. With an eye  
 That softened, slowly through the town he rode,  
 And slowly issuing from the gate, he spurred  
 Along a rude sea bank of mounded sand  
 'Gainst which the universal glitter flowed,  
 With a sharp face that reddened in the wind.  
 But ere the foam was churning on the bit,  
 He saw a crowd of people seaward look,  
 As at some strange thing happening on the earth :  
 And riding down upon a yellow bay,  
 From which the unseen moon had drawn the tide,  
 He drew the rein with wonder. In the bright  
 Fringe of the living sea that came and went  
 Tapping its planks, a great ship sideways lay,  
 And o'er the sands a grave procession paced,  
 Melodious with many a chanting voice.  
 Nor spear nor buckler had these foreign men ;  
 Each wore a snowy robe that downward flowed ;  
 Fair in their front a silver Cross they bore ;  
 A painted SAVIOUR floated in the wind ;  
 The chanting voices, as they rose and fell,  
 Hallowed the rude sea air."—P. 136.

The chief of the Christian band declares :—

" 'Tis fit that I should speak, that thou mayst know  
 What is the business of thy servants here.  
 We come to traffic not in horse or man,  
 Corn, wine, or oil ; nor yet to gather gold,  
 Nor to win cities by the force of arms.  
 O king, we came across the dangerous seas  
 To win thee and thy people from the gods  
 Who cannot hear a cry, or answer prayer,  
 Unto the worship of the heavenly CHRIST,  
 Of whom thou art the eldest Son of all  
 That in this nation dwell."—P. 137.

After this the king summons his nobles and people to a conference with the Christian missionaries by the sea shore and in sight of the heathen temple, the priests of which are also present ; the missionaries, with their Gospel message, unfold the wonders of the Catholic Faith, and the king and his people are won to CHRIST. The heathen priests destroy their idolatrous temple, and receive the Sacrament of Regeneration. Then comes the following beautiful passage :—

"The Holy Pontiff's heart,  
 That aches with the great darkness of the world,  
 Is this day lightened, for among the tongues  
 That rise to heaven in prayer, there is one



Ne'er heard by CHRIST before ; another string  
 Is to the world-harp added, praising CHRIST.  
 For what has been accomplished on this day  
 Fragrant will Gregory's memory be held  
 By every race of Englishmen to be.  
 From out the twilight of unnoted time  
 The history of this land hath downward come  
 Like an uncited stream that draws its course  
 Through empty wildernesses, and but hears  
 The wind sigh in the reed, the passing crane ;  
 But CHRIST this day hath been upon it couched,  
 Like to a golden barge with burnished oars,  
 Whose progress makes the lonely waters blush,  
 And floods the marshes with melodious noise.  
 And, as that river widens to the sea,  
 The barge I speak of will dilate and tower,  
 And put forth bank on bank of burnished oars,  
 And on the waters like a sunset burn,  
 And roll a lordlier music far and wide,  
 And ever on the dais a king shall sit,  
 And ever round the king shall nobles stand."—P. 170.

Thus much, then, for the author of "Edwin of Deira." That he has studied most carefully the present Poet Laureate's works none can fail to see who read his poem before us ; and more especially has he taken as his model the last beautiful poem by Tennyson, the "Idylls of the King." But he is by no means a copyist or servile imitator. In many respects—such for example as the strict purity of his sentiments—his present production is superior to the "Idylls:" for one book at least in that volume—"Vivien"—was hardly what might have been expected, and dwelt too minutely upon details always better avoided as far as possible. Though the style of the two volumes may be exceedingly similar, yet this is in a measure accounted for by the fact that the early British and Saxon chronicles furnish the themes for either—and that the subjects are in some respects similar. With regard to the book under consideration, our deliberate opinion is that it is of a very high order of merit, and deserves that attention which we are confident it cannot fail to obtain from all lovers of true poetry. Therefore, we commend it most strongly and cordially to the attention of our readers.

We have left ourselves little space to speak of Mr. Robertson's book, and this we regret. The merits of the volume, however, may be summed up in a few words. The poem being of an epic character, is founded upon rather severe models,—Milton seems to be popular with our author, and to have formed the basis of a style, which can hardly be said to be very popular at the present time. Nevertheless it is a production which displays a considerable

amount of poetical taste and ability, and in some places rises to dignity in the power of its descriptions and the beauty of its even verse. That it is not a hastily-written effort is apparent from the careful finish of every page; nor is there any lack of learning manifest in its solemn and stately lines. The author may be heartily congratulated on the success he has attained in his present effort, for if the poetry be not of the highest order, there is nevertheless in its conception and execution sufficient to warrant us in tendering our heartiest thanks for the pleasure and profit which we have derived from its perusal, and to recommend it to the consideration of our readers, which we take leave to do in all sincerity, adding the following passage, descriptive of the Church's final triumph, as a fair specimen of the author's powers.

“ ‘A lovelier vision yet thine eye shall greet.  
 MESSIAH's Church dilated on each side,  
 Her gates expanded and her courts enlarged,  
 With new effulgence shines; her hidden gems  
 Beam out; and in a vast development  
 Her latent harmonies are brought to view.’  
 ‘She stands,’ replies the seer, ‘in lonely pomp :  
 No more the ruined temple shocks the eye,  
 Nor the fantastic fanes their fronts erect,  
 Nor lust's wild prophet rear his monstrous pile.  
 Angels on scales of light from heaven descend,  
 And, on their harps, with vocal symphony,  
 The triumph of the Saviour-King hymn forth ;  
 ‘Honour, and power, and glory to our God,  
 And to the Lamb, from the beginning slain,  
 And to the Spirit that doth sanctify.  
 One God—the Counsellor—the Prince of Peace—  
 Reigns from the rising to the setting sun.  
 Fallen is the veil that darkened Judah's eye  
 And her long-alien heart at last is turned  
 Unto her father's God. The cloud that wrapp'd  
 The Gentile, is by breath Divine dispersed,  
 And all the fulness of the heathen flows  
 Unto the mount of rest.’ And now I hear  
 In Highest Heaven the Seraphim respond—  
 ‘Holy, thrice holy is the LORD of Hosts,  
 The earth renewed is of His glory full.’  
 The Angel then to the enraptured seer ;  
 ‘Behold the Sabbath of the Church, when freed  
 From outward and domestic foe, she reigns  
 O'er the wide earth in fearless majesty.  
 The elemental spirits are unbound ;  
 And the new light, that beams o'er Nature's face,  
 Her latent sympathetic joy reveals.’ ” —P. 146.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

*Some Notes on the First Chapter of Genesis with reference to Statements in "Essays and Reviews."* By the Rev. A. M'CAUL, D.D.  
London: Wertheim and Co.

DR. M'CAUL is entitled to attention both as being a good Hebrew scholar, and also as possessing an intimate acquaintance with the writers of Germany. We shall give his conclusion on the points of chief interest on which he touches.

1. First, as regards the meaning of the phrase "In the beginning," Dr. M'Caul adopts the only reasonable explanation, which possesses also the additional merit of being applicable to the opening words of S. John's Gospel.

"The Hebrew word is indefinite, and can include millions or millions of years just as easily as thousands. The statement of Moses is, therefore, not contrary to the discoveries of geology, which alleges the earth to have existed for myriads of years before the creation of man. Moses's words are big enough to take in times indefinite, and exceeding the powers of human calculation. They also answer the more ancient objection, that it is absurd to suppose that GOD created nothing during past eternity, but began the work of creation a few thousand years ago. Moses says just the contrary. In undefined former duration GOD created the heavens and the earth."—P. 13.

2. The part of the pamphlet which strikes as most original, is the interpretation affixed to the remaining portion of the first verse, "the heaven and the earth." We do not say that we are convinced by Dr. M'Caul's reasoning; for we have learnt to be very suspicious of theories which depend so much on the letter of a single passage in the Sacred Volume. Otherwise the view is quite unobjectionable. The substance of it is that he rejects the idea of the "heavens and the earth," meaning elementary matter, and supposes it to mean "all created things, the universe," and more especially angels and their abodes.

3. We come now to the most debateable part of the pamphlet. The attempt, which is due, we believe, to Hugh Miller, to make the Mosaic "days" accord with as many geological periods is happily given up. Still he adopts the idea of indefinite periods of time being intended, and grounds his view partly on the fact of the sun not being created till the fourth day, and partly on S. Paul's argument in the Epistle to the Hebrews, concerning GOD's rest of the Sabbath. Neither of these grounds appears to us at all conclusive; and throughout the pamphlet Dr. M'Caul appears to us to be intent on proving too much.

Among recent Sermons we have to notice *The Divine Service*, preached by Mr. CARTER at the Church Anniversary Festival of Bovey Tracey, breathing his earnest, affectionate spirit, and showing the relation of outer ceremonial to inner spirituality, and the necessity of avoiding the mistake into which many young ritualists are apt to fall, of regarding the value of outer ritual meaning as a means of instruction, instead of looking to the true reason of its importance, the reverence due to Almighty GOD as the object of worship.

Next there are *Five Sermons* bearing on the political relations of the Church, preached at Kemerton by ARCHDEACON THORP.

The *Three Village Sermons on Church and State*, (Rivingtons,) deserve a large circulation.

*Church Rates* is the title of a separate one, which forms a valuable threepenny tract.

*The Claims of Diocesan Church Institutions* is less generally interesting.

The title of the Sermon by Mr. BASIL JONES, *Religion and Morality*, (Oxford: Parker,) sufficiently indicates its subject. It deals, not brilliantly perhaps, but effectively, with the relation of those two inward elements of a godly life.

*What the Bible says to Servants*, (Masters,) is a tract which may usefully be put into the hands of young persons of the class addressed therein, especially at such times as their Confirmation. It shows the strictness and the dignity of a servant's life, and encourages them to seek the advice of their parish priest who so often finds it difficult to get any access to that part of his flock.

*The Foundation of Waltham Abbey*, (Oxford: Parker,) is the subject of a Latin tract written in the Twelfth Century, and now edited with a Preface by the careful Archæologist, the Rev. W. STUBBS. The Latin title is "De Inventione Sanctæ Crucis Nostræ in Monte Acuto et de ductione ejusdem apud Waltham."

*Prayers and Litanies taken from Holy Scripture*, together with a Calendar and Table of Lessons, by Dr. MONSELL, (Masters,) is intended as a help to Family Devotions.

The Second Part of *Devotional Helps*, edited by Two Clergymen, complete the season from Trinity to Advent. This little work, extensively as it is already used, will no doubt be increasingly valued by those who use it properly. We trust that it will conduce to that which is so essential to any growth in spiritual life, not mere reading, but meditation, mental prayer, and the quickened exercise of enduring affections. We like the volume for Trinity which is now completed even better than the parts for the special seasons which came out previously.

The *Tracts for Priests and People*, by Mr. MAURICE and others, (Macmillan,) seem intended rather to make people angry with their neighbours, than better in themselves.

*Alice Parker, or the Tea-drinking*, (Masters,) gives a very clear and sensible explanation of the nature and evil results of the tea-meetings so much in vogue amongst dissenters.

*Agnes Martin, or the Fall of Cardinal Wolsey*, is a very readable number of Mr. Parker's Series. It touches on delicate ground, and seeks to steer a middle course, preferring a safe rather than a brilliant line. There is no attempt to give a definite opinion as to the Cardinal's character and policy; but the suppression of the monasteries is commented upon fairly in the Appendix.

We are glad to see a second edition of *A Few Hints on Home Happiness and Comfort, addressed to Village Girls*; a little work which we have already noticed with commendation.

*Jane's Sewing*, (Mozley,) will be found useful in parochial schools.

*A Plea for Sunday, addressed to the Working Classes*, (Mozley,) ought to have been termed, a Plea for the Jewish Sabbath. We should be glad to see any work published which would enable the lower classes to appreciate the enjoyment and benefit they should derive from our weekly festival; but this desirable end will never be attained by enforcing upon them the Hebrew Ceremonial Law.

*Notes Ecclesiological and Picturesque on Dalmatia, &c.*, by the Rev. J. M. NEALE, (Hayes,) will be found interesting to ritualists from the account given of the ancient Glagolita rite, which is still in use at the present day in those regions. But the general reader will regret that these notes are so short and hurried, and will wish that a fuller detail of the religious observances of Dalmatia, Styria, and Montenegro, had been given by one so pre-eminently qualified to convey such information as Mr. Neale.

Having been ourselves among the first to call attention to the undisguised attack upon the Church's faith in the "Essays and Reviews," we have not thought it necessary to notice the various replies that have been made to them. In point of fact, we apprehend that at least as much evil is likely to arise in the way of re-action from the "Essays," and by means of these replies, as from the original volume itself. Dr. HARRIS in his *Scepticism and Infidelity*, (J. H. Parker) we are glad to see, does something towards guarding against this result by reminding his readers that the Written Word is, after all, but one medium through which God has communicated His will to man. It will be well also to remind persons that faith is not only to be exercised in the reception of Holy Scripture, but also in realizing and living upon the whole Sacramental system of the Church.

While feeling all along considerable distrust of the "Anglo-Continental Society," we have abstained from giving expression to those feelings, in the earnest hope that our fear might be disappointed. It appears now, however, from a letter *On the Religious Movement in Italy*, addressed by Messrs. HOGG and WOOLCOCK, to the Bishop of London, (Rivington) that the Society has reconstituted itself in a form that must essentially Protestantize it—putting Dr. Baylie of Liverpool on the Committee, and making the Bishops of London, Bangor, and Rochester, in conjunction with the Bishop of Oxford, to be Referees. With this new element in it, one can but too certainly anticipate the mischief that the Society must work in the troubled state of Italy.

Mr. T. J. HYDE, who appears to be a layman, has published a short and practical *Exposition of the Church Catechism*, (Masters) which demands our hearty approbation. The author is scarcely correct in saying that the words (independently of the matter) constitute *the Form* of the Sacraments. We should be glad also to have seen a more full recognition of the indwelling of the HOLY GHOST in the Church, and of the way in which our LORD exercises His office of the Church's High Priest. But these are very trifling blemishes in a really admirable little book; only we must ask again, why add a new manual on the subject, when everything contained in it, and some things more beside, was to be had already at the same price elsewhere?

## BISHOP PATTESON AND THE MELANESIAN MISSION.

*Records and Documents relating to the Consecration of a Missionary Bishop for the Western Islands of the South Pacific Ocean.*  
Printed by authority of the Bishop of New Zealand. Melanesian Mission Press, Auckland. 1861.

*Reports of the Melanesian Mission for 1857, 1858, and 1861.*

At a time when all young England is wasting its muscular Christianity in scaling the peaks and glaciers of European mountains, or in a three months' voyage to the antipodes for the sake of a match of cricket, it may be of some practical service to point out other and fairer fields for the free exercise of physical and intellectual energies, for the gratification of a taste for spirited enterprise and romantic scenery, and for a nobler ambition than any offered by the Alpine Club. Not only do the lagoons and coral reefs of the Western Pacific afford as wide a scope for perilous adventure of a manly kind as the *crevasses* of Montes Rosa and Viso; but we may add, that the sacrifice of human life to the exigencies of either situation, presents ways of death as wide apart in the qualities of dignity and glory as the extreme forms of suicide and martyrdom. For while it is not easy to distinguish objectless and voluntarily incurred danger from the sin of wantonness and recklessness in the use of God's most precious gifts, we can conceive no nobler and grander aim for self-devotion than a missionary expedition to these distant ocean islands for the propagation of the true faith among the savage heathen. Would that some Peter the hermit might arise among us to beat up enthusiastic recruits for this bloodless crusade against the strongholds of cruelty, impurity, and superstition, and direct chivalric yearnings worthy of Cortes or Columbus, now languishing for lack of employment, into the holier paths trodden by S. Francis and S. Paul!

The fertile genius of Bishop Selwyn was the first, we believe, to project the idea of missionary bishoprics, commissioned by the Church of England, *in partibus infidelium* beyond the borders of British dominion, and unfettered by the Royal mandate, though the realization of his plan was anticipated by the consecration of Bishop Mackenzie for Central Africa, and has been immediately succeeded by the designation of another missionary diocese in the more easterly islands of the North Pacific. The memory of our readers or a glance at a map of the world will inform them that the several groups of islands included under the description, "Melanesia" lie from twelve hundred to two thousand miles to the north of New Zealand, and are nearer to the Australian dioceses of Sydney,

VOL. XXIII.—OCTOBER, 1861. 3 M

Newcastle, and Brisbane. But his zeal or conscientiousness has always led the Bishop of the former diocese to interpret some valedictory remarks of the late Archbishop of Canterbury at the time of his first leaving England as a special charge committed to him over these islands. "The venerable primate," he says, "at whose hand I received my consecration, charged me in the name of the Archbishop and Bishops of the mother Church not to confine my efforts to New Zealand, but to watch over the progress of the Gospel throughout the coasts and islands of the Pacific." And the same plea is stated in the preamble to the Record of the Consecration of the new Bishop Patteson. Acting under this impulse and implied authority, Bishop Selwyn accordingly has always regarded the Melanesian Archipelago as within his proper jurisdiction, and in 1848 he made his first missionary voyage to the Loyalty and New Hebrides groups. In 1850, the Australasian Board of Missions was formed, and at his request, the Bishop of Newcastle was associated with him in the task of visiting the islands. Only one voyage, however, was actually made by the two Bishops in company, and since that time the mission has been carried on by the Bishop of New Zealand alone; or, during the last six or seven years, with the Rev. John Coleridge Patteson, who accompanied him as his chaplain on his last return from England in 1855.

"There are," says the last report of the mission, "at a moderate calculation, from one hundred and fifty to two hundred islands lying between New Zealand and New Guinea in a state of absolute heathenism, in many of which no white man has ever been seen, in all of which the languages are wholly unknown, or known only in some instances to our own small party."

Of these islands nearly eighty have already been visited by the Bishop, and some communication held with the inhabitants: from twenty-eight, native lads, to the number of one hundred and fifty-four, have been carried off by him to New Zealand, with of course the consent of their friends, as scholars for the missionary college.

"The plan adopted by the Bishop of New Zealand," says the report of 1857, "is to commence the intercourse with any new island by being himself the first man to land upon it. It is soon established on a friendly footing by a quick succession of visits, and through the report of our scholars on their return to their friends; and thus in a year or two, and in some cases only a few months, a feeling of security and good will is created. Meanwhile, through the agency of the lads who have been spending some months in New Zealand, the language has been partially acquired, and any person who has had the special charge of that particular section of the Melanesian school is already competent to explain the simplest part of Christian teaching in the language of the island."

This plan of educating natives at a central school is, not only the most practicable at present, (owing to the immense number of islands, and the diversity of languages and races, which render a supply of local resident teachers a practical impossibility;) but obviously it is attended with many advantages.

"Firstly," it is argued in the same report, "it is capable of expansion to any extent. Secondly, it recognizes the impossibility of calculating upon any large supply of missionaries from England or the Australian colonies. Thirdly, it combines a unity of teaching with a wide diffusion of things taught. Fourthly, it brings into friendly communication natives from very many islands, and thus tends to remove from their minds habits of suspicion and distrust, and so to help them towards the acceptance of the message of peace and love. Fifthly, it supplies the most satisfactory test of the fitness of any young men who may offer themselves as teachers; for in the Melanesian school they can at once under the eye of the Bishop himself or some clergyman appointed by him have the sincerity of their professions, and their capacity for carrying them out, ascertained. Finally, the probable result of this great mixture of races and multiplicity of languages at the central school will be the adoption of the English language by many of them as the only means of communication."

It is a plan, however, which requires a class of missionaries of somewhat peculiar gifts and qualifications. Not every English priest possesses the seafaring tastes and habits, mental and physical, of Bishops Selwyn and Patteson,—few could stand the pitch and roll of continually renewed voyages with an unturned stomach, or thrive on perpetual ship biscuit and salt junk; or again could turn their hand to the projection of a new chart, or take their turn at the wheel, or be ready, in short, at a pinch, to undertake the multifarious technical and laborious duties of skipper or able seaman. Neither do many possess the characteristic facility of these two old Etonians for learning strange tongues.

"Speaking generally, it may be said that each group of islands possesses its own language, as each separate island of the group possesses its own distinct dialect of a language common to all. In very few cases does the dialect of any one island sufficiently resemble the dialect spoken in the next island to enable their respective inhabitants who dwell inland to communicate freely with each other."

Such is the testimony of the last Report. There are in all *four* large groups or Archipelagos included in the Mission: viz. The Loyalty Islands, New Hebrides, the Santa Cruz group, and the Solomon Isles. (An excellent little chart of the islands, lithographed at Auckland, is prefixed to the last Report.) The plan has been hitherto, to visit as many as possible of these islands, taking the series in succession, once every year in the spring (cor-



responding to our present season of autumn), taking back to the college the choicest of the lads offered as scholars for education during the summer months. The climate of the New Zealand *winter* is too severe for the natives of islands within the tropics, and with a constitutional tendency to consumptive complaints. It is necessary therefore on this account, as it has been found expedient on others, to restore them to their homes and families as the winter months set in about the end of April; and thus at least two voyages are rendered necessary every year.

This necessity at first suggested Norfolk Island as more convenient than Auckland for the central station; both as lying nearer to the Missionary field, and being of a milder climate. It was already provided moreover with suitable buildings, lately vacated by our transported convicts, and which were more than sufficient for the immediate uses of that exceedingly interesting people, the Pitcairners, to whom they were assigned by the English Government on the abandonment of this penal settlement. The admission of the Pitcairners to the benefits of the Mission, and the training of them for missionary purposes, formed a part of the scheme: but the late governor of New South Wales, Sir Edward Denison, earwigged by a self-constituted society in England, who assumed the patronage of the Pitcairners, and were jealous of the High Church Bishop's interference, interdicted the use of the buildings, and indeed the occupation of the island for the purpose.

There was no alternative therefore, but to fall back upon New Zealand, as the next most eligible head-quarters; which possessed indeed the additional advantage of the constant superintendence of the Bishop, and the civilizing influence of intermixture with the English settlers in that colony, who being chiefly engaged in agricultural and commercial pursuits, and especially in the breeding and rearing of live stock, would do more probably in the way of teaching and humanizing the young savages than all the discipline of the college. A site accordingly was purchased on the southern shore of Auckland Harbour, and the necessary college buildings have been erected there chiefly at the cost, it is interesting to put on record, of the author of the '*Daisy Chain*,' who devoted the entire proceeds of that work, already amounting to a sum little short of £2,000, to the purposes of the Mission; having previously bestowed a large portion of the profits of '*the Heir of Redclyffe*' towards the fittings of the little Mission Schooner *the Southern Cross*. A further sum of £600 was given by the late Sir John Patteson, father of the new Bishop of Melanesia, for the same object.

"The situation," says the last Report, "is admirably suited to the purpose of a College for natives of tropical islands, being protected from cold winds by the natural slope of the ground. Moreover bathing, boating, and fishing, are the natural occupation of Melanesians, and all may be enjoyed in perfection at Kohi-Marama."

The material and external machinery of the mission being so far completed, it became expedient to make provision for a permanent head. Then arose all the many difficult questions about missionary Bishops "beyond the borders;" the source and limits of their jurisdiction, their obligations to obedience, their relations to the civil power, their relations to the Church. It is not necessary to go into the several issues raised on *political* grounds in a correspondence between the Bishop of New Zealand and the Colonial Office. The following extract, from a despatch of the Duke of Newcastle to Governor Gore Browne, bearing date, "Downing Street, 26th June, 1860," sums up all that is important on the subject. "I infer from the opinion of the law advisers of the Crown, that the Bishops of New Zealand are at liberty, without invasion of the Royal prerogative or infringement of the law of England, to exercise what Bishop Selwyn describes as their inherent power of consecrating Mr. Patteson, or any other person, to take charge of the Melanesian Islands, provided that the consecration should take place beyond British territory." And to the same effect the opinion of the Attorney-General of the colony declares, "I know nothing which renders such act of consecration in New Zealand illegal." Far more real and graver difficulties appear to us to beset the point of *ecclesiastical* relationship and subordination, and the future maintenance of discipline in the Missionary Church. These difficulties were but partially glanced at during the discussions last Session in Convocation, and seem to have been slurred over as improbable contingencies in the provision of terms on which the new bishoprics have been actually started. Apart from the personal character of the individual Bishops, (which of course may vary in every fresh election,) we own to very little faith in the oath of canonical obedience and a voluntary submission to a Provincial Synod, as a sufficient practical security against heresy or other irregularity; especially if, as in the case of the proposed constitution of the new diocese of Honolulu, the American or any other friendly Church be admitted to act in concert. While then we most readily accept the frank sentiment of the Duke of Newcastle, in his despatch already quoted, "I am inclined to believe that the independence of action which the new Bishop will thus possess, will be more than an equivalent for any advantages he might gain from a closer connection with the *civil* power," we can only hope that some more trustworthy safeguard may be devised by the proper *ecclesiastical* authorities for the prevention of collisions and embarrassments, which common prudence would recognize, and deal with by anticipation as, to say the least, not impossible.

There need be less question, we think, as to the power of *election*, which, even when hampered by *cong   d'elire* or letters patent, must in fact ultimately rest in the consecrating Bishops; who, therefore, where no such hindrance intervenes, would freely, according to

their judgment, "make choice of fit persons to serve in" the highest as well as in the inferior orders of "the Sacred Ministry." In the case of Melanesia, indeed, we believe that if the election were determined by the popular suffrage of the Church of England, both at home and in the colonies, Bishop Patteson would have been raised to his present office, like S. Ambrose, by general acclamation. It is no disparagement to say that there is no single competitor to raise the question, "whether of these two" should be most fitly chosen, as in the case of the sainted Apostle, on whose festival in February last the consecration took place at Auckland. For Mr. Patteson is the only priest who has "complicated with" Bishop Selwyn, not "all the time," but for many years past, in his "goings in and out" among these islands; and by his singular adaptability to the peculiar requirements of the mission, has "purchased to himself a good degree." "The general consent of Church and State, of the Clergy and laity, both here and at home," says the Primate of New Zealand in the Consecration Sermon, (and an admirable sermon it is) "seems to justify our act. I have not heard of one dissentient voice." The Bishops of Wellington and Nelson, (Abraham and Hobhouse,) were assistants at the consecration; and the Primate touchingly alludes to the fact that all four of them, including the Bishop Elect, were friends from childhood and fellow Etonians, while he deprecates a blind partiality on that account.

"We were all trained in the same place of education; united in the same circle of friends; in boyhood, in youth, in manhood, we have shared the same sorrows, and joys, and hopes, and fears. I received this my son in the Ministry of CHRIST JESUS from the hands of a father, of whose old age he was the comfort: he sent him forth without a murmur, nay, rather with joy and thankfulness, to these distant parts of the earth. He never asked even to see him again; but gave him up without reserve to the LORD's work. Pray, dear brethren, for your Bishops, that our partial love may not deceive us in this choice, for we cannot so strive against natural affection, as to be quite impartial."

A private letter from a friend to the sisters of the new Bishop (published in the *Colonial Church Chronicle* of last month) gives some interesting details of the consecration.<sup>1</sup>

"Lady Martin," (wife of the Ex-Chief Justice of New Zealand,) "who had never been present at a consecration before, says, she shall never

<sup>1</sup> One particular, however, was a sad drawback to the Catholicity of the arrangements, which we cannot but notice with a regretful protest. "The consecration was fixed at three o'clock," p.m., when "the Holy Communion was administered by ten of the Bishops and Clergy at one time. More than two hundred and twenty remained to partake of it." The same inexplicable anomaly occurred at the consecration of the Bishop of Waiapu, at Wellington, in 1859, without, if we are rightly informed, the least apparent reason.

forget the expression of your brother's face; it reminded her of the figure of some young knight watching his armour, as he stood in his calm steadfastness, and answered the questions put to him by the Metropolitan. . . . I wish you had seen him (the preacher) look round on his brother bishops when he spoke of the *Eton Brotherhood*, and the tenderness of his glance upon the bishop elect, when he spoke of his father having given him to the LORD, and how he was *his own son* in the work, and therefore how impossible it was not to be partial; yet with all the scrutiny which such a conviction enforced, no whisper even of conscience had ever suggested a doubt of the fitness of him, whom they had chosen for this arduous task; and again, when he asked their prayers for the new bishop, dwelling on the urgent need, while describing the nature of his labour. At last, when he ended with a special charge to the bishop designate himself, which was most thrilling and touching;—but I cannot make you see the two countenances—the look of heartfelt confidence, and love, and joy, with which the Metropolitan gazed upon your brother, as he spoke those deep words of counsel and encouragement, and committed him in his loneliness to the LORD and Master, Who had promised to be with him always; nor that upward answering glance, which ever and anon was cast with steadfast earnest eye upon his ‘Father in God,’ as though he would drink in the fullest meaning of those words, and which assured one that your brother could bear it all in the strength of quietness and confidence. There was another picture which I wish I could set before you—the actual moment of consecration—when the book was held before the Metropolitan by one of the island boys, who thus formed a sort of living lectern for the occasion, of speaking significance. Nothing could be more simply beautiful and touching than Tagalaba's young face as he performed this good office. There was nothing artistic about it; the boy came forward with a wondering yet bright look on his pleasant face, just dressed in his simple grey blouse, holding up the great Prayer Book for the bishop to read from behind your brother. But I must not attempt more.”

We must give one more extract from the sermon descriptive of the new Bishop's work, and then conclude.

“He will go forth to sow beside many waters, to cultivate an unknown field, to range from island to island, himself unknown, and coming in the Name of an unknown God. He will have to land alone and unarmed among heathen tribes, where every man's hand is against his neighbour; and bid them lay down their spears and arrows, and meet him as the messenger of peace. He will have to persuade them by the language of signs to give up their children to his care: and while he teaches them the simplest elements that are taught in our infant schools, to learn from them a new language for every new island. Surely, then, dear brethren, we must pray earnestly that this our brother may have a large measure of the Apostolic gifts; a power to acquire divers languages; and also boldness with fervent zeal constantly to preach the Gospel to all the nations now to be committed to his charge. Already sixty islands will come under his care, and at least one hundred others, stretching westward as far as New Guinea, are among the number of

the islands waiting for the LORD ; I can but indicate the outlines of this great work."

The present working staff of the Mission consists of Bishop Patteson, Mr. Kerr, and Mr. Dudley. The Rev. L. Prit, who our readers may recollect accompanied Bishop Hobhouse to Nelson as his chaplain, is about to join it, should he prove on trial qualified for a work of this peculiar character. Mr. Dudley has for more than five years been engaged in the work, and already speaks several of the island languages. Mr. Kerr, who is an officer in Her Majesty's navy, has long entertained the idea of becoming connected with missionary work, and more than a year ago offered himself for the mission to these islands. Two natives of Nengone, one of the Loyalty Islands, have for some years past been in training, and may be regarded as permanent *attachés* of the Mission. The Bishop's immediate intention appears to be to place at least one English Missionary in residence at each of the four groups of islands described above, either permanently or for that portion of the year when the scholars from the central school return to their several homes. "The Mission vessel would be the means of connecting these groups with each other, and all with New Zealand ; as the Missionary's boat would keep up the communication between the various islands of each group." In order, however, to carry out this plan, considerable accessions both of funds and missionaries are demanded. The expenses hitherto have been singularly small for the immense amount of work effected, the annual expenditure not averaging much above £1300 or £1400. Last year, including a large outlay on the college buildings at Kohi-marama, and expenses attending the wreck of the little mission schooner, they reached to upwards of £1700. They have been hitherto met partly by the income derived from the endowment fund of £10,000, and partly by contributions of friends in England, especially of some who meet at Eton year by year on S. Barnabas' Day to commend the work to God in Prayer and Holy Communion. *What if Eton should take up the work formally, as a special work of its own, in the same way as Oxford, Cambridge, and Durham have adopted the Mission to Central Africa ?*

We began by pointing out the attractiveness of this mission in particular to men of active body and educated mind. Where shall we look for such more hopefully than to the school of Bishops Selwyn, Hobhouse, Abraham, and Patteson ? It is a case of τέκτονι τέκτων. We have not disguised the perilous nature of the expedition, but the danger is one element of its attraction. Danger is a passport to the crown of martyrdom.

Since we began this very article, the mail from Australia just delivered has brought news of the murder by the natives in cold blood, of a Presbyterian missionary at Eromango, one of the Melanesian islands, the scene of the death of John Williams, of

the London City Mission, a few years ago. Mr. Gordon is more than once mentioned in the Reports of the Melanesian Mission as having preoccupied this island which therefore was (ecclesiastically) let alone by the Bishop of New Zealand. But it is true of all the islands, in the words of the last Report,—

“A great change must pass upon a native of the Melanesian Islands as we see him, destitute of any kind of clothing, with bow and arrows tipped with human bone, waving his spear and club, or standing with painted face and girdle of human teeth watching the cautious approach of our boat, or it may be with wild gesticulations and noisy cries beckoning us to the shore, or dashing through the surf to meet the boat—a great change indeed must pass upon such an one before he can be brought by the grace of God to sit ‘clothed and in his right mind’ at the feet of CHRIST.

“May God’s Spirit strengthen those whom He has already called to this work, and send forth labourers made fit by Him to carry the message of salvation to the ‘multitude of the isles.’”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Messrs. Gosling and Sharpe, Bankers, Fleet Street, are the authorised receivers for the Bishop of New Zealand.

The following prayer is in use by those who have agreed to pray together for the New Zealand Church (including Melanesia):—

“O Thou great Lord of the harvest, we pray to Thee for Thy servants whom Thou hast sent to gather in Thy harvest in New Zealand, (especially for Thy servants ). Bless them, O Lord, with the continual out-pouring of Thy Spirit, and prosper mightily the work of their hands. Send, we pray Thee, according to their need, faithful and true fellow-labourers, and give them a great increase, for the sake of JESUS CHRIST our LORD. Amen.

“Grant us, we beseech Thee, O LORD, the gift of Thy holy love, pardon of all our sins, and grace to persevere unto the end. Amen.”

It is suggested that this prayer be used on Sundays or other holy days, or any such days specially selected; and also that reference may be made mentally at the suffrage in the Litany for Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, or at the Prayer for the Church Militant, or during the interval of the administration of the Holy Communion. It is understood to be used variously, according to circumstances. The use of this prayer, as suggested, has been sanctioned by the Lord Bishop of the Diocese, within which the Association took its rise.

## A REVIEW OF THE AUTHORITIES QUOTED IN MR. BADEN POWELL'S ESSAY.

THE contribution of Mr. Baden Powell to the "Essays and Reviews," has received at least as many answers as any of its companions; but there is one distinct view of it which deserves a separate consideration. The writer professes to be supported in his statements by a variety of authorities, more or less orthodox. We propose in this article to ascertain what is the precise value of this appeal, which has been attempted also in the defence put forth in the *Edinburgh Review*.

1. The first authority referred to is Locke:—

"Locke expressly contends that it is the very extraordinary nature of such an emergency (authenticating a revelation) which renders an extraordinary interposition requisite, and therefore credible." (Essay, p. 113.) This is given as an instance of "assuming the antecedent incredibility of miracles in general." But what are Locke's words? "Though the common experience, and the ordinary course of things, have justly a mighty influence on the minds of men, to make them give or refuse credit to anything proposed to their belief; yet there is one case, wherein the strangeness of the fact lessens not the assent to a fair testimony given of it, for when such supernatural events are suitable to ends aimed at by Him who has the power to change the course of nature, then, under such circumstances, they may be the fitter to procure belief, by how much the more they are beyond or contrary to ordinary observation. This is the proper case of miracles, which, well attested, do not only find credit themselves, but give it also to other truths, which need such confirmation." So that Locke is pointing out *not* that miracles are only credible when wrought for special ends, but that credibility attaches to miracles (when proved) in virtue of and in proportion to their very defiance of law.

2. The reference to Mansel's Bampton Lectures, on p. 114, would lead any one who did not refer to the Lectures themselves to think that Mr. Mansel had "denied all active operation of the Deity altogether." Yet this is so far from being the case that the place referred to is a note to the first Lecture, where Mr. Mansel exposes and refutes this very error in Kant. We are afraid that a reader who had any acquaintance with Mr. Mansel's work would not have his opinion of the trustworthiness of the Essay raised by this proceeding.

3. On p. 116, Theodore Parker is quoted as follows. "Everywhere I find law the constant mode of operation of an infinite God." The general reader may be willing to be told that Parker

is, or was, nominally an American Unitarian, really a Pantheist. Let us hear his notion of God.

"Science knows no limited and local God. Science tells us of a Power immanent and uniform.

'As full, as perfect, in a hair as heart.'

So then science rejects the theological idea of God as not being adequate for scientific purposes . . . . Science rejects it because He is impotent . . . . The popular idea of God does lack actuality. It is a conceivable nothing, but impossible, and involving as much contradiction as the notion of a cubical sphere, and of a thing which is and is not at the same time . . . . The atheism of Comte and Feuerbach is higher and better than the theological idea of God."

Surely this profane raver is rather to be pitied than admired. We must take leave also to insert some rather apt remarks from the next page. (T. Parker, p. 83.)

"I fear that the leaders of English literature are not at all better (than the French atheists), only in the English there is a greater amount of national reserve; they do not speak right out, as the French or Germans. The later works of the greatest mind of England at this day have no religiousness in them, according to the common sense of the word, and he has been led even to go far towards absolute denial of all religion."

The date of the book is 1853. We are in the dark as to this "greatest mind;" it might have been Mr. Maurice, whose Theological Essays were then just published—more likely it was Mr. Mill, or Mr. Carlyle.

4. On the same page Wegscheider is quoted, and translated in a way which obliges us to direct attention to the original given in Mr. Powell's note. We should translate thus:—

"Now as far as pertains to forming a right notion of the Supreme Being, the dogma of such a revelation of God, supernatural, miraculous, and (further) immediate, does not seem to be fairly reconciled with the notion of God as eternal, always consistent with Himself, omnipotent, omniscient, and all-wise."

The important point is that Wegscheider is arguing mainly against all revelation (in Butler's sense), and only incidentally against miracles. In fact he allows nothing but *natural* revelation, in plain terms, natural unrevealed religion: not avowedly rejecting the Bible, but laying down beforehand that it must be made to square with science, and can really teach us nothing, because if it appears to differ from our uninspired notions, we must find some other mode of interpreting. Such is the inevitable result of deny-



ing that man is both depraved and unable without superhuman aid to discover moral truth and the grand laws connecting man's life on earth with God's throne in heaven.

5. It is not justifiable to quote Orobio as one of those who attributed the Christian miracles to magic. (Essay, p. 116, note.) We have not Limborch to refer to, but Lyall may suffice, as very likely he did for the Essayist. He gives Orobio's words thus :—

“*Mea saltem sententia satis bonæ sunt et efficaces ut Christiani eas amplectantur, et in sua fide roborentur; non vero ut Judæi. Christiani fiant, ut supra latius probavi.*” And the reason he gives for this distinction is one which does not touch the question of the truth of the facts (or of agency), but only their authority, as having been performed in opposition to the law of Moses; which, in the opinion of the Jews, stood upon the supposition of miracles, greater in themselves than the Christian, and supported, as they assert, by equal or superior evidence.”

More highly miracles could not be spoken of by one who remained a Jew in spite of them.

6. At p. 117 Athanase Coquerel is referred to as “alleging that (miracles) can avail only in founding a faith,—not in preserving it.” This is not Davidson's translation, though doubtless Coquerel had said something which looks stronger still. We will give the whole passage.

“A miracle, in fact, is a valid proof of inspiration only to those who witness it. To believe in inspiration by reason of miracles, which a man has not seen, is not to believe upon proof by miracles, but upon proof by tradition.

“We do not, in such a case, believe upon the evidence of the miracles, but in consequence of the assertion and account of miracles handed down by credible witnesses, which is something essentially different.

“Whence it follows that a miracle, in the case of every one who has not seen it, is surely a presumption and not a proof.

“The object of miracles is not to continue a faith, but to lay its foundations.

“They offer a presumption because . . . *inspiration is not conceivable without miracles as its basis.*”

It is doubtful, therefore, if Coquerel means anything more than to point out his own “distinction between the faith accepted from others, and the faith admitted without any intermediate agent.” (Coquerel, p. 270.) Certainly he would have no sympathy with the Essayist who attributes a possible “injurious tendency” to the “evidential appeal” to miracles, “if urged in the present age.” (P. 117.)

7. There seems no more ground for bringing forward Luther than there was in the case of Coquerel; at least as a witness against

the evidential value of miracles, though Luther undoubtedly held that miracles had ceased, if that is anything to the purpose. The Essay is obscure here, and we fear there is something of an artifice, as substituting for the cessation of the power to work miracles, the loss of their evidential power. The passage in Seckendorf is simply an answer to the charge made by the Jesuit Maimburg, that Luther was an exorcist. The heading is alone sufficient. "*Refutatur fabula de expulsatione dæmonis a Luthero tentata.*"

8. At p. 119 it is said with reference to Tract for the Times 85, "It is elaborately argued, to the effect, that revelation ought to be believed though destitute of strict evidence, either internal or external; and though we neither see it nor know it." Without waiting to ask what noun is represented by the last *it*, we have to point out that the object is to discredit evidence, because the Tract writers are said to have valued it but slightly. Now this charge is very much rebutted (as concerns Tract 85) by its last sentence. "This is the reflection which I recommend to all, so far as they *have not the means* of examining the evidences for the Church, Creed, and Canon of Scripture; but I must not be supposed to imply, because I have so put the matter, that those who have the means will not find *abundant evidence* for the divinity of all three." That is, the Tract is written for the unlearned. There is a passage just before, so striking and almost prophetic (it is dated 1838), that we must give it at length.

"A multitude of passages (of Scripture) would be adduced, not to prove that Christianity was not true, or that CHRIST was not the SON of GOD, or the Bible not inspired, or not on the whole genuine and authentic, but that every part of it was not *equally* divine; that portions, books, particularly of the Old Testament, were not so; that we must use our own judgment. Nay, as time went on, perhaps it would be said that the Old Testament altogether was not inspired, only the New,—nay, perhaps only part of the New; not certain books which were for a time doubted in some ancient Churches, or not the Gospels according to S. Mark and S. Luke, and the Acts, because not the writing of Apostles, or not S. Paul's reasonings, only his conclusion. Next, it would be said, that no reliance can safely be placed on single texts; and so men would proceed, giving up first one thing, then another, till it would become a question what they gained of any kind, what they considered they gained from Christianity as a definite revelation or a direct benefit. They would come to consider its publication mainly as an historical event occurring eighteen hundred years since, which modified or altered the course of human thought and society, and thereby altered what would otherwise have been our state; as something infused into an existing mass, and influencing us in the improved tone of the institution in which we find ourselves, rather than as independent, substantive, and one, specially divine in its origin, and directly acting upon us. This is what the age is coming to, and I wish it observed. We know it denies the existence of the Church as a Divine institution; it

denies that Christianity has been cast into any particular social mould. Well : but this, I say, is not all ; it is rapidly tending to deny the existence of any *system* of Christianity either, any creed, doctrine, philosophy, or by whatever other name we designate it. Hitherto it has been usual, indeed, to give up the Church, and to speak only of the covenant, religion, creed, matter, or system of the Gospel ; to consider the Gospel as a sort of literature or philosophy, open for all to take and appropriate, not confined to any set of men, yet still a real existing system of religion. This has been the approved line of opinion in the world for the last hundred and fifty years ; but now a further step is about to be taken. The view henceforth is to be, that Christianity does not exist in documents, any more than in institutions ; in other words, the Bible will be given up as well as the Church. It will be said that the benefit which Christianity has done to the world, and which its Divine Author meant it should do, was to give an impulse to society, to infuse a spirit, to direct, control, purify, enlighten the mass of human thought and action ; but not to be a separate and definite something, whether doctrine or association, existing objectively, integral, and with an identity, and for ever, and with a claim upon our homage and obedience. And all this fearfully coincides with the symptoms in other directions of the spread of a Pantheistic spirit, the religion (that is) of beauty, imagination, and philosophy, without constraint, moral or intellectual, a religion speculative and self-indulgent. Pantheism, indeed, is the great deceit which awaits the age to come."

Of course the Tracts for the Times would not weigh very much with the Authors of "Essays and Reviews," but we could not forbear quoting this passage for the benefit of our readers.

9. The next quotation is more to the point, as it certainly does draw largely on the claims of the Church's authority, independently of evidence.

The exclamation, "As if *evidence* to the Word of God were a thing to be tolerated by a Christian, except as an additional condemnation for those who reject it or as a sort of exercise and indulgence for a Christian understanding," is startling enough, we allow, but the following quotation from the same article shows that it does not aim at "referring *everything* to the authority of the Church," as the Essayist would have it thought :

"There is but one security, *Testimony and Authority*, and if the Church will consent once more to take its stand here, nothing can shake it.

"Till another Church has been established, and stood for 1800 years, there can be no argument against Christianity, or against any part of the Church's doctrine, sufficient to counterbalance the argument which we now have in its favour. Testimony, if the right ground of belief, is only to be overthrown by testimony ; and all other objections, drawn from its inconsistency with supposed truths and facts, are to be met by the simple question, How can we know what is truth except by testimony ?"

At any rate, it would seem the writer in the *British Critic* (p. 308) gave at least as much weight to Testimony, i.e. to evidence, as he did to Authority.

10. The quotation following from the *Edinburgh Review* seems to be incorrectly given, as there is no Article in No. CXLI. on the Defence of Christianity, or any like subject, and the Essayist has not stated the page.

11. Coleridge is next referred to in no less than three places, as one who disparages miracles. Yet the truth really is, that the first quotation has no reference to miracles at all, being an exclamation "impatient" enough against such works as *Butler's Analogy* and *Paley's Natural Theology*, which argue in favour of revelation from its agreement with the evidence of our senses in the ordinary course of the world. Thus he blames "the Mechanico-corpuseular Philosophy" for the growth of these objects of his aversion.

"Hence, I more than fear, the prevailing taste for books of Natural Theology, Physico-theology, Demonstrations of God from Nature, Evidences of Christianity, &c." "*Evidences of Christianity!* I am weary of the word. Make a man feel the *want* of it; rouse him, if you can, to the self-knowledge of his *need* of it; and you may safely trust it to its own evidence, remembering only the express declaration of CHRIST Himself: No man cometh to Me, unless the FATHER leadeth him."

Again, what truth is there in saying that Coleridge "protests against the entire principle" of Paley, "as being at variance with that moral election which he (Coleridge) would make the essential basis of religious belief?" Coleridge himself chose to speak in Jeremy Taylor's words, as the Essayist knew, but was too wise to disclose. The passage is this:

"I *doubt* the validity of the assertion 'He alone discovers who proves' as a *general* rule; and I *deny* it, as applied to matters of *faith*, to the verities of religion, in the belief of which there must always be somewhat of moral election, 'an act of the will in it as well as of the understanding, as much love in it as discursive power. True Christian faith must have in it something of an evidence, something that must be made up by duty and by obedience.' (Taylor's Worthy Communicant, p. 160.) But most readily do we admit, and most fervently do we contend, that the miracles worked by CHRIST, both as miracles and as fulfilments of prophecy, both as signs and as wonders, made plain discovery, and gave unquestionable proof, of His Divine character and authority, that they were to the whole Jewish nation true and appropriate evidences that He was indeed come Who had promised and declared to their forefathers, 'Behold, your God will come with vengeance, even God to recompense! He will come and save you!' Receive them as proofs, therefore, of the truth of every word, which He

taught who was Himself the Word : and as sure evidences of the final victory over death and of the life to come, in that they were manifestations of Him Who said : ' I am the resurrection and the life. ' ”

When Coleridge speaks of “moral election” in admitting or rejecting a revelation, he does not uphold “the dictations of the moral sense,” as De Wette (Essay, p. 124), but insists with Butler on that “trial of faith” which lies in the free power to choose or reject with a strong temptation to the latter, coupled with what we may venture to call the coy, unobtrusive nature of the proof, a proof that must be sought and desired before it will come home to the mind, a proof that may be spurned and rejected at will, but yet one which clings with a stronger hold day by day, proving itself a key to unlock the mysteries of our moral nature, a companion that cannot be divorced without the bitterest anguish and the blankest despair.

The conviction to which Coleridge attached such vital importance, seems to have been an abstract opinion, that the resurrection of the dead admitted of proof without miracles, that is, without the living seeing them raised. Whatever the importance of this point, it argues nothing whatever against the credibility or evidential character of miracles, when admitted to have been worked.

12. In page 122 we are told that Dean Lyall rejects the “Ecclesiastical Miracles” as having no connection with doctrine. If the reader will refer to Lyall he will discover what these “Ecclesiastical Miracles” are : “Abaris, the Hyperboræan, who was able to overtake an arrow in its flight; and Aristeas, who died twice and rose again; and Clazomenes, whose soul frequently wandered about the world separate from his body.” Further on (p. 441 of Lyall) Pythagoras and Apollonius Tyanæus are mentioned. Should the reader feel rather mystified as to the sense in which these men are called ecclesiastics, we will take the liberty of refreshing his memory. “Abaris was a Hyperboræan priest of Apollo, and came from the country about the Caucasus to Greece. He was endowed with the power of prophecy, &c. His history is entirely mythical.” (Dr. Smith’s Dictionary.) In fact he belongs to the pre-historic age.

“Aristeas of Proconnesus, was an epic poet, who flourished about the time of Cræsus and Cyrus. The accounts of his life are as fabulous as those about Abaris the Hyperboræan. Aristeas was a magician, who rose after his death.” (Dr. W. Smith.) It is clear that Lyall may be excused for neglecting such miracles as those of Aristeas. Of Pythagoras we need not speak.

“Apollonius Tyanæus, a Pythagorean philosopher, born at Tyana, in Cappadocia, about four years before the Christian era. The miracles attributed to him are chiefly prophecies, and it is *not the power of controlling the laws of nature* which Apollonius lays claim

to, but rather a wonder-working secret, which gives him a deeper insight into them than is possessed by ordinary men." (Dr. W. Smith.) Apollonius then is the only person mentioned, who can claim to belong to the Christian period, and his doctrines had as little in common with Christianity as his miraculous powers had resemblance to those which the Bible records the display of.

We will not say that the Essayist was misled by finding these names mentioned by Celsus, into the notion that they were heretics or schismatics of the Christian period, but it is worth noting how he who denies any proper miracle to be possible—in order to deny its evidential force singly, if proved—takes advantage of these lying wonders, which Lyall notices simply to show that the heretics could not disprove or doubt the Christian miracles, and *therefore* brought forward like works in competition with them. Yet the Essayist would argue against all miracles, because Lyall "rejects these ecclesiastical miracles as having no connection with doctrine." The misstatement is as gross as the subterfuge is contemptible. Lyall's answer is really this :

"It is scarcely necessary to say, that the histories I am alluding to, possess no claim to credit of any kind. The facts which are related in them, were never so much as heard of in the age in which they are feigned to have happened, but were fabricated long after the events ; and seem to have obtained currency among the vulgar simply on the ground, that if the Christian miracles were true, as does not seem to have been made a question, in that case, it was probable that others might be so likewise." (Lyall, p. 442.)

It is right to point out that in the chapter which the Essayist refers to, Dean Lyall is not "defending the miraculous argument," but proving the truth of the Christian miracles, from the universal consent of contemporaries and of the succeeding writers. Indeed the Essayist has convicted himself here, for the inference he wished to draw would have required that Lyall should deny the evidential force of real heretical or heathen miracles, not that he should summarily reject them as inventions. The truth must be told, that the Essayist's line of argument is that of Celsus and Porphyry, not that of Lyall. Of course he does not openly adopt their conclusions.

13. The remark of Dr. Johnson, quoted in p. 122 of the Essay, is his answer to Boswell when Johnson had come to the age of sixty-eight. It so happens that Boswell had introduced Hume's well-known argument against miracles into a conversation which took place fourteen years before, and Johnson's answer at that time, is worth giving for its brevity and force.

"Although God has made nature to operate by certain fixed laws, yet it is not unreasonable to think that He may suspend those laws, in order to establish a system highly advantageous to mankind. Now the

Christian religion is a most beneficial system, as it gives us light and certainty where we were before in darkness and doubt. The miracles which prove it are attested by men who had no interest in deceiving us, but who, on the contrary, were told that they should suffer persecution, and did actually lay down their lives in confirmation of the truth of the facts which they asserted. Indeed, for some centuries the heathens did not pretend to deny the miracles; but said they were performed by evil spirits. This is a circumstance of great weight. Then, sir, when we take the proofs derived from prophecies which have been so exactly fulfilled, we have most satisfactory evidence. Supposing a miracle possible, as to which in my opinion there can be no doubt, we have as strong evidence for the miracles in support of Christianity, as the nature of the thing admits."

It would seem then, that besides being perfectly decided on the point, Johnson in his prime would have shrunk from acknowledging "the right of an appeal, superior to that of all miracles, to our own moral tribunal." (Essay, p. 122.) At the utmost he only makes miracles co-ordinate with prophecy (another kind of miracle) and with internal evidence. And this every Christian will agree to.

14. Again, what ground is there for putting into the mouth of Dr. S. Clarke the same "common argument" as we have just seen attributed to Johnson? The truth is, that the reference really points to Clarke's fourteenth head of his discourse on this subject at Boyle's Lecture. The place referred to is not an argument, nor even the heading of an argument, though the Essayist seems to have thought otherwise. It is a rather popular explanatory statement of a proposition intended to be proved. We cannot do better than give the full details of the Propositions from the Contents.

"That the Christian revelation is positively and directly proved to be sent to us from GOD; by the miracles which our SAVIOUR worked, by the fulfilling of the Prophecies and by the Testimony of the Apostles.

"Of the Life and Character of our SAVIOUR, as an evidence of the Truth of the Christian Revelation.

"Of the Miracles of CHRIST, as the evidence of His Divine Commission.

"Of miracles in general.

"That in respect of the power of GOD, all things are alike easy.

"That, therefore, miracles ought not to be defined by any absolute difficulty in the nature of the things themselves to be done.

"What degrees of power GOD may have communicated to created beings it is not possible for us to determine.

"That, therefore, a miracle is not rightly defined to be such an effect, as could not have been produced by any less power than the Divine Omnipotence.

"All things that are done in the world are done, either immediately

by GOD Himself, or by created intelligent beings; matter being capable of no laws or powers. And consequently there is, properly speaking, no such thing as the course or power of nature.

"That, therefore, a miracle is not rightly defined to be that which is against the course of nature, or above the natural power of created agents.

"The unreasonableness of those who deny the possibility of miracles in general.

"Some effects prove the constant providence of GOD, and others prove the occasional interposition either of GOD Himself, or of some intelligent being superior to man.

"Whether such interposition be the immediate work of GOD, or of some good or evil angel, can hardly be discovered merely by the work itself.

"That there is no reason to suppose all the wonders worked by evil spirits to be mere delusions.

"How we are to distinguish miracles wrought by GOD for the proof of any doctrine, from the frauds of evil spirits.

"The difference between those who teach that the immediate power of GOD is, or is not, necessarily requisite to the working of a miracle is not very great at bottom.

"The true definition of a miracle.

"The strength of the evidence of our SAVIOUR's miracles.

"Concerning the objection, that we prove in a circle the miracles by the doctrine, and the doctrine by the miracles. (See Essay, p. 113.)

"Of the pretended miracles of Apollonius and others.

"Of the fulfilling the prophecies as an evidence of our SAVIOUR's Divine commission.

"Of the prophecies that went before, concerning the MESSIAH.

"Of the prophecies that CHRIST Himself delivered, concerning things that were to happen after.

"Of the testimony of our SAVIOUR's disciples as an evidence of the truth of the Christian Revelation.

"What things are requisite to make the testimony of our SAVIOUR's disciples a complete evidence that the Apostles could not be imposed upon themselves.

"That they could have no design of imposing upon others.

"That the Apostles' testimony has been truly conveyed down to us.

"Of the authority of the Books of Holy Scripture."

What we wish to point out here is, that there is not one word about "doctrine," internal evidence, or "the human mind sitting in moral and spiritual judgment," from beginning to end. Yet the essayist has referred to this very division as a ground for his unfounded assertion regarding "the most approved divines."

15. The next "approved divine" is Dean Trench. Now he undoubtedly admits that "the doctrine is to try the miracle, as well as the miracle to seal the doctrine" (Trench, p. 31); but when we are asked, "What is this but to acknowledge the right of an appeal, superior to that of (*sic*) all miracles, to our own moral tribunal?"



we are compelled to answer, there is no more question of superiority than, when a young man wants to be ordained, the second and third Clergymen who sign his testimonials are thereby placed in a superior position to him who signs above them. Dr. Trench has clearly and emphatically given the right view of the function of the intellect in receiving evidence of revelation :—

“Neither is there in all this any exposing of the simple and unlearned Christian to the twofold danger of not receiving that which indeed comes from God, or of receiving that which comes from an evil source; while the safeguard from either of these fatal errors lies altogether in the moral and spiritual, and not at all in the intellectual condition of men. They only find the witness which the truth bears to itself to be no witness; they only believe the lying wonders, in whom the moral sense is already perverted; they have not before received the love of the truth, that they might be saved from believing a lie. Thus, then, their believing this lie and rejecting the truth is, in fact, but the final judgment upon them that have had pleasure in unrighteousness. With this view exactly agree the memorable words of S. Paul (2 Thess. ii. 9—12), wherein he declares that it is the anterior state of every man which shall decide whether he shall receive the lying wonders of Antichrist, or reject them.”—Trench, p. 26.

The difference between acknowledging the effect of the life and conscience or the will and understanding, and making man's reason, however degraded, the supreme judge of the contents of a revelation, can hardly be more strongly or correctly pointed out.

16. The essayist refers his reader to *Phases of Faith*, where it is urged that Nathaniel would be more likely to have been led astray by Simon Magus, than Demas. The notion is a strange one; for Simon's utter worldliness would have been very soon detected by the man without guile, even without his shameless effrontery, whilst the lover of filthy lucre would have been just the man to admire the craft of the conjuror, and in time to be led captive by his arts. Yet the strongest argument is that Simon's miracles may have been real, but satanic, and scepticism, therefore, as usual out of place. Indeed, I know not how Simon's conduct can be understood, but as that of a man who knew too much to doubt the reality of the Apostles' power, but felt too little of the spirit of Christianity, or religious sentiment of any kind, to perceive the grossness and absurdity of his request. His own power he would have sold for a price which tempted him; and its being supernatural in some kind need not be an obstacle, any more than “the spirit of divination” at Philippi prevented the “owners of the damsel” from receiving “much gain by soothsaying.” But had he possessed nothing further than sleight of hand himself, he would have thought the Apostles simply more dexterous than himself, and certainly not asked their prayers.

The train of thought on page 123 will seem entangled to most

readers, and it is only by a reference to Professor Newman that the essayist's drift can be made out. The Professor's "Sixth Period" contains an attack upon miracles, which is shifted occasionally from their evidential value to their right to influence our immediate acts, in contradiction to ordinary moral laws. Thus he is shocked at Hosea's immorality, at Abraham's sacrificing Isaac, and so on.

When Professor Newman asks, "Ought we in any case to receive moral truths in obedience to an apparent miracle of sense? or, conversely, ought we ever to believe in sensible miracles, because of their recommending some moral truth?" it is in the spirit of an objector, certainly; but he shows most strikingly his own tendency to hair-splitting, and making distinctions without a difference. For, if the doctrine in question be truth, and the miracles real, we are of course bound to receive both, and both together; and it really is not of the slightest consequence which we receive for the sake of the other. Most persons, we should imagine, assign to miracles the character of a means to an end, which end is a right faith. But, in a certain sense it is consistent with this, to receive the miracles for the sake of the doctrine, and also the doctrine for the sake of the miracles. But such questions really mean nothing but that "going on with words" which Butler protests so strongly against, and which proves very little besides a perverted ingenuity, to which it is hard to assign any motive whatever, and still harder to attribute any good one. (Newman, p. 145, 12mo. ed.)

So, again, the "moral perception" and "inward judgment," which he places above "sensible perceptions and outward impressions," are not applied to the reception of doctrine on miraculous evidence, but to the regulation of human conduct by immediate divine direction. (Newman, p. 150.) It appears that even this author, when fairly cited, appears not to go the length of our essayist.

17. The reference to Shaftesbury's *Characteristics* on p. 125 seems to be a mistake. He is arguing, not against miracles in general, but against expecting miracles now, as a quotation will show:—

"In respect of miracles to come, the surest way never to believe *amiss*, is never to believe *at all*. For, being satisfied of the truth of our religion *by past miracles*, so as to need no other to confirm us, the belief of new may often do us harm, but can never do us good. Therefore, as the truest sign of a believing Christian is to seek after no sign or miracle to come; so the safest station in Christianity is his who can be moved by nothing of this kind, and is thus miracle proof. For, if the *miracle* be on the side of his faith, it is superfluous, and he needs it not; if against his faith, let it be as great as possible, he will never regard it in the least, or believe it any other than an imposture, though

coming from an angel. . . . I am persuaded, therefore, that the best maxim to go by is that common one, 'that *miracles are ceased*.' " (Characteristics, vol. ii. p. 328.)

18. The quotation from Melchior Canus (Essay, p. 126) is really a very slender basis on which to build the charge of "assigning a much lower place" (lower than what?) "to the *evidence of miracles*, . . . as merely a preparatory step to faith." Surely no one ever thought of making faith so far preparatory to miracles, that the latter should become an end in themselves. Of what use miracles can be, except to produce faith, we cannot conceive. And of course, in this work they go along with reason.

The modern connection of "miracles with faith, as inconceivable to reason," so far as the account is a true one, only means that the reason which takes upon itself to reject miracles as "inconceivable" must shut out the possibility of real faith. It would therefore seem more correct to say that we connect faith with a belief in miracles, because reason, by a conceited denial of miracles, may make faith impossible.

19. We may fairly call it marvellous that Butler should have been referred to as he has been at page 142 :—

"Some of the most strenuous advocates of the Christian 'evidences' readily avow—indeed, expressly contend—that the attestation of miracles is, after all, not irresistible; and that in the very uncertainty which confessedly remains lies the 'trial of faith,' which it is thus implied must really rest on some other independent moral conviction."

Now we will remark, first, that in the chapter of Butler quoted to support this (Book ii. ch. vi.) there is no allusion to miracles whatever; secondly, that the uncertainty spoken of is that of the truth of revelation in general; and thirdly, that the "trial of faith" (the words are not quoted from this chapter) implies anything rather than a lack of evidential force in miracles, and a falling back on independent moral convictions. The gist of the chapter is contained in these words :—

"Men's moral probation may be, whether they will take due care to inform themselves by impartial consideration, and afterwards whether they will act as the case requires, upon the evidence which they have, however doubtful. If persons throw off all regard to religion, under pretence of want of evidence, I desire them to consider again, whether their thinking so be owing . . . to their own not having such a sense of religion, and serious solicitude about it, as even their state of scepticism does in all reason require."

The argument is very characteristic of Butler, and may not be readily comprehended by any one who is not familiar with his writings; but there is all the difference in the world between in-

sisting that men should not put aside what it is but slightly probable may be of vital importance to them, and putting man's "verifying faculty" above the authority of the works which none can do except God be with him.

We have now examined all, or very nearly all, the quotations which are made in the essay, for the purpose of strengthening the argument by drawing to its aid names of recognised authority. And we fear the inference must be that there is a want of moral honesty in the author in respect of writers differing certainly very much from one another, but as certainly possessing, even the most objectionable of them, very little in common with himself.

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### MR. WILSON'S LIVERPOOL SERMONS.

*Three Sermons composed for Delivery at the Opening of a New Organ at S. Chrysostom's Church, Everton.* By the Rev. H. BRISTOW WILSON, B.D. London: Longman & Co.

It is hardly worth while to produce out of these Sermons additional testimony to the unsoundness of the Author. We take them rather as an amusing illustration of his ingenuity. And first of all some little ingenuity was needed to make the "opening of an organ" an occasion for discoursing on the Mosaic cosmogony. Mr. Wilson, however, has accomplished this feat successfully, though how he can reconcile this fact with the defence he originally put forth of the sermons being really harmless, because they were written before the controversy had become so keen, is more than we can understand.

But the ingenuity of the writer is mainly shown in the very hard hits which he administers to those who glory in the name of Protestant. We will give a few illustrations.

1. He claims the power to reject certain portions of the Canonical Scriptures consistently with the reputation of being a good Protestant from the well known example of Luther. That eminent Protestant, he argues, eliminated the Epistle of S. James from his Bible, and therefore I am at liberty, if I please, to reject "the Epistle to the Hebrews and the fourth Gospel," which, as well as some others, he considers "owe their place in the Christian collection to speculative hypothesis, argumentative purposes, necessities of controversy and doctrinal prepossessions." It is for Protestants to think how they will answer this *argumentum ad hominem*.

2. Again Mr. Wilson argues that it was not the critical faculty which decided Luther in fixing his canon of Scripture, but his "moral judgment," which he says,

"may render different sentences in different persons, according to its stage of education and development. For '*the saving faith*', of Luther not only embraced the person of the SAVIOUR according to the Nicene and Athanasian definitions, but satisfied the yearning of the individual sinner after forgiveness by applying the merits of CHRIST'S Passion endured to procure it from the FATHER. The creeds themselves contain only the germ of this doctrine, if so much; and that which was the cardinal doctrine with Luther, as it was hardly known in Christendom before his time, may be a stumbling-block to others who have succeeded him. Yet others are as much entitled as he was to make the ultimate appeal to their own moral judgment; as much entitled to throw themselves immediately on the love and forgiveness of the FATHER, as he was to rely ultimately on the same parental mercifulness through faith in the atonement of the SON, as he understood 'faith' and 'atonement.'

"Now where Luther found this doctrine of his, there he found the preaching of CHRIST and the true Gospel; where it was absent, there was to him no true Scripture. This principle cannot be more boldly stated than it is in his Preface to the Epistle of S. James. 'That which does not teach CHRIST is not apostolical, even though S. Peter or S. Paul teach it; on the contrary, that which preaches CHRIST, would be apostolical, even, though Judas, Annas, Pilate, and Herod preach Him.'

"So of the Epistle to the Hebrews, he says, that it is evidently not apostolic, by reason of the 'straw and chaff' intruded into the true doctrine, such as the impossibility of forgiveness to the lapsed after baptism; and yet he thinks it is the work of some disciple who had learnt much true doctrine from apostolic men. Calvin likewise acknowledged the same principle, though he applied it differently. He did not consider the Epistle to the Hebrews to be S. Paul's, although it may be called apostolical, and he found no contradiction, as Luther did, between some of its doctrine and that of the rest of the Scriptures. Calvin admitted the second Epistle of S. Peter, inasmuch as it contained 'nothing unworthy of S. Peter.' Thus he appealed, like Luther, to an inward witness, whether it may be called a 'verifying' or a 'discerning' faculty, though he did not appeal to it for the same precise purpose.

"To 'preach CHRIST' is evidently a very vague term; and in setting forth this characteristic as the mark of apostolical authority, Luther meant only that which he understood by it. Those, however, who do not share his particular convictions, are yet justified in applying the same test, although it may lead them to different and even opposite conclusions to his. Luther did not see the wideness of application which his principle would admit of. Nor from that time to this has the extent, to which this moral judgment or conscience has legitimate sway in matters of theology and religion, been generally recognised as it ought to be.

"There could not be a greater mistake than to represent the question which presented itself to Luther as a merely intellectual, speculative, or doctrinal one. Though it branched out into a multitude of dogmatical issues involving much logical treatment, its root was to him

a moral one. His primary inquiry was not whether his intellect was satisfied with the proofs of the Roman doctrine, or of the Roman authority, but whether that doctrine approved itself to his conscience; whether that authority satisfied the wants of his moral being."—Pp. x.—xii.

This principle Mr. Wilson claims as a good Protestant to be allowed to exercise for himself, and so he at once gets rid of the text, "He that believeth not shall be damned," and of the promise to the Disciples that they should work miracles, as being "improbable" things for our LORD to have said. And in the same manner he eliminates the doctrine of our LORD's Ascension as being "the embodiment" by some rude hand "of a doctrine or idea in a material form."

3. Again, our author appeals to the "principles" of Protestantism in a way that we have so often shown those who adopt that name, that they were laying themselves open to be dealt with. "Protestants, indeed, abandon Protestantism when they contentedly rest in the particular applications which the Reformers made of their Protestant principles. When those concrete results have been enthroned as if they had an authority equivalent to that of the mediæval ecclesiasticism, Protestantism, in the true sense of the word, may be said to have died out."

And further on he argues that the best protestant is he who believes least :—

"It is evident, therefore, that the essence or principle of Protestantism does not consist in any of the systems of doctrine set up at the Reformation period in opposition to the Roman doctrine, however true they may be, or however much of truth they may have in them; but in the vindication of the natural and Christian freedom of Churches and individuals against the assumption of Rome to impose doctrine. Now it is very possible there may be lurking in some of those anti-Roman systems, assumptions provocative of a protest against them in their turn. Any assumption, indeed, which limits salvation, or confines the right to the Christian name within the limits of one visible communion, or of one defined doctrinal profession, is in fact a claim to impose doctrine and an infringement of the liberty of conscience. To denounce or assume is a very different thing from arguing. True Popery does not condescend to argue except for a pretence, it cannot abate of its claim, which is only therefore to be met with a protest. And any other ecclesiastical or doctrinal schemes which demand assent by virtue either of a supposed absolute authority, or of a supposed absolute demonstration of the truth, can only be met with a protest in like manner. Episcopalians and Presbyterians may discuss their respective church constitutions without breach of Christian charity, without virtually excommunicating each other, so long as they acknowledge the question between them to be one of probable evidence, of comparative advantage, of greater or less correspondence to primitive models. But as soon as the Episcopalian denies the lawfulness of the Presby-

terian form, he can be met only with a protest : and however Protestant in one sense of the word the Presbyterian may be, if he bounds the true Church of CHRIST by his own communion, he sets up in his turn a spiritual claim as provocative of a protest as the Papal one. The same holds with respect to pædo-baptists and anti-pædo-baptists, to the advocates of establishments and of voluntarism ; immediately either party declares the other to be unchurched and unchristianized, it unchurches and unchristianizes itself.

"It is plain that the original Lutheran and Calvinist churches, though they were in a certain sense Protestant in their aspect towards Rome, were yet Papally exclusive towards those who differed from them, undermining, therefore, the principle of their own protest and of their own independence. And those who inherit the same doctrinal systems in their stringency, whether churches, properly so called, or parties, are Protestant only in that which is accidental ; Papal in spirit, Protestant in the husk or shell. Protestantism as a principle has a double aspect ; for what we demand or insist upon we should be willing to grant ; the Protestant has his duties as well as his rights.

"Of course a question will occur, as to how far these maxims are to be applied. There will be many who would prefer to rest in a traditional system of doctrine called Protestantism, embracing in the Christian brotherhood those only who believe dogmatically as they do, and shutting out those who differ, from the church on earth and, as they must think, from heaven too, rather than admit a Protestant principle, which at the same time would be truly Catholic. But there is no legitimate stopping short of a frank recognition of the Christian character of all communions which claim it for themselves. Even the denominations between which there is likely to be the greatest difficulty in this respect—Trinitarians and Unitarians—must learn to recognise in each other an equal honesty of purpose in their respective attempts to give significance to the expressions of the New Testament which embody the thoughts of the first Christians concerning GOD and HIS SON and SPIRIT, as well as to their own necessary conceptions of the Divine Being. And with respect to the whole question of the sectional divisions of Christians calling themselves Protestants, it concerns the laity especially to exert themselves to modify those mutual repulsions which are perpetuated chiefly by the ministries of the several denominations, too apt by reason of their professional education to look at these differences in a controversial and exclusive spirit."—Pp. xxxii. —xxxiv.

4. The treatment of the doctrine of original sin by our essayist is a natural rebound from the extravagant Calvinistic view which is common to most English Protestants of the present day. These are his views :—

"By those who take the account, Gen. iii., literally, it is supposed to deliver a history of the cause of a moral deterioration in man. We shall not stay here to inquire how a moral guilt or even a moral incapacity could be conceived to have followed to the race, by an arbitrary appointment, from a certain overt act of the ancestor—but observe that

the chapters, Gen. ii., iii., do not signify so much as is imported into them. For there is nothing in them, or in the first chapter, which leads us to think that the writer intended to indicate the creation of man in possession of absolute moral goodness. In the first he is said to have been created in the likeness of God; but this was not in all respects, for in the third, it is not until after eating the forbidden fruit, that he 'is become as one of us to know good and evil.' And until that knowledge, it is difficult to understand how he could be said to have a moral nature at all. In fact, in these ancient writings we do not find the words good and evil used by any means in their highest significance. In the first chapter man is 'good,' as the other creatures are 'good,' for their respective places in the scale of being; and in the third, the 'good' and 'evil' concerns material things, and the words are precisely the same with those which are used of some child alluded to as shortly to be born, in Isa. vii., 'Before the child shall know to refuse the evil, and to choose the good,' &c., and have nothing of the specific signification of the words for 'wickedness,' 'iniquity,' 'transgression,' and the like."—Pp. 23, 24.

In reality, he adds, there is nothing about a fall of man and original sin in the Old Testament. "It is not here, nor is it elsewhere."

"The assumption that Gen. iii. declares, on miraculously inspired authority, the moral fall and consequently transmitted guilt of the race created perfect according to Gen. i., derives no confirmation from the onward tenour of the Old Testament. According to the theory, there would be none exempt from imputed guilt. But immediately mankind appear as divided into the good and the evil generally, by reason of their own conduct. Cain and Abel represent the wicked and the righteous. Enoch walked with God, so that God took him—according to the usual acceptation, translated him—so that he did not pass through death, although he too was engendered of the offspring of Adam."—P. 25.

Nor is that doctrine, according to Mr. Wilson, really supported by the New Testament. Passages in S. Paul's writings which seem to tell that way are merely little oddities of the Apostle's own mind, or concessions to the prejudices of other persons. There is nothing like S. Paul's peculiar notions in the rest of the New Testament.

"And the solution of this apparent difference between S. Paul's expressions and those of the rest of the New Testament we may well consider to be, that the passages in S. Paul's writings, on which have been founded notions concerning the universal and utter corruption of the human race, imputation of guilt through the first Adam, with their counterparts of vicarious sacrifice, second Adam, imputation of CHRIST's righteousness, were not intended by himself to deliver dogmatical statements; were arguments, illustrations, or views of truth, as presented to his own mind; or as presentable by him to persons whose prejudices he was desirous of conciliating."—Pp. 27, 28.



To some people the disapproval of this old world-notion about original sin might seem no great gain, especially to those who think much of the mercy which has provided a way of escape from the guilt and the power of that sin. But Mr. Wilson thinks that great spiritual advantages attend the removal of that notion from our theological system.

"When the notion of transmitted guilt is removed, the working of conscience is quickened. It is easy to say, 'I am a sinner and the chief of sinners,' when all men are sinners with an imputation of sin not their own, or with an inheritance of utterly corrupt nature, against which it is vain for them to strive without some supernatural conversion. Under such impressions they are prone to wait—perhaps with such convictions they ought to wait. And as the guilt and condemnation which they are supposed to inherit is derived to them from without themselves, so they look to be clothed upon with a righteousness from without, a righteousness which cannot be their own, and yet of which they must be assured—without which their part must be in the lake of fire and brimstone. As if God, Who made all things, small and great, in the hierarchy of earthly existences, and saw that it was very good, has not a place for the heathen, the Jew, the Mahometan, and as some might dare to say, for the unconverted Christian in the kingdom of Heaven."—P. 30.

At p. xvi. Mr. Wilson makes an admission, which had he realised at an earlier period of his life, he would not, we may presume, have taken part in putting down the "Tracts for the Times."

And at p. xxviii. he apologises for "the free handling" of the truth in "Essays and Reviews," as being a natural re-action against the elevation of Drs. Villiers, Pelham, Bickersteth, and Waldegrave to the Episcopate. These are his words, which we commend to the consideration of Lord Shaftesbury:—

"Hitherto, it must be confessed, the Scriptures have been used too much as a repository of texts to be adduced in proof of preconceived systems of theology; and the difference in value of their parts having been too little pointed out, the reading of them by large numbers has been without discernment; and, with such things as Mormonism and Revivalism before our eyes, it must be said, at times positively mischievous. Now it has been represented that the exaltation of the letter of Scripture, and its combination with a certain dogmatism antagonist to the Roman doctrines, are of the essence of Protestantism. Thus the Bible has been set in a false light, and a form of Protestantism has been confounded with its principle. Of late years, in our own Church, religious parties, and even powers of the State, with the intention, no doubt, of promoting an anti-Roman, Biblical, and Protestant Christianity, have done their utmost to reduce the Church of the nation to the condition of an illiterate Evangelical sect. It is not unnatural that some reaction should have set in against such a misunderstanding of

what Protestantism really is, and of the relation of Scripture to it; and the very diffusion and indiscriminate circulation of the Bible, which for a time has aided a traditional puritanism in subjugating the reason and religion of the country to its letter, will in the end turn out an effectual instrument for their emancipation into the freedom of its spirit."—Pp. xxviii., xxix.

And now one word in conclusion as to Mr. Wilson's scholarship. The weakness of this—if we should not rather say its dishonesty—does really surprise us. We will give two illustrations.

1. There is no effort at ascertaining the *value* of criticism affecting the authenticity of a text. It suffices for Mr. Wilson that a text which his "moral sense" disapproves is found wanting in one single MS., and he pronounces at once that it may be "given up with little hesitation." A greater abuse of scholarship was never attempted. One can pardon an ignorant person imagining that criticism employed on the sacred text would unsettle the foundations of the faith, but for a person of Mr. Wilson's position to attempt such a *ruse* is really most discreditable.

2. In a similar manner Mr. Wilson entirely ignores the progress that has been made in Biblical criticism. He either does not know, or pretends not to know that he has been anticipated in all the objections which he can make against books or portions of Holy Scripture, and that his arguments have long since been considered and refuted. It is simply dishonest at the present day to assume that the authenticity of S. John's Gospel (for example) is questionable, or that the fact of our Lord's Ascension is capable of being disputed. Scepticism has long since done its worst on these points, and the attempt to reassert what has been effectually disproved, without the addition of one single argument in its defence, is conduct that on the most obvious principle of morality deserves the gravest censure.

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## MEDICAL SCIENCE: ITS PROGRESS AND ITS LIMITS.

*Six Discourses on the functions of the lungs ; and causes, prevention, and cure of Pulmonary Consumption, Asthma, and diseases of the heart ; on the laws of life ; and on the mode of preserving male and female health to a hundred years.* By SAMUEL SHELDON FITCH, A.M., M.D. London : Chandler.

*A treatise on the causes and curability of Diseases of the Heart, &c., and on the treatment of disease in middle aged and elderly people.* By SAMUEL SHELDON FITCH, A.M., M.D. London : Bailliere. 1861.

THERE is no inconsistency in the appearance of a treatise on medical science at the head of an article in a Theological Review ; for it is the boast of theology that whereas every other science views man partially and incompletely, she, as the queen of sciences, embraces him in the fulness of his complex being, and in all his several relations. Physiology views him in relation to the material elements of his body, moral philosophy has regard to his mental constitution, the science of economics restricts itself to his household and family relations, political science takes cognisance of him in his relations to the community in which he lives ; but theology deals with him in his relations to Almighty God, and therefore overshadows him in *all* his relations. With this introductory remark, we shall endeavour to give our readers some general idea of the two books which have suggested it.

All professions have their dangers : they are all apt to transgress their legitimate boundaries, and to encroach on some territory which is not theirs. Every professional man has a laudable zeal for his own profession, and is always under the temptation of claiming more for it than its due. The soldier is tempted to usurp the functions of the statesman, and the statesman to direct the campaign of the soldier. A man whose life lies in the cultivation of one science cannot easily avoid the temptation to generalise upon the basis of his own pursuit and beyond its range, and thus to make it the rule and measure of all things ; like the musician mentioned by Cicero, who held that the soul was a harmony. “*Hic ab arte suâ non recessit,*” is the quiet comment of the great orator.

The professor of medical science is eminently exposed to the inducement of trespassing inadvertently into his neighbours' fields, and measuring them by the rules of his own profession. Like Cicero's musician, “*he is true to his art,*” and sometimes applies his stethoscope to sound the depth of problems which lie beyond the reach of the science which he professes. His heart is in his pro-

fession, and he throws himself unsuspiciously into his own particular science, which is of a material character, and allows it to carry him forward into a subject-matter where medical science has no right to give the law, that, namely, of spiritual substances, which belongs directly to theology.

The two medical treatises before us are as free as any we know from dogmatising *ultra crepidam* ; and we will therefore quote a sentence or two from one of them to show the tendency of the close pursuit of a favourite science to make even a religious man—for such Dr. Fitch seems to be—generalise beyond the sphere of his own profession. “God,” he asserts, “is not unjust and partial; He has not made one to live one hundred and sixty years, while another cannot live more than twenty or thirty.” “None ever need die except by accident or old age, if the resources of the healing art are completely, judiciously, and timely applied.” Now whether or not it would be “unjust and partial” on the part of God to “make one man to live one hundred and sixty years, while another cannot live more than twenty or thirty,” is a question which belongs to theology alone. Medical science, as such, has no premises from which to draw any conclusion on the subject; and if it does venture to conclude, it is out of its place in so doing, and is, moreover, very likely to come to a wrong conclusion. It is so in the instance before us. The author’s assertion, though of course without his intending it, overlooks the fact that God visits the sins of the father often upon the child, and denies implicitly either that there is a future life, or implies that, if there is, to exchange it for this life is a calamity. On no other ground could it be unjust to take one man away at twenty, and another at one hundred years of age. S. Paul was certainly not one hundred when he thought that “to depart and be with CHRIST was far better.” The truth is, as Bacon says, “a man that is young in years may be old in hours, if he have lost no time.” We are all sent into this world to do a certain work, and God apportioned His grace to the time which He allows us for accomplishing that work. One man may be allowed grace sufficient to finish his task in twenty years; another may require double that time, another treble; but no one is ever called away before the time allotted to him for the fulfilment of his mission. After all, longevity is a relative term, and must be measured by a man’s acts rather than by the hour-glass. Many a man lives, as regards the end of his being, as long at twenty as another does in a century. But while insisting on this, we by no means agree with the zealous American clergyman, who denounced Dr. Fitch from the pulpit as a blasphemer, because he professed to cure consumption, which the preacher considered incurable by an irreversible decree of Almighty God. We fully concede to Dr. Fitch, moreover, the postulate which forms the basis of his argument, viz. that speaking abstractedly, man’s bodily frame is made to last a

certain number of years, and that when dissolution overtakes it before the appointed term, it is always by the action upon it of some foreign and counteracting influence ; and viewing the matter merely and avowedly with the eyes of a physiologist, we have no objection to the assertion, that in such a case nature has not had fair play. But though the Creator has given man a body which, considered abstractedly, might last a hundred years or more, there is nothing inconsistent with His goodness and justice in saying that in many, perhaps in most, cases, He supersedes the law of nature by the introduction of a higher law ; on the contrary, such a statement would be fully borne out by the argument of analogy, even if there were no inspired revelation on the subject. The laws of the natural sciences are all revised, completed, and modified by each other.

If, for instance, we proceed upon the abstract theory of forces alone, we shall be led to assign a much longer range to a projectile than, in fact, the resistance of the air allows it to accomplish. In the same way, if you view man's material organism simply, you will come to the conclusion that he ought to live over a hundred years ; but, introduce the light thrown upon man's history and destiny by the teaching of Revelation, and your theory must be corrected by the superior science of theology, which says that man is here on his trial amongst the opposing forces of good and evil, and that when the time given him to prepare himself for another state of existence has expired, he is called hence, and his soul severed from his body by what men call an accident, or by the inroad of some natural disease. Another and a higher law comes in and repeals that which points to one hundred and twenty years as the natural boundary of man's earthly existence. We believe, however, that our difference with Dr. Fitch on this point is merely verbal, and that he really means what we have endeavoured briefly to express. As theologians, we do not feel called upon to deny that the normal period of man's earthly life is about one hundred and twenty years ; and we are sure that no one would be more ready than the author himself to admit that God may, and often does, in the course of His Providence, interrupt the development of this law to its natural crisis—and that without being liable to the imputation of partiality or injustice. A watchmaker may make a watch that, with proper treatment, will go for one hundred years, and yet, in matter of fact, the watch does not go all that time, because its maker wanted its works for some other purpose, and so broke it up before it had run its full course. We have no objection then, within the limitations we have indicated, to the statement of Dr. Fitch, that man's physical constitution has the *δύναμις* of a life extending "from ninety to one hundred and forty years," and that it is the duty of physicians to use all the means within reach of their art to prolong human life to the utmost limit to which it is constitutionally capable of attaining.

But it may be asked, how do you know that the natural duration of human life is from ninety to one hundred and forty years? Does not the Psalmist set down the average length of man's life at "threescore years and ten?" Yes, and that is more than double the average length of life in our day. Moses, the author of the Psalm in question, refers to what was, in matter of fact, the average length of human existence in his day, not to what, if nature had fair play, it was potentially capable of reaching. Of himself it is related, "*Moses was an hundred and twenty years old when he died; his eye was not dim, nor his natural force abated.*" His successor Joshua died at the ripe age of one hundred and ten. All the patriarchs were over one hundred years of age when they died. But with the establishment of the Hebrew monarchy we find the natural term of life considerably abridged. Men began to be considered old and worn out at eighty. Of Barzillai it is said: "*Now Barzillai was a very aged man, even fourscore years old.*" And the staunch old loyalist says of himself:—

"I am this day fourscore years old; and cannot discern between good and evil? can thy servant taste what I eat or what I drink? can I hear any more the voice of singing men and singing women? . . . Let thy servant, I pray thee, turn back, *that I may die in mine own city.*"

How shall we account for this difference in the duration of human life in the reign of David and under the old patriarchal system? We believe it is the ingenious Archbishop of Dublin who somewhere in one of his publications finds a solution of the difficulty in the theory, that the longevity of the antediluvians is to be attributed to the effect of the Tree of Life, which effect gradually died out in the course of ages; so that man's life now is but "*a span long*" in comparison with the time when the essence of the Tree of Life was fresh, and diffused over a comparatively narrow area. Those who consider the Archbishop's theory satisfactory are, of course, welcome to it, though we have not heard that it has as yet commended itself to the medical faculty. For our own part, we prefer the account which Dr. Fitch gives of the matter, namely, that the rapid declension of the average length of human life in modern times is very much caused by the artificial mode of living which a high state of civilization induces. He mentions pulmonary affections particularly; but his observations are applicable, we believe, to a variety of other diseases also.

"Consumption is a child of civilization; results chiefly from loss of symmetry, and from effeminacy induced by too much clothing, too luxurious living, dissipation, too little exercise, and debilitating diseases and occupations, and poison in the blood."

Dr. Fitch refers to what we believe is a fact, that consumption is hardly known among savages. Dr. Livingstone notes its absence

among the tribes in the interior of Africa. Animals, too, are free from consumption in their wild state, but are frequently victims of it when domesticated.

Dr. Fitch divides the causes of consumption into three great classes :—

1. Mechanical causes ; loss of symmetry, external and internal ; inhaling dust, &c.

2. Effeminacy and debility of the constitution.

3. Poison.

These three causes he discusses in considerable detail ; but we must refer our readers to the book itself, as it is impossible to give a fair extract of the author's reasoning.

Dr. Fitch naturally begins his treatise with a discussion of the primary and subordinate uses of the lungs. The old theory used to be, that the chief use of the lungs was to purify the blood. The blood, on arriving at the lungs, is of a dark colour ; and on leaving, is of a light vermillion red. This is owing to a loss of carbon thrown out of the blood in the lungs. That this, though doubtless one of the subordinate uses of the lungs, cannot be the chief use of them, Dr. Fitch shows by remarking that the quantity of carbon thrown out is not more than could be separated by two glands half the size of the kidneys. The grand use of the lungs, Dr. Fitch maintains, is to " give to the human machine its power of action."

" This power exists in the atmospheric air ; and the lungs are the medium by which, and through which, that principle which gives the human machine its living power is conveyed to it. The lungs have the same relation to the human machine that the water-wheel has to the mill it moves. The air is the same to the lungs that the water is to the wheel : shut off the water from the water-wheel, and it soon stops ; shut the air from the lungs, and they as soon stop, and all the system with them. Where there is no air there is no action ; and the consumption of air in any living machine is in exact ratio to its size and action. It is most likely that in all animals the same amount of action requires exactly the same quantity of air."

This seems all a truism ; but many important truths are overlooked and neglected just *because* they are truisms ; and we are inclined to place what Dr. Fitch calls the grand use of the lungs, in the category. Newton was not the first who saw an apple fall to the ground, but he was the first who inferred the law of gravitation from it. The author gives some curious illustrations. *Inter alia*, he says that women are physically weaker than men, because their lungs are one third smaller than those of men. Grecian sculpture, so proverbially true to nature, has preserved this proportion in the Belvidere Apollo and the Venus de Medicis. Again, Northern nations, he says, *ceteris paribus*, conquer Southern, by reason of their

superior physical strength, derived from larger lungs, and from breathing purer, denser, and more nourishing air. Another striking instance is the prevalent use of the right arm, and the right side generally. As a rule, man uses his right arm and right leg always in preference to his left. What is the reason? According to our author, it is found in the fact that the ἀρχή of physical power is in the lungs, and that the right lung is larger than the left. "I have often seen," he says, "the right arm hang quite powerless at the side, by extensive disease of the right lung."

In a few exceptional instances people are naturally left-handed, and then the left lung will be found to be larger than the right. Sometimes a child will use its left arm in spite of all persuasion to the contrary: the little fellow is simply obeying nature. Again, "the lungs of the eagle are as large as can be stowed in his body;" and pigeons that travel fifty miles an hour, "consume more air than some females," in order to give them the power of sustaining the fatigue of so rapid a flight. If the flight of Dædalus were a fact instead of a fiction, we should be disposed to attribute his catastrophe rather to defective lung-power than to the melting of the wax by the sun's rays. The importance of fully understanding this subject, Dr. Fitch says, may be inferred from the fact, that the larger the lungs, and the more perfect their development, the less are they liable to pulmonary consumption. Active exercise enlarges them, and so increases their power and healthfulness, while indolence contracts and debilitates them; sometimes to such an extent that the air cells will close up and their walls collapse, "as a bird folds up its plumage." He is as strongly in favour of plenty of air as Miss Nightingale herself, and says that even cold air, because more dense, is better for the lungs than warm air.

Dr. Fitch says that "the grand purpose and use of the lungs is entirely overlooked by the mass of medical and other men," and he appeals to "their practice and its results," as a proof of what he says:—

"No two of any experience agree in their practice. I do not know that I ever met two physicians who were of any eminence, and not mere imitators, who thought or acted alike in treating Consumption, or who had the least notion how it might be prevented. Nor have they any confidence in their own practice; in few cases have they the least hope of curing the disease, or of preventing it. Go to them to treat a pleurisy or lung-fever, or inflammation of the lungs, and they do it skilfully; but tell them the patient has Consumption, or is threatened with it, and at once all is doubt and darkness. One tells him to go to a warm climate; another says, go to a cold climate; one says, keep in the open air; another says, shut yourself up in your room in all cold, damp, or windy weather. One says, we can cure Consumption, if we can stop the motion of the lungs, and so directs his unfortunate patient not to breathe much, and to restrain his breath as long as possible; one



tells him to breathe the air when out of doors, but another commands his patient to wear a respirator and cover his mouth, and not to allow the cold to touch his lungs, &c. One blisters the chest, or makes awful sores upon it ; another rejects this. One bleeds and reduces the patient, another stimulates him and gives him tonics. In one thing they nearly agree, and their experience is alike,—that their patients nearly all die. This universal mortality among their patients keeps them all in countenance, and inspires confidence that their practice is right. . . . What results from this darkness of the medical faculty ? Why, the whole land is covered with a pall ; nearly one half of the adults, when they die, die of Consumption or diseases of the chest !”

We must, of course, remember, that this was written in 1852, and that within that short interval a great stride has been made towards the right understanding and treatment of chest diseases. We must remember also that it was written in America, where diseases of the chest are more prevalent than in this country, and where medical science does not stand so high. “Dr. Nathaniel Chapman, who has been for a great many years Professor of the theory and practice of medicine in the University of Pennsylvania, in a recent publication, denounces a man who professes to cure Consumption, as sinking himself to the most degrading charlatanism ; and solemnly declares that in a practice of fifty years he never has seen a case of seated Consumption cured.” We are convinced that no medical professor of any standing in this country would commit himself to such a statement ; still, it must be admitted that chest diseases are far from well understood by our physicians. We know an instance of a young lady who went with a bad cough to consult a London physician, whose name stands as high as any in his profession ; he told her that there was nothing the matter with her beyond a cold. After the lapse of a few months, when bleeding at the lungs and some other alarming symptoms had supervened, she went to consult him again, when he told her that she had confirmed Consumption. Happily in this case art triumphed over disease, and the patient is now quite restored ; but it is an instance of the ignorance that prevails in the highest quarters on the subject of Consumption.

Dr. Fitch censures severely and justly the senseless professional pride of too many physicians in pooh-poohing the idea of cures being ever effected except by professional men. He says he “once knew Sir Astley Cooper completely floored in a matter of surgery by a common travelling bone-setter. Persons even the most ignorant may be found who have a knowledge of some remedy, and skill in its use, that makes them for some one disease or trouble, equal to any physician, however scientific. . . . The great scientific physician, who does not apply himself most sedulously to the art of healing *in all its details*, may find himself in some or many respects entirely excelled in usefulness by ignorant persons, who do

apply all their energies to the art of healing." Nor can the invalid be blamed, as Dr. Fitch remarks, for preferring "the ignorant person who can and does cure him," "quack" though he may be in the eyes of the Faculty, to "the scientific physician who cannot cure him." Of course the educated physician "has a vast advantage over the ignorant," but that is no reason why he should not "keep his eyes and ears open, and get successful experience from any one that can give it." The truly scientific man, as well as the true Christian, is he who thinks nothing in God's creation too mean to be examined, and who stoops to pick up hints useful in his profession even in the by-paths of the empiric, and the wigwam of the savage. Dr. Fitch relates an instance, which came under his own observation, and which an English jury would stigmatize as manslaughter, of the criminal folly of despising good advice, when it happens to be unprofessional. In the year 1849, a young man was seized with cholera in New York. Two medical men were called, and also a neighbouring apothecary, who happened to be English, and was familiar with cholera in India and elsewhere, and understood its treatment. He remarked that everything depended on getting the patient into a free perspiration, and advised a hot bath.

"The two physicians consulted together, and informed the apothecary, that as he was not a regular physician, they could not consult with him, or accept his services, whereupon he retired. The two physicians adopted the idea of getting the patient warm, but would not follow the apothecary's suggestion as to the mode. As it was a chemical fact that quicklime sprinkled with water will generate heat, they sent for a quantity of that article, and caused it to be thickly spread between two blankets, and sprinkled with water. They now had the gentleman closely wrapped up in this lime bath. He died that evening. On removing his lime blankets immediately after death, it was found that the lime had eaten large holes through the walls of the abdomen, so that the bowels protruded in several places!!!"

Stupid atrocities like this, we may hope, are of rare occurrence in any country; but there is still far too much supercilious contempt for non-professional remedies among medical men.

The author denounces the mischievous prevalence of what he calls "*fashion in medicine*"—one kind of remedy, and one mode of treatment being in vogue for a while, and then entirely neglected for something else, which is again superseded by some new discovery. Some distinguished practitioner finds that a particular remedy effects a cure; he publishes the case in some medical periodical, and his mode of treatment becomes the rage among the profession, till a dear bought experience—dear bought by the patients—results in the conclusion that the same medicine, and the same treatment will cure a disease in one person, and aggravate the same in another. The healing art is not like a Rule of Three

sum, where, two proportional factors being given, a certain answer may be predicated. It is not enough to know that a certain remedy has in a particular instance cured a particular malady; you ought to know in addition the temperament, mode of life, and habits of thought of your patient. Yet simple and obvious as this rule is, how often is it practically disregarded! How often is a physician satisfied with merely looking at the tongue, feeling the pulse, and inquiring about the symptoms of his patient. These symptoms indicate a certain disease; that disease was cured the other day by a certain remedy; ergo, that remedy will cure it in the present case—and thereupon follows the prescription—and perhaps the death of the patient.

The author traces a great deal of evil to the modern custom of doctors leaving their prescriptions to be made up by the chemist. A physician may be an adept in his science, and yet be an unsuccessful practitioner, because he does not prepare his own medicines. For a physician to trust the preparation of his medicines to the chemist, or the chemist's boy, Dr. Fitch considers the same kind of absurdity as it would be for a great painter to allow a colour-grinder to prepare his paints. Why is the surgeon so much more successful than the regular practitioner?

"Because each successful surgeon does the work himself, not by a substitute. If he does attempt it by a substitute, as physicians mostly do now, the failure is equally as signal. A most remarkable example of this took place in France a few years ago. Louis Philippe had noticed the great mortality among those who had been surgically operated upon in the hospitals of Paris; to remedy this he ordered every death to be published in the newspapers, and with it the name of the surgeon. With the surgeon it was at once success or disgrace. He no longer confided to apothecaries or assistants. The consequence was, that in an almost incredibly short space of time, the deaths diminished one half."

Dr. Fitch thinks that "the cold fresh air is vastly more nutritious to the lungs and system than warm air; and even half a lung, fed with cold air, will sustain life when, if only supplied with warm rarefied air, it would allow the patient soon to die." But is it not certain that consumptive patients *are* cured by a temporary residence in warm climates? We certainly know such a cure effected by a residence of three years in Madeira; and does not the Empress of Austria promise to be another instance in point? But perhaps Dr. Fitch would reply that such instances come within his admission, that "a temperate climate, neither very hot nor cold, nor damp, nor changeable, is no doubt the best." He is decidedly opposed to respirators, which, with rare exceptions, he says, "produce consumption, instead of curing it or preventing it."

With regard to diet, he "believes the best rule is to allow the consumptive to eat whatever they please, without eating so much as to load the stomach or cause fever." Coffee, pepper, spices, and

acids he disapproves of. Much clothing comes also under his disapprobation ; and he prefers cotton or silk next the skin to flannel or woollen. With regard to diet Dr. Fitch might have quoted the great authority of Lord Bacon (for on what subject is Bacon not a great authority?) who says, in his *Essay on the "Regimen of Health;"* "There is a wisdom in this beyond the rules of physic ; a man's own observation, what he finds good of, and what he finds hurt of, is the best physic to preserve health. But it is a safer conclusion to say, this agreeth not well with me, therefore I will not continue it ; than this, I find no offence of this, therefore I may use it. For strength of nature in youth passeth over many excesses which are owing a man till his age." And in the "advancement of learning" (p. 108,) he sanctions another practice of Dr. Fitch ; for when he would note the "deficiencies" of medical science, he mentions among the first, "the discontinuance of the ancient and serious diligence of Hippocrates, which used to set down a narrative of the special cases of his patients, and how they proceeded, and how they were judged by recovery or death." Hippocrates has, at least, one imitator in the person of Dr. Fitch.

We have left ourselves no space to notice Dr. Fitch's treatise on heart disease ; nor, indeed, have we been able to give more than a general idea of the other. They will both repay an attentive perusal. And we have no doubt that his "chest expander," which is patented, will prove a valuable boon to many. We have made an experiment of it—not *in corpore vili* as regards any chest-disease, we are happy to say—and we can vouch for the perfect ease and convenience with which it can be worn all day long. Every one engaged in sedentary pursuits should possess one.

Dr. Fitch is an American physician, who practised in his native country, and chiefly in New York for upwards of twenty-five years. He is now resident in London, which, we infer, he intends to make his home. We presume that the American civil war, and the consequent stagnation in all trades and professions, as well as the uncertainty which overhangs the future of his native country, are some of the causes which have induced him to seek a home under the protection of the British Lion. His books contain testimonials from several clergymen of the American Church, and from some of the leading politicians, as well as from medical men, who cordially attest his success in the treatment of chest diseases. His observations and researches have certainly extended over a wide area, for he has visited not only the States of America and the Canadas, but also the West India Islands, and most parts of Europe. Though we have criticised a few of his expressions, his book is that of a religious man ; and he inculcates throughout the practice of virtue as the best preservative against disease. Everything which the Inspired volume condemns as sin, he tells us "is most strongly and strikingly opposed to longevity, and most fully

justifies the expression of the inspired penman, that 'the wicked shall not live out half their days.'" People are apt to forget that "the wages of sin is death," not merely by an arbitrary sanction, but as a necessary consequence. Death is the punishment of sin, not as a foreign adjunct, but as a natural result of departure from the law of God. To "know the Lord," to have our will conformed to His, "is life;" to sever our will from the will of God, is to die physically and spiritually.

Dr. Fitch holds that man ought to live "five times the length of his growth," i.e., five times the period intervening between his birth and mature manhood. He does not give us the data on which this conclusion is founded; but we believe it is pretty generally adopted among physiologists. If we remember rightly it was first propounded by a living Frenchman, as the result of a series of experiments which he made on men and animals. If the reader will examine the leg or arm bone of an animal or human skeleton, he will find a round nob at each end. Between that nob and the stalk of the bone there is a layer of cartilage, which becomes ossified when the body has reached its maturity, or ceased to grow. As a rule, the Frenchman found that all animals lived five times the period it took that layer of cartilage to be converted into bone. In men it takes twenty-four years; therefore the human frame is made to last, favourable conditions being postulated, five times twenty-four years, = 120.

We have no quarrel with a physician who seeks to prolong human life to the term allotted to it by scientific investigation, so long as he speaks *as a physician*. In that capacity he has, of course, nothing to do with final causes. The law by which "one shall be taken and the other left" is outside the sphere of physics. Medical science, in her own place, is no doubt a blessed handmaid of Him, Who, when He came on earth in visible form, was eminently the Physician of the body no less than of the soul; and he who dispenses her gifts, if he understands rightly the dignity and sacredness of his office, will be like the old mediciner in the tale, who "sat diligently at his work, and hummed with cheerful countenance a pious song;" and then "went out singing into the meadows so gaily, that those who had seen him from afar might well have thought it was a youth gathering flowers for his beloved, instead of an old physician gathering healing herbs in the morning dew."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Fouqué's Tales—Unknown Patient.

## WAS S. PETER AT ROME ?

*Peter the Apostle never at Rome, shown to be an Historical Fact, with a Dissertation on the Apostolic authority of the Symbol (or Creed) of the Church.* By J. H. BROWN, M.A., Rector of Middleton-in-Teesdale. Oxford and London: J. H. and J. Parker, 1861.

WE do not exactly know what end Mr. Brown proposes to himself by the publication of this little volume. We can only suppose that in his expectation the whole Roman system will receive a deadly blow,—that Pope, cardinals, and prelates will descend from the proud heights they occupy, confess themselves impostors, and fling the traditions of a thousand years to the wind. If S. Peter never were at Rome, then whatever the Pope may be, he cannot be S. Peter's successor, and to prove that S. Peter never was at Rome, is tantamount to cutting away the very foundation upon which the Papal jurisdiction rests. It is a bold stroke, a hazardous game—neck or nothing—a game which neither Barrow, nor Bull, nor Pearson, ventured to play. But what neither Barrow, nor Bull, nor Pearson ventured to do, a north-country rector in 1861 has taken upon himself. Alone he rushes to the charge, and on the authority of himself alone calls upon the whole Church to believe it has been wrong for these hundreds of years—that the ancients who certainly did in some sense or other believe Rome to have been S. Peter's see, knew nothing about the matter—and that the Prince of the Apostles never bare rule in the queen of cities.

Now we might have expected that we should have been asked to relinquish our old prejudices only on conclusive and demonstrative evidence. A man who sets himself to disprove the received historical beliefs of a Church or country, and to show that long-cherished convictions and prejudices have nothing upon which to rest, ought to be able to employ arguments without a flaw. And in proportion to the greatness of the subject, and the importance of the interests at stake, is this necessity laid upon him with greater degrees of obligation. But the foundation of the whole argument with which Mr. Brown proceeds to demolish the received opinions relating to S. Peter's connection with Rome, is to be found in the commencement of his book, and amounts to this ;—Justin Martyr made a mistake about the statue said to be erected to Simon Magus, and therefore S. Peter was never at Rome. That uncertainty hangs over the time of S. Peter's visit to Rome—that whether he came in the reign of Claudius or Nero, or both, admits of some discussion, are propositions which any reasonable man may take up, and upon which he may form his own conclusions. But scarcely any one we think will be disposed to deny the ancient tradition of

so many centuries as to S. Peter's visit to the imperial city on the slight grounds alleged. Mr. Brown after noting the agreement on the part of the ancient writers, that the presence of Simon Magus at Rome, was the occasion of S. Peter's coming to that city, attempts to escape from the evidence against his view by simply denying that Simon Magus ever came to Rome. "If, however, there be no foundation for believing that Simon Magus ever came to Rome, the idea of S. Peter's having been there cannot be supported, if the evidence alleged fail, the conclusion must be against the fact for which it is alleged." (Pp. 9, 10.)

He proceeds to contend that Simon Magus' visit to Rome rests only upon the authority of Justin, and that the whole ground of his argument for his having gone there, is founded upon the existence of the statue, inscribed, "Simoni Deo Sancto," and, as Justin was deceived in this, Magus never could have come to Rome. We need not stop to point out the utter fallacy of this argument. It is quite conceivable that Magus may have come to Rome, and yet Justin have been deceived about the statue. We know perfectly well the Romans did not erect a statue to Simon Magus; but it is a perfect *non sequitur* to argue for the non-existence of the visit from the absence of any memorial to record it. Suppose a Russian had been told the Nelson monument was in honour of the visit of the Emperor Alexander, and had so recorded it in a history—would it not be the height of absurdity for some future Russian Mr. Brown, to deny the visit of the Emperor, because he was able to show that the column had nothing to do with it? But if we allow Mr. Brown what he so quietly assumes with regard to Simon Magus, he will yet have to dispose of the testimony of Papias and Clemens of Alexandria, both of whom assert S. Peter's presence at Rome, though not connecting it with Simon Magus.

We demur, therefore, to Mr. Brown's conclusion that in consequence of Justin's mistake, all the ancient evidence of the Apostle's having ever been at Rome, falls to the ground; and we may remind him also, that allowing his conclusion drawn from the Acts to be correct, viz., that "Peter and Mark could not have been at Rome at the date fixed upon by Eusebius and others, viz., the second year of Claudius," (p. 16,) it does not follow because Eusebius mistook the date, that S. Peter was never at Rome; and again we may readily admit that the Babylon of 1 S. Pet. is not Rome, without having recourse to such an absurd supposition as that ἡ ἐν Βαβυλῶνι συνελεκτή "is either S. Peter's wife, or a wealthy Christian lady," vide p. 17. Neither does it follow (Dr. Wordsworth calls the supposition unreasonable) that because S. Paul wrote, *Λουκᾶς ἔστι μόνος μετ' ἐμοῦ*, S. Peter could not have been then at Rome. The Apostle is clearly making an honourable exception of S. Luke, in relation to his usual fellow-labourers. The others had deserted him, S. Luke had not.

Passing from direct handling the evidence of antiquity,—Mr. Brown finds it convenient to omit all allusion to Eusebius, Bk. ii. c. 25, and iii. 1, where the martyrdom of S. Peter at Rome is positively asserted by the historian, and his authorities given,—our author proceeds to break a lance with Pearson and Lardner. We must confess, if we have to choose between Bishop Pearson and Mr. Brown, we cannot disguise a strong preference for the former as a guide. If they differ, we cannot help owning to a suspicion that Pearson is the greater name. If Pearson thinks Clemens Romanus (c. 5) alludes to the martyrdom of S. Peter in connection with that of S. Paul at Rome, and Mr. Brown does not—it may, we respectfully submit, be the safer course to follow the Bishop of the seventeenth rather than the presbyter of the nineteenth century. And really if S. Peter never were at Rome, where is the point of S. Clement's allusion to him? Only the desire to maintain a position once taken up could lead any one to deny that the *τούτοις τοῖς ἀνδράσιν* of c. 6, refers to the two Holy Apostles S. Peter and S. Paul. It appears to us, that on any other supposition the meaning and force of this passage are evacuated. We venture, therefore, upon an alteration of Mr. Brown's words, and assert that Lardner's interpretation is a perfectly sound one, and that "the argument derived from his interpretation has *something* in it." (P. 32.)

Again, we cannot congratulate our author upon his attempt to shake Bishop Pearson's position respecting the joint occupation of the supreme government of the Church of Rome by the two Apostles SS. Peter and Paul. That he calls them Bishops, and that they are not reckoned as Bishops in the ancient catalogues, does not disprove the supposition that the chief authority was exercised by the Apostles, and by them committed to Linus. The testimony of antiquity to this fact is not to be shaken by any playing upon the word Bishop.

Having disposed of Pearson and Lardner, our author now proceeds to press Bishop Bull and Barrow into his service. Bull in one place says, "All this while the city of Rome lay in darkness, till at length, in the reign of Claudius, S. Peter came to Rome (and certainly then he came if ever) and brought the light of the heavenly doctrine," &c.<sup>1</sup> If on the strength of this, "if ever" Mr. Brown claims Bull as an ally, what will he make of the Bishop's statement a little further on in the same chapter,—"*He might indeed occasionally come to Rome, and I am willing to believe upon the testimony of many of the ancients that he did so, and preached there, especially to those of the circumcision?*" What will he say to Barrow's—"Many have argued him to have never been at Rome, which opinion I shall *not* avow as bearing a more civil respect to ancient testimonies and traditions?" The words are

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Countess of Newburgh, sec. xix.



just above the quotation Mr. Brown makes from this Divine ! Why were they not quoted ? Why was the impression left upon the unwary reader's mind who might not have the book at hand, and only knew Barrow had written against the Pope, that the learned Doctor disbelieved S. Peter's presence at Rome.

The truth is that Mr. Brown is all along under the delusion that because he can throw doubts upon the story of the statue, S. Peter's visit to Rome never took place. He repeats again and again, that he has shown the whole story related in Eusebius, Bk. ii., 13, 14, 15, is groundless, and that therefore nothing can be built upon it. We have tried to show that, allowing S. Justin was mistaken as to the statue, it does not follow he was mistaken as to S. Peter's journey to Rome. He may for all we can see, have gone to Rome in the reign of Claudius, and again in that of Nero. And it does not follow, even if the first were doubtful, the second is. Mr. Brown has chosen to confine his attention to one portion of Eusebius. He has ignored the rest. He has not deigned to remark upon the evidence adduced by that writer, Bk. ii. c. 26, and iii. 1, in behalf of the martyrdom of S. Peter, together with S. Paul at Rome. He has passed by the testimony of Caius, and vainly attempted to discredit the testimony of Dionysius of Corinth (quoted by Eusebius, we may remind Mr. Brown, before Bishop Pearson,) to the same fact, when the merest acquaintance with S. Paul's 1st Epistle to the Corinthians ought to have taught him there was a Petrine party in that city, and that therefore there was nothing improbable in Dionysius' statement that S. Peter as well as S. Paul had preached at Corinth, and together helped to plant the Church. He has made nothing of the testimony of S. Ignatius, Tertullian, and Origen. He has failed to explain how S. Cyprian so blundered in supposing that S. Stephen occupied S. Peter's chair, and would have us suppose that the whole world has been wrong, and he born to set it right. We recommend to him that the title of his next work shall be, "William the Norman, never in England, shown to be an historical fact."

We cannot in concluding this paper, refrain from putting on record our conviction that no greater harm can be done the Church of England than by the publication of such theories as this of Mr. Brown. Our differences with Rome need not drive us upon denying facts of history which seem at first sight to tell for her. We say at first sight—for in reality nothing can be more different from the position occupied by S. Peter, in relation to the other Apostles, than the present claims of the Papacy. But it is mean and cowardly because of modern controversies to seek to detract from the glories of the chief of the glorious twelve—the first and foremost to confess his Master—the possessor of the keys of the kingdom, on whose confession the Church is built—the strengthener of his brethren—the pattern of penitents,—upon whom the govern-

ment and direction of the early Church seem especially to have devolved. What else mean his direction to the brethren to proceed to the election of S. Matthias, his standing forth on the day of Pentecost, his throwing open the gates of the Kingdom by baptizing Cornelius, his vindicating Christian liberty, and giving the tone to the Apostolic decree which broke the yoke of the Mosaic law from the necks of the disciples? No, we "will honour the memory of Peter"—we will believe that he sat on no inferior throne. In the capital of the Cæsars he bore spiritual rule—and having fed his Master's sheep in the extreme East as his writings testify, he "passing through all quarters" as became his dignity, came at last to Rome, and his work done—the Western as well as the Eastern Church "strengthened"—died there the martyr's death. "Honour to whom honour;" the cause of England's Church stands in no need of discrediting the testimony of past ages to the pre-eminence and the dignity of the Prince of the Apostles.

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## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

*The Popular Preachers of the Ancient Church, their Lives, their Manners, and their Work.* By the Rev. WILLIAM WILSON, M.A.  
London: James Hogg and Sons.

It is something new to find the great saints of the early Church patronized with the most indulgent superiority by a modern author, as in the volume before us. The author here presents to us SS. Cyprian, Chrysostom, Ambrose, and others, somewhat after the fashion of an inspector of schools examining a few first class boys, and praising their attainments while he affectionately points out their errors. Yet in spite of this paternal mode of treating the Fathers, the book is really both striking and interesting; and apart from a certain affectation in attempting to modernize the theology and customs of the saints, the pictures given of them are thoroughly like-like.

Take the following from the Life of S. Cyprian:—

"Little is recorded of the heathen period of his life. But it appears he was gay and somewhat dissolute. Pontius, his deacon, or confidential beadle, with whom, in defiance of the adage that no man is a hero in the eyes of his valet, Cyprian is the greatest of Bishops and most glorious of martyrs, passes by this period entirely, with the remark that a man's actions should be recorded not from the time of his *first* but of his *second* birth. He gives no assistance in tracing the steps that led to his master's conversion. This event, in his short memoir, is represented not only as supernatural, but miraculous in its suddenness as well as completeness; and Cyprian's career as a Christian, as there related, is not the rise and gradual culmination of a star, but the transit of a meteor in a line of supernatural light, with no waxing or waning, but springing from the darkness at once in full splendour, and vanishing as suddenly as it came.

"'In him,' says the deacon, with more than Boswellian admiration, 'all things incredible meet together; in him the threshing anticipated the sowing; the vintage, the tendril; the fruit, the firm root.' Making, however, all allowances for the colouring of the marvellous thrown around it by Pontius, Cyprian's transformation from a heathen to a Christian strikes us by its thoroughness; and while the discovery of the invisible links between the first forty-five and the last twelve years of his life would make Cyprian more interesting as a psychological study, it would not, in our decided opinion, take his conversion out of the category of events supernatural and Divine. The suddenness of such conversions as Cyprian's we believe for the most part to be only apparent. Those mighty upheavals which by Divine influence shatter old habits, prejudices, and opinions, are generally the result of forces that have been silently generating and operating for long periods, just as waters accumulate gradually in subterranean reservoirs, until at last the upward pressure overcomes the resistance of the superincumbent mass, and the ground is rent and covered with ruins. It is evident from a passage in his treatise on 'The Grace of God,' that he had speculated on conversion long before he became a Christian; and that, when sunk in fashionable pleasures and vices, he had begun to entertain vague wishes of rising above them, although he despaired of being able to do so—at least so suddenly and completely as those who were regenerated in Baptism were said to have done. Cæcilius, a Presbyter, between whom and Cyprian there existed an intimacy, was his spiritual father, in token whereof, moved by gratitude and reverence, he adopted the name Cæcilius.

"To become a Christian in those times was not merely to substitute one creed for another, or to take a serious turn. Even those who are most thoroughly changed in heart and habits by Christianity, in a land where manners and society have been for ages influenced by it, in the abandonment of carelessness and vice for the paths of virtue and piety, can scarce conceive of the wrench suffered by converts from the idolatries of Greece and Rome, in exchanging the temple for the upper room, or the basilica; in turning their backs on the hopes of political privilege and advancement, and embracing the prospect of the martyr's crown; in abandoning the impure habits of heathenism for the sanctity of the Gospel. Cyprian was not the man to do things by halves, or halt between two opinions. His part taken, it was taken decidedly. He became a changed—a new man. The wealth that he had hitherto freely spent on his pleasures, was now entirely sacred to the widow and the orphan; to the service of God and good of man. He sold his gardens near the city —, a delicious retreat, in which he used to take refuge from the heat and bustle of Carthage. These, however, seem to have been restored to him, for his first Treatise on 'the Grace of God,' is dated from this spot. It was written in A.D. 246, shortly after his baptism. A few months after this event, he was made a presbyter of the Carthaginian Church, in which capacity he continued for about two years. In the following year he wrote a short treatise on the vanity of idols, and, as is generally supposed, in the next his compendium of Scripture texts against the Jews; as also, perhaps, his treatise on 'The Dress of Virgins.'"

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*Life in the Land of the Fire-Worshippers.* By CHARLES DE H. . . .  
 Edited by FREDERIKA BREMER. London: Newby. 2 vols.

THIS is by no means one of the ordinary class of Eastern novels, in which the various elements supposed to form life in Turkey, are dressed up à l'Anglaise according to the fancy of the writer. It is a true and circumstantial account of the state of Persia from the hand of one who has lived there almost as a native. The principal object of the work

appears to be to refute the popular idea that Gnebers or Fire-worshippers do really worship the sun or light. M. de H . . . asserts that they adore the true God in the purest form of deism.

The hero of the tale is a Gneber, and much interesting information is given as to the manners and customs of that singular race. One of their most stringent usages is to avoid all external pollution; and a very striking account is given of the pilgrimage made by the hero with the dead body of his father with the view to preserve its sacredness, which he at last accomplishes, by placing it on two transverse branches on the top of a high tree.

In contradistinction to the Gneber, with his indomitable truth and his exalted ideas, we have Abdullah, a Persian Mahommedan, who, resigning his future to Kismet or fate, gives himself up to the task of rendering the present as agreeable as possible. Besides these, we have a description of the nomad race of Kurds reproducing the patriarchal age; the Fakeers, the greatest rogues in existence, who by virtue of their supposed fanaticism, rule the whole country from the Schah to the meanest beggar; and a host of Persians, Armenians, and other Orientals, who vie with each other in lying and intrigue.

In the midst of all this figures an English missionary, according to a foreigner's idea of that functionary, and a stiffer, more disagreeable individual could hardly be imagined, accompanied by a very piquante wife. The most striking part of the whole book, however, is the description of a mountain-race entitled Crumlîi, whom the author affirms to be secretly Christians, maintaining all the early forms of sacramental worship.

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The taste for allegories has very much passed away—probably because it has been found difficult to avoid lowering sacred subjects by familiar illustration. But those who may still appreciate the figurative mode of giving instruction—and many such there must be—will find *The Messages of the Prince*, (Parker: Oxford and London) a clear and forcible parable, teaching sound doctrine and good practical truths.

The Bishop of SALISBURY's *Charge* (Rivingtons,) is the record of a diocese well ordered, and of a Bishop whose heart is in his work.

*Household Proverbs, or Tracts for the People* (Shaw and Co., London), are calculated to render good service to the better classes of the poor, by teaching them how to economize their small means and maintain their self-respect. There is no attempt at religious instruction, nor do the subjects discussed go beyond the range of social life; but the moral tone throughout is unexceptionable, and many of the evil habits combated are such as must necessarily produce spiritual demoralization. In some of the tracts the line of argument and mode of illustration appear to us to be above the comprehension of uneducated persons. We would recommend a more uniform simplicity.

We have no great fault to find with *Clerical Papers, by one of our Club* (J. H. Parker) beyond the capital one of their not being worthy of publication. For ourselves, we cannot say that we have gained a single hint from them. On one point however, the writer's experience, which seems large, is noticeable. He records the cases of several of his ac-

quaintance who had tried to gain popularity by approximating towards Dissent ; and the result was uniformly so disastrous as to necessitate the retirement of the clergyman from his cure.

Very different in character are the three *Ordination Lectures* of Mr. WOODFORD (J. H. Parker). They are intended to touch the inward rather than the outward life of the Parish Priest ; and it will be superfluous to say that the reader will find in them "words that burn." It is impossible to read them however without feeling that the power for good would have been immensely increased, if Mr. Woodford had not shackled himself with preaching from a text. The habit of invariably prefixing a text to a sermon is a concession to public opinion which on the occasion of an Ordination at least cannot be necessary. The evil effects of so doing are twofold, and may both be very plainly observed in these lectures. In the first place, it prevents the preacher from saying all that is in his mind ; for how is it likely that what was casually said to S. Timothy or S. Titus should suit all the circumstances in which a Parish Priest may at any time find himself ? And secondly, in order to bring in as much as possible of what he desires to say, he is tempted to put forced constructions upon passages that are chosen to serve as texts. Thus, with all submission to Mr. Woodford, we must demur to his interpretation of the "power from on high" as meaning the personal qualification of the Apostles. We do not say absolutely that the idea is of necessity excluded ; but we are sure, that had the preacher not been in search of a peg whereon to hang his remarks, he would not have hesitated to see in the words, as their proper meaning, the rendering efficacious the Sacraments and Ordinances of the Church, which had been indeed appointed before the Ascension, but which were awaiting their "inward grace" before they could be beneficially celebrated.

We like the *Questions for Self-examination, for common use* (London : Palmer) very much. They are plain and simple, and evidently proceed from one who has had experience in guiding souls.

Mr. G. J. R. GORDON has taken advantage of the split in the congregation of S. John's, Aberdeen, to advocate the building of a suitable Cathedral in the great metropolis of Northern Scotland. The proposal is put forth in a *Letter to the Bishop of Aberdeen* (Masters) ; and we trust that the name of the writer may secure attention to the project. Certain it is, that the Scotch Church has failed to take up her right position.

Mr. SKINNER's *Sermon* preached on the occasion of laying the first stone of S. Mary's College, at Harlow, (J. H. Parker) is a seasonable reiteration of principles which were much vaunted at the beginning of the Church revival. It was time that the principles of a really Church education should be re-affirmed, for we believe that there is no work to which the Church is more imperatively called at the present day, than to the religious training of the young from the upper and middle classes. Our faith in day schools is not great, but when the children are altogether taken from their homes, there is some real hope of influencing their hearts and lives.

## REMARKS UPON GENESIS IV. 7.

*"If thou doest well, shalt thou not be accepted? and if thou doest not well, sin lieth at the door. And unto thee shall be his desire, and thou shalt rule over him."*—Gen. iv. 7.

THERE is hardly another text in the Old Testament about which so much has been written, and around which controversy has so tumultuously raged. It has served, moreover, as a test by which to develop the powers of the great Hebraists of the seventeenth century. It formed a salient point at which the LXX. could be attacked. Bitter-minded sectaries confuted many of the ablest writers of the Roman Communion because they quoted this verse in a form which was not consonant with the Hebrew text of the present day. The very philosophical difficulties with which it is encompassed have made it a fruitful arena for the display of intellectual powers. Several very learned divines have seen the clear indications of a *sacrifice of propitiation* being offered by Abel—and of the doctrine of penance being divinely communicated to Cain.

Now the investigation seems naturally to divide itself into seven portions. 1. The literal signification of each Hebrew word—that we may understand what is really written. 2. The opinions of the more modern Hebrew scholars upon its several clauses—which limits the sense which is to be assigned to certain words. 3. The interpretations given by the most eminent of the Reformed theologians. 4. The readings and interpretations admitted by Jews themselves. 5. The renderings of this verse as given by some of the Fathers of the Church. 6. The discrepancy between the Hebrew and the LXX. cleared up. 7. A short summary of the conclusions to be drawn from all the evidence when brought into juxtaposition and carefully weighed. The present notice is rather an *indication* of the method of research to be employed than an attempt to fill up, as it ought to be completed, an investigation to which such deep interest must be attached by every careful student of Holy Scripture.

I. Analysis of the Hebrew text.—

וְאִם לֹא תַעֲשֶׂה יָשָׁר "If thou doest well?" In the Vulgate, "Nonne si bene egeris?"

All the lexicographers render לֹא by "*Nonne*." לֹא is compounded of the interrogative particle הֲ and the primitive word לֹא "*not*." It is used 1 Sam. xii. 17, "*Is it not* wheat harvest to-day?" and it is usual to find that when the Hebrews wanted to make any declaration more expressive and certain they placed this word at the beginning of the sentence. Thus 1 Kings xv. 23, of the acts of Asa, "*Are they not* written in the book of the chronicles of

VOL. XXIII.—NOVEMBER, 1861.

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the kings of Judah?" הֲלֹא הֵמָּה כְּתוּבִים for, Surely, or certainly, they are written. Again, 1 Sam. xx. 37, about Jonathan's shooting and the lad collecting the arrows. "Is not the arrow beyond thee?" הֲלֹא הִנֵּחִי So Deut. xi. 30, "Are they not on the other side Jordan?" הֲלֹא-הֵמָּה Lastly, we notice 2 Sam. xv. 35, "And hast thou not here with thee Zadok and Abiathar the Priests?" וְהִלּוּא עִמָּךְ LXX. καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐκεῖ μετὰ σοῦ Σαδδὼκ. So Deut. xi. 30, οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα πέραν. The LXX. rendering the Hebrew הֲלֹא by the Greek ἰδοὺ is a point not to be overlooked, and in the books of Chronicles too it often happens, that for the word הֲלֹא which is found in Samuel and Kings הִנֵּה the literal *behold* is substituted. Except for the interrogative form given to the English version, the הֲלֹא is unrepresented in this clause by our translators. Fully given it would read: Behold, or certainly, if thou doest well.

The next two words are אִם-תֵּיטִיב. The אִם is simply a conjunction "if;" and the תֵּיטִיב is the 2nd pers. mas. fut. of the hiphil or causative voice of the verb יָטַב. יָטַב he was good or right, or well, and הֵטִיב he did good, or what was right. So that אִם-תֵּיטִיב literally means *if thou shalt do well or right*.

The *shalt thou be accepted* is represented by the word שָׂאת which is the infinitive kal construct of the verb נָשָׂא he elevated, he raised, he received or took. Now the infinitive construct has the force of a *verbal substantive*, so that as Piscator says, "here as elsewhere in different places שָׂאת takes the force of a *noun*." The "shalt thou not be accepted," = is there not *acceptance* for thee with God? or as we shall notice directly, an *elevation*, or *lifting up* of eyes because of the clear conscience.

"But if thou doest not well," וְאִם לֹא תֵיטִיב requires no grammatical explanation, it being simply the antithesis to the clause before. Two conditions or circumstances of action are stated—a well doing and a doing in a way which is not well.

*Sin lieth at the door* לִפְתָּח חַטָּאת רֹבֵץ

לִפְתָּח at the opening (from פָּתַח he opened), at the door, at the means of exit and entrance.

חַטָּאת sin, (from חָטָא he erred, he lapsed, he wandered) distinguished from the רִשְׁעָה from רָשָׁע to do what is wrong and unlawful. חָטָא is to omit to do what is right; רָשָׁע is to do what is wrong. The חַטָּאת here rather implies the punishment which is due to sin, or the offered sacrifice for the expiation of sin. It is as Bertram renders it, an *aberration* from the scope or mark.

*And to thee shall be his desire.* וְאֵלֶיךָ תִּשְׁקָתוֹ. תִּשְׁקָתוֹ is a noun sing. fem. with suff. 3 m. from שָׁק he abounded, or he desired.

*And thou shalt rule over him* וְאַתָּה תִּמְשָׁל בּוֹ. תִּמְשָׁל kal fut. 2nd mas. from מָשַׁל he ruled.

II. We will now notice the opinions of one or two of the modern Hebrew scholars upon the several clauses of the text, in order to ascertain the limits which are to be assigned to the several Hebrew words.

1. As to the first clause, the Samaritan, Syriac, Arabic versions, —the translation of Arius Montanus, of Junius and Tremellius, with the Chaldee paraphrase, all read “Si bene egeris,” “If thou shalt do well;” Bertram adds, “And thou wilt amend thy life.” Grotius says that “God teaches that ‘bene agere,’ ‘to act rightly,’ does not consist in the sacrifices which Cain brought, but in the faith which Cain lacked;” just as Fagius observes, “that external sacrifice is valueless, if faith and piety be wanting.”

2. The opinions upon the acceptance are much more various.

Estius remarks upon its being a doubtful word, being either a noun of first dec. fem. for שָׂאת, or the inf. kal construct; and that in certain places it takes the sense of to bear, and to endure: e.g., לֹא-אוּכַל לְבַדִּי שְׂאת אֶתְכֶם, (alone I am not able to bear you.)

So Gen. xxxvi. 7, “The land wherein they were strangers could not bear them, לֹא-שָׂאת אֹתָם, because of their cattle.” Mercer reads, “Wilt thou not receive?” i.e., a reward, for נָשָׂא signifies, to take a prize; or, My favour and benediction, and this by a similar sign, by fire? a witness of peace and joy. Ainsworth, Junius, Tremellius, and others, *Will there not be remission of sins?* According to Levit. vi. remission of sins was the end for which all sacrifices were offered; and in Exod. xxxiv. 7, נִשְׂא עוֹן, “taking away iniquity.” Munster and Grotius translate, *Will there not be elevation?* “Lift up your face, which you have just now cast down,” as Pagnini says, *Will there not be acceptance* (i.e. before God)? as Mercer continues, “‘I may receive your face,’ and so thy oblation will be more acceptable than that of thy brother, for thou art the first-born.” In Gen. xix. 21 we read, “I have accepted thee concerning this thing also,” נִשְׂאתִי כְּנִידָה. It may mean, “Wilt thou not be superior?” still the rights of the first-born remain with you, that which you think to kill your brother for, fearing that it should be taken away. שָׂאת is certainly used in this sense in Gen. xlix. 3, “the excellency of dignity and the excellency of power;” יִתָּר שְׂאת, “the excellency of extolling.” So also in Ps. lxxii. 5,



"Nevertheless from his altitude אֶדְרָם מִשְׁמָאֲתוֹ." So Isa. xxxiii. 10, "Now will I lift up myself," עֲתִירָה אֲנִישָׁא. As Fagius says, "It will be *exaltation* or *glory* to thee, not less than to thy brother. Shall not *exaltation* be for you?"

3. *Sin lieth at the door.* A very emphatic form of expression, which not only rebukes the injustice of the complaint, but also shows Cain that his greatest adversary is his particular sin. "You will gain nothing by your obstinacy; for, however much you may dissemble, the *sin* will follow you, and you cannot escape it. When you come to your end, then will the *sin* come home to you, keeping its own guard; then it pricks the conscience, which felt itself free before, and it will exact a double punishment for the delay." And *sin* is often put for its own punishment; e.g., Gen. xix. 15, "Lest thou be consumed in the *iniquity* of the city," (Lot and Sodom.) Levit. xx. 20, "they shall bear their *sin*, they shall die childless," חַטָּאתָם יִשְׂאוּ. So in Zech. xiv. 19, "This shall be the *punishment* of Egypt, the *punishment* of all nations that come not up to keep the feast of Tabernacles." חַטָּאת כָּל־הַגּוֹיִם — חַטָּאת מִצְרַיִם. As Oleaster observes, "This punishment is like a dog which lies at the door." The first clause of the text speaks of reward, "Shalt thou not be accepted?" and then punishment is put in opposition with acceptance. Both Paul Fagius and Grotius explain the metaphor "at the door" by "presently you will pay the penalty;" and Vatablus and Mercer by the paraphrase "it is at hand." The *sin*, we must remember, had already come to Cain, but the *punishment* was not imminent; it had not yet come. It was to Cain as a traveller is said to be at the door when he is drawing near. Our Blessed LORD (S. Matt. xxiv. 33), in speaking of His Second Advent, says that, when the signs are seen, "Know that it is near, (even) at the doors," (ἐγγύς ἐστιν ἐπὶ θύραις.) S. James uses a similar expression, "Behold, the judge standeth before the door," ch. v. 9, (ἰδοὺ ὁ κριτὴς πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἕστηκεν.) There is an adage to be found in Plutarch, περὶ θύρας ὄντος, "fever being at the door." Horace has the verse, "Culpam poena premit comes." Many interpreters compare the simile to a dog or a wild beast which lies at the door, and endangers those who go in or out. Nicolas Lyra observes "at the door," as being apparent to all; while Munster alone renders it, "at the door of the sepulchre, where the sin sleeps till the day of judgment;" affording a beautiful commentary upon the New Testament expression of the wicked heaping up for himself wrath against the revelation of the righteous judgment of God.

*And unto thee shall be his desire, and thou shalt rule over him.*

This expression is evidently borrowed from God's judgment upon the woman, which is contained in the previous chapter. "And thy desire to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee." (Gen. iii. 16.)

Nearly all the best Hebraists refer this clause to Cain's dominion

over SIN, and some deduce from it the freedom of the will. "Into thy hand have I delivered the power of evil concupiscence," is the reading which is given by Junius and Tremellius. Tiranus observes, "your passions and appetites may invite you to sin, but although they invite, they cannot *compel* you to transgress. Sin will hang upon the freedom of the will. So that in doing rightly you will overcome, so that your brother will receive no injury at your hands. So that if you wish to be a companion of your brother, you can become so, both in happiness and in virtue. He who commits sin is the servant of sin, but he who does righteousness is the lord of sin," just as Moses tells the children of Israel. (Numb. xxxii. 23.) "Be sure your sin will find you out." Both Fagius and Vatablus regard this expression, as an admonition to restrain depraved desires. "If sin arises, why do you not restrain it? Munster asserts that the appetite of sin is to work sin in your members, "the flesh lusteth against the spirit," but you are to subdue this appetite, lest you perish. Desires are given to be subdued, so must you conquer this temptation to kill your brother. Our English version refers this clause, not to the sin at all, but to ABEL himself. The Hebrew in common with other Semitic languages wanting a neuter gender leaves this point grammatically indeterminable. This latter proposition seems at first sight to derive some support from the fact that חַטָּאת is feminine while the רֹשֶׁעַ is masculine; but this synthesis is extremely common in Hebrew, and the grammarians cite several very remarkable passages where this seeming anomaly is to be met with. If it is Abel who is under subjection, then Fagius is right in his reading, "there is no cause why you should envy Abel, for if his sacrifice be more acceptable than yours, you have the birthright," just as Grotius takes it. "If you do well, the will of Abel will be subject to you; and this superiority you gain from your former birthright;" the latter part of the sentence being parenthetical as in Exod. xxxv. 29, (every man and woman whose heart made them willing to bring). Reuben too, lost his birthright through sin; and so did Adonijah through his rebellion. In short, on this theory of the subjugation of Abel, Mercerus' opinion may be taken. "When Cain was indignant that his brother's sacrifice was preferred to his own, although it was not *in itself* better, neither in the offering itself, nor in the *manner* of such offering as to the rites and ceremonies, God nevertheless said, If thou offerest well or not well, (i.e., according to legal rites) thou offerest—that matters little now—sin lieth at the door. You are encompassed by sin, and that has spoilt your better offering. The LORD looks at the *person* more than at the *gift*. Your appetite is not to lead you into sin; but the appetite of sin within you, is to turn to you as a wife to a husband."

III. We have now to consider the interpretation of the passage as a whole, which has been given by several of the most distinguished of the Reformed Theologians. *Dr. John Lightfoot* in the Talmudical Annotations, which appeared in the second volume of his posthumous works, discovers in God's divine words the first clear indications of the doctrine of repentance. "If you shall do rightly, there is acceptation, but if you do not act rightly, *the sacrifice for sin lies at the door.*" Which explanation would make the LORD's words to Cain to have an encouraging tendency rather than the reverse—only repent of your sin, there is no reason why you should despair—there is a victim in readiness for you to offer, the oblation of which joined with penitence will procure your pardon. *Dr. Lightfoot* supported this rendering of the passage by several arguments; such as, that the word *קָטַח* itself supports this meaning, which gives to it a sense which it bears in other places of Holy Scripture over and over again; as in *Leviticus* (i. 3) the male without blemish was to be offered *at the door* of the tabernacle of the congregation before the LORD, at which place also the priest's sin-offering of ignorance, the bullock, was to be brought: and that this sense most accords with the intention of God who thus addressed Cain, not to depress him further, but on the other hand, with a view of pointing out to him a means for the taking away of his guilt.

*Charles Le Cène*, a learned Gallican divine, supported this view of *Lightfoot*,—he held with him, that the *קָטַח* in this place did signify the sacrifice of expiation which at a later period was commanded to be offered at the door of the tabernacle of the congregation. *Witsius* took rather the opposite view, asserting that while *קָטַח* was sometimes figuratively used for the sacrifice of expiation, such could not be its meaning in this passage, for it was not applied to Cain in a state of repentance, but to him contumaciously persevering in sin and in hatred against his brother. "For what sacrifice," he asks, "could there be to him, who by his unbelief had misapplied it, neither by it could he please God?" We incline to the opinion that the objections against this reading of the passage are well founded, although it was supported by the enormous learning of *Lightfoot*.

*John Clericus* in his commentary upon this text, thought that the way was open to admit of another explanation, viz., that God commanded the reprov'd Cain, to be in a good mind—that he should follow virtue as he ought to do, that precedence belonged to him by right as being the first-born—that he should think nothing against his brother—to be prepared with his offering, so that if he wished to defend the dignity of his primogeniture, he must rest in quiet. Although *Clericus* imagined that his gloss was supported by grammatical and philological proofs, various objections have been adduced against this reading of the passage by

competent Hebraists. They say that it is a forcing of the word **תָּאֵץ** to translate it, "thou shalt preserve the dignity of thy primogeniture;" about which prerogative of Cain, there is great doubt whether any reference is made or not, for there is no certain mention or indication *τῶν πρωτοτοκίων* at all. The preceding words help to fix the sense which must be attached to **תָּאֵץ** here. It was because Cain's "countenance was fallen," or as the LXX. have it *ἐλυπήθη λαν*, that the word **תָּאֵץ** must signify to *elevate* the countenance, or elevation of the countenance. For as the **נָבַל פָּנָיו** "to lower the countenance," denotes the same as **הָרָה** to be grieved or indignant, such anger or sorrow of soul that it is made patent by external signs, as by the dejection of the head or face, and which truly answers to the LXX. expression *λυπηθῆναι λαν*; so on the contrary does the **פָּנָיו שָׁנָן** indicate that peace of mind and that trust in God, and the possession of a pure conscience, which manifests itself by the serenity of face and by the erection of the head. Zophar the Naamathite, uses a similar expression to Job (xi. 15.) "For then shalt thou *lift up thy face* without spot." And Eliphaz prophesies to Job also, "and shalt *lift up thy face* unto God." (Job xxii. 26.) We may add, that God does not threaten Cain with the loss of his birthright, neither did he lose it after his brother's death. This explanation must therefore be dismissed as being evidently wide of the mark.

*Marckius* would restrict the whole verse to one meaning, the recalling of Cain from the anger and envy in which he had indulged against his brother. Whether, if you perform a good approach, or oblation, or even an excellent one, which you can make in virtue of your birthright, or if you do well in offering, which is the same thing, but if you neither forgive nor offer rightly, moreover you are lying at the door of sin, still to you as the firstborn will be the desire of your younger brother—therefore you shall rule over it. Now this is a limitation of the meaning of the passage for which there seems to be no warrant at all. Such a signification too, would be but a kind of false assuaging of feelings in themselves sinful, and which merited severe reprehension.

*Deyling* explains the "If thou doest rightly," if with penitent acts you believe in the seed of the woman, and with faith you offer your sacrifice and your oblation and you live holily, there shall be to you *elevation of face*, joy and peace—a good conscience and faith, so that your face shall not be lowered on account of conscious sin. But if on the other hand you do badly, and you live impiously, and your mind is void of faith in the seed of the woman, you offer after the manner of hypocrites, sin, and what follows is, that the punishment of sin with the torments of conscience lies at the door as a fierce dog or a robber spreading snares for you, and about to

tear you, the appetite of which and the inroad of which is in you, but you shall rule over it. Deyling supports this meaning, by the use of the word **הַיִּשְׁרָב** as applied to the dispensation when oblation and sacrifice formed an integral portion of divine worship; and then from the Epistle to the Hebrews (xi. 4—6) he shows how important a part *faith* plays in causing the acceptance of such sacrifice; this faith being for the most part exercised upon that “seed of the woman, which was to break the serpent’s head.” When the promise came clearly home to him who sacrificed in this faith, hope and confidence succeeded to despair and an elevation of countenance was seen.

In contrast to this, sin is represented as being a *lurker at the door*; as a lurking lion or a rampant dog, ready to vex and to destroy; indicating the torments of conscience, and the grief that arises after committed sin, as the forerunner of a speedy infliction of punishment. Our Blessed LORD (S. Matt. xxiv. 38) Himself, as we have before mentioned, used the imagery of being *at the door*, as did S. James also (v. 9), to denote something that was near and imminent. The son of Sirach says (xxvii. 10), “As the lion lieth in wait for the prey, so sin for them that work iniquity.” And **רִבֵּץ** is very frequently used to express the couching of animals; of a lion in Gen. xlix. 9; and of a dragon in Ezek. xxix. 3. There is a grammatical difficulty in this rendering of the passage; for **רִבֵּץ** is a masculine participle, while **הַשְּׁמַת** is a feminine noun. R. Solomon and Aben-Ezra proposed **הַשְּׁמַת** or **שֶׁמֶץ**, which are masculine nouns, as synonyms for the feminine noun which occurs here. But in truth there is no need to resort to any such expedient to get clear of the difficulty; for the exceptions to the general rule that the predicate should agree with the subject in gender and number are very many. Sometimes a collective noun is construed with the plural, and plural nouns with the singular; and often when, as in this passage, the predicate is a participle which is used as a substantive, there is conformity to the subject in neither gender nor number. (Cf. Gesenius, Heb. Gram. § 144.) Sin here might stand, as it does in so many places, for the punishment due to it. (Gen. xix. 15; Jer. xiv. 16.) Mercer takes the sense to be, that when Cain was indignant that his brother’s sacrifice was preferred to his own, being in itself, as far as the material offering was concerned, not any better than his own, God said to him, “If thou offerest well, or not well, not in accordance with the legal rites,—for it matters not, with your state of mind, how you offer,—‘sin lieth at the door;’ you are encompassed by sin, and that has spoilt your offering; for God looks at the person more than at the offering. Yet your appetite is not to lead you into sin, but the appetite of sin is to turn to you, as a wife to a husband; her desire

shall be towards you." (Gen. iii. 16.) As a summary of the whole of this portion of the subject, and in part a repetition of what has been stated, we may remark, on the first clause, that the "*si bene egeris*" is taken by Bertram, and Grotius, and Fagius to apply to Cain's amendment of life; so that to do well does not consist in offering the sacrifices which Cain brought, but in the possession of the faith which Cain lacked; that all external sacrifice is valueless, if faith and piety be wanting. Vatablus and Bonfrey maintain, on the other hand, that the "*bene agere*" applies to the sacrifice. "If thy oblation had been pure and true." In the second clause, "Shalt thou not be accepted?" Mercer would read, "Wilt thou not receive a reward, or My favour or benediction, with a similar sign, with fire, a witness itself of both joy and peace?" Munster and Grotius read, "Will there not be elevation? Lift up your countenance, which you have just now cast down." Fagius says, "There will be exaltation or glory to thee, not less than to thy brother; still, the right of primogeniture will remain with you."

As to the "sin lieth at the door," we must suppose that the expression refers to the present sin which would ever lie by Cain, at hand for his condemnation: at hand for the prompting him to commit further wickedness.

IV. We have now to notice the readings and interpretations which are admitted by the *Jews* themselves.

The *Targums*, on the whole, read as follows: "If thou doest thy works well, there will be a lifting up—i.e. a lifting off—of thy sin; thy sin shall be forgiven thee. If thou doest not well, thy sin is reserved unto the day of judgment;" or, as Jarchi says, "it lies at the door of the grave, reserved to that day." The *Targums* of Jonathan and Jerusalem so paraphrase the passage: "Sin shall lie at the door of thine heart, but into thine hand I have delivered the power of the evil concupiscence, and to thee shall be its desire; and thou shalt rule over it, whether to be righteous or to sin." Aben-Ezra gave a reading, which has been received by Mendelssohn and Johnson, and by De Sola, Lindenthal, and Raphall. "If thou doest well, canst thou not lift up thy countenance, which now from a sense of thy guilt is downcast? If thou doest not well, at the door coucheth sin: though unto thee be its desire, thou shouldst rule over it." Many of the later Jewish commentators refer this latter clause to Abel, and so paraphrase the passage: "Notwithstanding the superior grace vouchsafed unto Hebel, he is and remains thy younger brother; and as such, thy inferior. Therefore his will is submissive to thee, and thou art to rule over him." The Jewish writers are universally agreed, that Cain's offering was rejected, not because there was any inherent disqualification in the offering itself, but simply because of the frame of mind in which he offered it. We certainly gain from the Jewish autho-

rities that the notion of a sacrifice of expiation for Cain's sin was not present to their minds at all.

V. As to the patristic teaching upon this text, *S. Clemens Romanus* (1 Cor. § 4) cites the whole of this transaction as a caution against envy and jealousy, using the words of the LXX. Hefele's translation of the concluding portion of the verse is very curious (p. 59, 4th edit.): instead of applying the words "unto thee shall be his desire" to sin or to Abel, he refers it to the gift; "Ad te revertitur donum tuum et tuæ iterum erit potestatis," i.e. "a Me non recipitur:" Professor Jacobson (Pat. Apost. vol. i. p. 30, third edit.) cites these words without condemnation.

When *S. Irenæus* is treating of the Sacrifices and Oblations of those who offer them in truth (lib. iv. c. 34) he brings forward the example of Cain: "Ab initio enim respexit Deus ad munera Abel quoniam cum simplicitate et justitia offerebat; super sacrificium autem Cain non respexit quoniam cum zelo et malitia, quæ erat adversus fratrem divisionem habebat in corde:" then, detailing some of the effects of Cain's offering, he concludes—"cum minime acquiesceret Cain, ait ei, 'Ad te conversio ejus et tu dominaberis ei.'" *Tertullian*, in his tract "Against the Jews" (c. v.), gives the LXX. reading of this text, and distinguishes between the heavenly and the spiritual sacrifices; but, as is usual with him, he quotes texts to support his own propositions, his context being the only commentary upon them which he gives. *S. Chrysostom* (Homil. in Gen. xviii. tom. iv. 159), after reciting the text, adds "consider, dearly beloved, the unspeakable condescension of God; for when He saw him, as we may say, besieged by the affection of envy, how, by His proper goodness, He placed before him a fitting cure; that immediately he might be raised and might not be overwhelmed by the waters . . . For you do not offer sacrifice to man, who is able to be deceived; do you not know that I need no offerings but the healthy minds of those who offer? 'If you have offered rightly, but have not rightly divided, you have sinned.' The desire to offer is to be praised, but the not dividing rightly causes the rejection of the whole oblation; for it behoves us in offering to God, to use great care about an accurate division and by how much they differ, he who offers and He who receives, by so much is the dividing to be performed with discretion. But you have thought nothing about these things; you have simply offered what came to hand, and therefore you were not able to be accepted. For as your mind, by which you have made the oblation, regarded nothing intermediate, it has caused the offering which you brought to be rejected; so the mind of your brother which was sound, and took much pains to divide rightly, made his gifts to be accepted. At the same time I do not demand punishment for the fault, but I only point out the sin, and I bring you counsel which, if you are willing to receive, you can both repair the sin and not involve yourself in

heavier guilt. What therefore? You have sinned, and sinned grievously; but I do not punish you for your sin, for I am merciful, 'and I wish not the death of the sinner, but that he may be converted and live.' Since therefore you have sinned, be quiet (*ἡσύχασον*) . . . . Do not imagine, he saith, that because your sacrifice was rejected, because your heart was not right, and your brother's was accepted on account of a proper intention, that therefore I will deprive you of your rank and take away from you the dignity of the first-born. 'Be still.' For although he (Abel) has been deemed worthy of honour by Me, and his gifts have been accepted, nevertheless '*to thee shall be his resource, and thou shalt rule over him.*' So, after sin, I permit you to have this, to use the privileges of primogeniture, and I command him to be subject to your power and rule." S. Chrysostom then expatiates upon God's great mercy to Cain and upon the opportunity which is here given to him for repentance. Cain is not to rule over sin, but over Abel. Certain it is that Dr. Lightfoot's explanation of the passage is not supported by this great and learned Father.

VI. The reading of the text, which S. Chrysostom in common with the other Fathers makes use of, naturally leads us to notice the wide discrepancy that exists between the Hebrew and the Greek. The latter uses "*offering*" for "*doing*," and introduces the word *διέλης* which has no representative in the Hebrew. Bishop Pearson, in his masterly "Præfatio Parænetica," notices this discrepancy, and asks whether any one can doubt that these Greek Fathers wrote without having the standard text engraven in their minds, and boldly asserts that in some places the LXX. supply lacunæ in the Hebrew text. A literal translation of the LXX. version would run thus: "If thou bringest an offering rightly, but dost not distinguish rightly, thou hast sinned. Be quiet—the conversion of him to thee—and thou shalt rule over him." This translation was noted down in the lecture-room of one of the most distinguished of the Professors at Cambridge. In regard to the introduction of *διέλης* into the LXX. reading no great difficulty need be made, for it arose most probably from a mistaking of *לפתח* "at the door," with *לנתח* or *לפתת* to the dividing, for *פתת* signifies to divide, or to break, or to hack in vain. Bochartd gives in the Hierozoicon the whole passage thus: "And if you have not acted rightly as to the division; have you sinned? Be quiet *רַבֵּץ*." The verb *רַבֵּץ* signifies to quiet, and to live quietly and securely; and therefore would be no unapt representative of *ἡσυχάζω*. Again, the distinction between sin as a substantive, and the second person singular masculine *kal* of the verb *חָטָא* would be confined to a slight alteration in the vowel points, and so in the unpointed Hebrew it would vanish altogether. This very passage may be turned against men of the Hody School of Divines



who unduly exalt the Hebrew text and disparage the LXX. version as unworthy of any authentic credence.

VII. Slight as our notice of this verse has been, imperfect as are the strictures upon it which are contained in the writings of the most critical among the Fathers, and great as are the discrepancies in the explanations between the Hebrew and the Greek text, yet three fundamental doctrines are taught by its every phase. Firstly, that which our Blessed Lord announced as a key to worship of the New Dispensation, that "God is a Spirit, and they that worship Him, must worship Him in spirit and in truth;" that in God's sight, the "thoughts and intents of the heart" must determine the value of the offering or the sacrifice, whether of praise or thanksgiving, or of something more mysterious and more tremendous. Secondly, that *sin*, as a real existence, hangs over and lurks about the sinner, bringing a man in danger of "hell fire" at the last great day. And thirdly, that having sinned, a door of repentance was opened to man in the earliest times; the Promise was given, and pardon even then could be obtained through it; albeit for sin and for uncleanness the fountain was not yet open—the Baptism of repentance not indeed having come, much less that other and higher Baptism of water and of the HOLY GHOST, the laver of Regeneration for the remission of sins, nor the power of the keys.

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### THE CHURCH AND THE COMMITTEE OF COUNCIL ON EDUCATION.

"It is an ill wind that blows nobody good"—even when Mr. Lowe is the *Æolus*. His Minute of Council has been a god-send in the middle of the "dull season." The storm which it has raised has curtailed the holiday of its author and roused the ire of school managers and teachers, but it has certainly proved "a favouring gale" in other quarters. Editors were at their wits' ends how to fill their sheets, and Members of Parliament went down to their constituents not knowing what to say. Home politics had been worn threadbare, and foreign affairs were in a state of chaos, out of which none, save (as was fitting) a brilliant political novelist, could see his way. In the midst of this universal stagnation, and mindful, perhaps, of the proverb about "idle hands," Mr. Lowe flings his Education Minute in the air, and has in consequence the satisfaction, if he considers it such, of finding himself at this moment the most prominent person in the united kingdom. In fact, the unfortunate Minute has been so battered about and so overlaid with hostile criticism, that some of its undoubted merits

have been hidden ; and it must be admitted that not a few of its deformities have only a subjective existence in the imagination of its critics. Let the combatants beware ; they are narrowly watched by a lynx-eyed logician, who has as deep an interest in defending the Minute as they have in pulling it to pieces. Mr. Lowe is well skilled in the eritic art, and knows how to make every false blow that has been aimed at him recoil with double force on the head of his aggressor when Parliament meets. His assailants have certainly given him cause to complain, that they have condemned his Minute without having taken the trouble to read it through.

For instance, at a public "meeting of clergymen, managers, teachers, and others interested in the management of schools in connection with the Church of England," we find the following resolution unanimously passed :—

"That the repudiation of engagements made with certificated teachers, *and also with such pupil teachers as are now in elementary schools or training colleges*, is a breach of faith on the part of the Committee of Council on Education."

And in the October number of *Papers for the Schoolmaster*, we find the following among the "Summary of objections" to the Revised Code :—

"The New Code violates wilfully, if not necessarily, solemn engagements made not only with 2500 teachers *and apprentices*, but with managers who have raised large amounts for the building of schools, and such violation tends to lower all trust in public men, as well as to injure a large class to whose value the Commissioners bear the highest testimony."

Where, let us ask, is there any ground for saying that the Committee of Council repudiates "engagements made with . . . such pupil teachers as are now in elementary schools or training colleges?" There is absolutely none ; on the contrary, the Lords of the Committee have taken care to explain that no such repudiation is intended. The fourth of their resolutions with reference to the new Minute is expressed in these words :—

"To pay no further annual grants to schools hitherto admitted to receive them after the next which falls due, except either,—

"(a.) Upon the terms of the Revised Code only ; or,

"(b.) *For the stipends and gratuities of current apprenticeships where such exist*, and the full charge of them for the remainder of the unexpired term has not been assumed by the managers."

Is it possible that the "clergymen, managers, teachers, and others," who have charged the Committee of Council with a "violation of their solemn engagements" with pupil teachers, can have read the above explicit statement ?

We, too, have our objections to the New Minute, and we shall tell our readers what they are presently; but the question is not whether the Minute is good or bad in itself, nor whether it is the best that could have been devised under the circumstances; the simple question in debate is, whether or not the revised Minute is an improvement on the old. Those who condemn it assert that the new Minute is worse than the old in almost every respect in which they differ from each other. Now on this point honesty compels us to say that we feel ourselves bound to join issue with Mr. Lowe's opponents.

The capital objections which have been made to the Revised Code may be reduced to four:—

1. That the new Minute is a breach of faith with certificated teachers.

2. That it ignores religion.

3. That its classification of children in groups according to age is absurd and impracticable.

4. That by restricting inspection to the primary elements of instruction—reading, writing, and arithmetic—the new Minute gives a retrograde impulse to the cause of education among the labouring classes, and discourages infant schools by excluding from the benefit of the Capitation Grant all children who cannot read in monosyllables and form letters and figures on the black board.

Let us examine these objections in order.

1. To charge the Government of the country with a "wilful violation of solemn engagements" is no light thing; and it is but fair to the Government to say, that those who make the charge should be prepared to substantiate it. What proof then have the certificated teachers to bring forward in support of their assertion that the Government has broken faith with them? Have they any? They have. We have before us a copy of a circular issued by the Metropolitan Church Schoolmasters' Association. That circular contains a series of resolutions, one of which is expressed in these words:—

"That the withdrawal of the Augmentation Grants paid to certificated teachers is not only an injustice to those whom the Government have induced to enter the profession, by offering additional emoluments on account of their acquirements . . . but also a violation of the principles upon which public engagements should be based."

This is the charge; and what is the evidence on which it is founded? The following extracts from the instructions of the Committee of Council on Education to Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools:—

"Thus far I have been directed to communicate with you chiefly respecting the mechanical and formal arrangements necessary to ensure

the successful issue of the general examinations; but it is of even greater importance that the spirit in which your intercourse with the candidates is to be conducted should be understood, so that all of them may convey to their respective homes a true impression of the intention of the Government."

"For the first time, from 800 to 1000 schoolmasters will be assembled by the invitation of the Government of this country, as candidates for the formal recognition of their capacity to instruct the humbler classes of Her Majesty's subjects, and as a consequence of such a recognition, to receive immediately from the State an annual stipend proportioned to their merits and exertions. Such a fact is in itself very significant of the continually increasing interest which the civil power takes in the condition of the working classes, whose moral and religious state, and whose intelligence are acknowledged to be objects of vital importance to the common weal."

"It is important that the assembled candidates should be impressed with a conviction of the anxiety of the Government, by means of a higher description of moral and religious education, to improve the condition of the poor, and of their determination, as an indispensable means to this end, to elevate the position of the elementary teacher by qualifying him to occupy a higher station, and by rewarding his more efficient services by superior emoluments."

"It is hoped that you will not only leave on their minds the most grateful personal impressions, but that you will inspire them with a just confidence that the Government is anxious to recognize every legitimate claim on the public resources for their proper remuneration, and to give the sanction of public authority to every well-qualified schoolmaster."

"They ought to receive from you the impression that they are called upon to co-operate with yourself, and with the Committee of Council on Education, for the attainment of great national objects by means strictly consistent with the interests of every industrious, intelligent, and well-intentioned teacher."

"You will with propriety allude to the promise which has been made by the Government to use the offices in various departments of the public service as rewards for the successful exertions of the scholars in elementary schools. You may describe the influence which this must have in increasing the popular estimate of the advantages of education, especially as this proceeding is now seconded in some public departments by the examination of all candidates for service. You may anticipate that this honest application of patronage to the encouragement of public education, will tend to promote sincerity among all classes, and to establish a just confidence in those who rule."

These extracts, then, constitute in the opinion of the schoolmasters themselves, the aggrieved party, the basis of the charge which they have made against the Government, of violating its "solemn engagements" with them. Is this accusation borne out by the above extracts, on which the certificated teachers appear entirely to rest their case? We think not. The extracts on which the schoolmasters rely give no colour whatever to the assertion that

the Government ever intended, much less engaged, to reward the mere mental acquirements of the teacher apart from their proper fruits in the taught. The Government, indeed, expressed its anxiety to improve the condition of the poor, and its "determination, as an indispensable means *to this end*, to elevate the position of the elementary teacher by qualifying him to occupy a higher station, and by rewarding his more efficient services by superior emoluments." In other words, the Government dispensed the augmentation grant for the benefit of the school children, not of the schoolmaster; or, at all events, they bestowed it on the teacher for the sake of the taught. They engaged to reward, not his intellectual attainments, but "his more efficient services." Now, the complaint of the Committee of Council, founded on the report of the Royal Commission is, that the services of the certificated teachers have *not* been "efficient," and that therefore the engagement, so far as there was any, has been cancelled by the teachers themselves, not by the Government. Mr. Lowe's plea—and it does not appear to us unreasonable—is, that up to this time the Committee of Council has been paying for intellectual acquirements with a view to certain results; those results have not been forthcoming, and therefore, says Mr. Lowe, we must change our system; we must make the distribution of the public grant henceforth conditional, not on the attainments of the teacher, but on the proficiency of the scholars. Hitherto we have been paying for the means, and have failed to obtain the desired end; let us try to improve the means by restricting the payment to the end. Instead of an augmentation grant payable to the teacher, let us try the effect of a capitation grant payable to the managers. The changing system now in operation can only be looked upon in the light of an experiment.

Whatever, therefore, may be said against this part of the Revised Code, we really do not see how it can fairly be described as a violation of a "solemn engagement" on the part of the Government. Government made no engagement whatever with teachers independently of their schools. The very best certificate did not entitle its holder to a farthing of the public grant, except in connexion with, and for the benefit of some particular school. This plainly shows, if anything were needed to show, that the Government has all along bestowed its grant on the certificated teacher in his official, not individual, character. The education of the labouring classes was the great end in view; and the attainments of the teacher were rewarded, not *quâ* attainments, but because they were considered necessary as a means towards the result contemplated. The acquirements of the teachers were rewarded, not absolutely and for their own sake, but solely and entirely for the sake of their scholars. Government did not intend to make schoolmasters good mathematicians or linguists simply, but good teachers.

Experience has proved, however, that it is possible to make them good mathematicians and grammarians, while they remain very inefficient teachers. What is to be done in that case? Offer your reward, says Mr. Lowe, to the good teacher instead of the good scholar. And we are inclined to agree with him.

Of course it is very natural that teachers should feel much annoyed at the withdrawal of the augmentation grant; but no great good has ever been achieved, nor any extensive reform brought about, without the sacrifice of some class interest; and in such a case the question is, which is the least sacrifice? There are at this moment in round numbers about 22,000 day-schools in England for the labouring classes—19,000 belonging to the Church, and 3000 to Dissent.<sup>1</sup> Allow this aggregate of schools an average of 50 scholars each, and you have 1,100,000 children of the labouring classes attending day schools in England. But the whole number of schools in the kingdom under Government inspection does not exceed 10,000. Of these 10,000, of course a good many are under inspection, on account of building grants, &c., which do not participate in the annual grant. But granting that there are 10,000 certificated masters, who are more or less injured by the New Minute; still, even in that case, it is a question between the interest of 10,000 teachers and 1,100,000 children; and if one or the other must go to the wall, we confess we had rather it should be the teachers. We should, indeed, be sorry to think that the interests of teachers and pupils are antagonistic; but the Committee of Council has come to the conclusion that such is practically the case under the present arrangement. It seems to be admitted on all sides that the present certificated masters are educated, intellectually, above their station, and that, as a consequence, they resent, on the one hand, any interference in the school on the part of the Clergy, whose superiors they consider themselves to be; and, on the other, shrink from what they consider the drudgery of teaching the lower children, who are thus handed over to the neglect of pupil teachers.

“I am bound,” says one of the Inspectors, in 1860, “to express my regret at finding two subjects not so much attended to as they ought to be. I mean common reading and common writing; both of which seem to be neglected by some certificated teachers as rather beneath their notice, and fit only for the care of apprentices. Of course this is a serious educational evil; and accordingly it has not escaped the attention of intelligent managers of schools, some of whom have complained to me that the system of examinations propounded by the Committee of Council is in part to blame for this neglect. They mean that the

<sup>1</sup> This does not include Roman Catholic or British Schools. In order to give the certified masters every advantage in the argument, we have purposely given the schools a much lower, and the masters a much higher figure than the facts of the case really warrant. One calculation gives the number of scholars in day schools as 2,600,000.

attention of students, and of the authorities of Training Schools, are almost necessarily directed to the fostering of other acquirements, which 'pay' better in the examination-room than such common qualifications as those of reading and writing. They think that young men and women, while in training, are not sufficiently practised in reading and writing by the training school officers; and that the temptations held out by the mathematical and grammatical examination papers are too strong for young and inexperienced students to resist. I am bound to say that I think there is no small degree of truth in what has been said to me on this subject."<sup>1</sup>

"There is a general wish," says the same Inspector, "I believe, among teachers that, when they are entitled to receive augmentation-money, the Committee of Council should exercise a *veto* upon their dismissal by School Committees; in order to check private caprice and local injustice; in fact, *teachers as a body are anxious to become more closely connected with Government, and to have the benefits of a central control more fully extended to them.*"

Another still more independent witness gives the following testimony:—

"I have been anxious to ascertain how far this higher standard of attainments in the teachers might tempt them to the more flattering expenditure of their talents on select, quick, and forward pupils, who may stand forward as proofs of their skill; and that in preference to drudging on and drilling the duller minds of which the main body of a poor school is composed. . . I observe that in many schools which are pointed to as examples of good management, when the class stands up, and a question is asked of one of the number which occasions an instant's hesitation, the sharper children all shoot out their hands and expect the immediate attention of the teacher, nay, claim it as if it were a right; whilst the child who has failed considers his part done and himself consigned to oblivion. Nothing astonishes that child more than to find attention arrested upon him, and a process of drilling begun with him. Sharp children half teach themselves; it is the slow who demand the greatest amount of labour from the teacher."<sup>2</sup>

The Revised Code will certainly compel teachers to aim at the general welfare of their pupils instead of confining their attention chiefly to a select few; and it will make certificated masters, not (as they wish) more, but less independent of the Clergy. These we consider two substantial gains.

2. The next objection to the New Minute which we have to notice is, that it ignores religion. The Revised Code, says one indignant clergyman in the *Guardian* for October 2, "is a breach of faith with everybody, as thrusting religious instruction into a corner, when the exertions of thousands of managers have been called forth by the understanding that religious instruction was to be the foundation and the keystone of the whole Government system."

<sup>1</sup> Report for 1860, 1861, pp. 147, 8.

<sup>2</sup> Notes on the Education Question, pp. 19, 20.

The Revised Code "offers a premium to masters for neglecting the religious teaching of the children," argued the Rev. E. P. Vaughan at the Wells public meeting.

Now it is not quite fair to say that the New Minute ignores religion. For it excludes from Government aid all such schools as are not "in connexion with some recognized religious denomination." The Clause which is supposed to exclude religious instruction is the following:—

"The inspectors do not interfere with the religious instruction, discipline, or management of schools, but are employed to verify the fulfilment of the conditions on which grants are made, to collect information, and to report the results to the Committee of Council."

Surely "to ignore" is a very different thing from "not to interfere." The pledge of the Committee of Council "not to interfere with the religious instruction" of schools, embraces "discipline" and "management" also. Do Mr. Lowe's opponents suppose that he intended to ignore the discipline and management of schools? They should really "look before they leap" to such hasty conclusions. The intention of the clause is expressly stated to be "to verify the fulfilment of the conditions on which grants are made;" and one of these conditions is that every school enjoying the benefit of the grant should be "in connexion with some recognized religious denomination." There is nothing in the Minute to warrant the supposition that Her Majesty's Inspectors are not intended henceforth to examine and report on the religious instruction of schools under inspection. What more do the clergy want? Do they really wish Inspectors to "*interfere*" with the religious instruction of their schools?

For our own part, however, we will candidly own that we should not be at all sorry to see religion ignored more than it is by the New Minute. Of course it would be an evil, but a less evil than the present system, which makes Government responsible for false religion as well as true. A Government system which should—not necessarily ignore, but decline to reward—religious instruction would surely be less amenable to the charge of irreligiousness than one which makes itself the nursing father of all religions, false and true alike. The Revised Code proposes to exercise a less visible protectorate over religious instruction, and in that respect it seems to us a manifest improvement on the old.

To speak the plain truth, we are almost ashamed at the cry which has been raised against this portion of the Minute. Is it really come to this, that the English clergy have so little influence in their parishes, that the religious life of their schools must perish unless it is supported by the arm of the civil government? Do they really mean to affirm that they cannot secure religious instruction in their schools if the Committee of Council do not help



them? What will the Liberation Society say to such a confession? Surely it is the duty of the clergy, and theirs alone, to see to the religious instruction of their schools, and they cannot without a plain dereliction of duty, relegate the superintendence of that instruction to their schoolmasters. The Church of England is no longer co-extensive with the Government of England; it covers a much narrower area. To attempt therefore to make the Government of to-day exercise a kind of patriarchal sway over Church of England schools, is to perpetrate a chronological blunder, to "put a piece of new cloth upon an old garment." The result, of course, would be, that the rent would be "made worse." No clergyman who does his duty need be afraid of the Committee of Council ignoring religious instruction in his school any more than he would be of its ignoring religious instruction in his nursery.

3. The next objection which we are to consider is against the arrangement of children in groups; and here we must on the whole go over to the side of those who condemn it. It is of course difficult to invent any classification which would be quite satisfactory, but the arrangement according to ages is so artificial and arbitrary, that we hope Mr. Lowe will re-cast this part of the Revised Code. No one who had any practical acquaintance with elementary schools would expect a child three years old to read a "narrative in monosyllables," write "letters, capital and small," on the black board; form from dictation "figures up to twenty; name from sight figures up to twenty; and add and subtract figures up to ten orally, from examples on black board." On the other hand, many a child of seven years is more forward than one of nine or even eleven. In short, we believe that the practical effect of the classification adopted in the New Minute would be to bring schools to a sort of dead lock; either the backward children would be neglected for the sake of the forward, or the forward would be kept back for the sake of the backward.

The exclusion of children over eleven years of age from the benefit of the Capitation Grant is, no doubt, faulty theoretically; but we question whether it would be found practically to operate so injuriously as has been supposed. In manufacturing and mining districts the children of the poor generally leave school in their seventh or eighth year; and the average attendance throughout England does not give more than twelve per cent. of children who remain at school beyond their twelfth year. Still twelve per cent. is far too large a proportion to be deprived of Government encouragement to remain at school. It is scarcely correct, however, to say that the master would have no inducement to keep them, for though they would not come within reach of the Capitation Grant, their weekly fees would still be forthcoming. Nor do we quite understand where would be the great temptation on the part of the teacher to neglect them. It is not the master who is

affected, but the managers, by the result of the Inspector's examination. The masters will of course, as heretofore, stipulate with the managers for a fixed salary, and the result of the yearly examination will not touch their pockets, however it may their feeling of conscientiousness and sense of honour. At the same time, the withholding of the Capitation Grant from children over eleven will undoubtedly operate as a dissuasive from school attendance after that age, and we trust therefore that Mr. Lowe will be persuaded to modify this part of the Revised Code.

4. The objection which has been made against the Minute on the ground that it fixes too low a standard of education in elementary schools, seems to us somewhat unreasonable on the part of those who condemn the New Minute for financial reasons. It is obvious that a higher standard would diminish the amount of the Capitation Grant. It surely does not follow that Government does not desiderate, or will not encourage any progress beyond the three R's, because it lowers its standard to that level. Of course Inspectors will still examine as high as the children can go, and report accordingly. The Minute does not say that no class shall be taught beyond reading, writing, and arithmetic as far as Practice, but that all who reach that standard shall be entitled to Government aid. Have masters and managers considered that they are libelling themselves by saying that the education of their schools will be generally lowered because the Committee of Council fixes the highest standard, which it requires in order to receive its grant, as low as the three R's? What is the good of having school managers if they do not see that the character of their school does not go back? The teacher is *their* servant, not the Government's; and what is to prevent them from dismissing him if he allows his school to fall below what they conceive to be the proper standard? But, after all, what inducement would the teacher have to lower the educational standard of his school? It would be nothing to him, as far as money goes, what the standard of the school might be; but there are very few teachers, we hope, whose sense of duty and proper professional pride would not urge them to raise rather than lower the character of their schools. Indeed, we believe that the certificated teachers have been much maligned, and have in fact very grievously maligned themselves, in the course of the agitation against the New Code. We cannot persuade ourselves that they are the self-seeking, mercenary beings they are represented to be by themselves and others. We have a far better opinion of them than to suppose that they would, as a body, accept a premium to neglect their duties, even if Government offered it, or that they would in any way deliberately sacrifice the interests of their pupils to their own.

On the whole, then, we cannot echo the cry of indiscriminate condemnation which has been uttered against the Revised Code,

because we believe that, taking it all in all, it is an improvement on the Old Code. We are not blind to its defects. We have pointed out some of them, and we might without difficulty point out more; but its defects are, in our judgment, more than counterbalanced by its merits. At present, districts which need it least receive the largest share of the Government grant, while the really needy are often excluded altogether. The New Minute will do much to correct this anomalous state of things. By providing an additional (lower) class of certificated teachers; by allowing all, who can read, write, and cast accounts up to Practice, to come within the benefit of the capitation grant; by allowing pupil-teachers to act as assistant masters; and by severing the direct connection between the certificated masters and the Committee of Council, we have no doubt that the area over which the Government grant is distributed will be much widened. Under the present system many schools, which really ought not to be a burden to the public purse, come in for the lion's share of the grant. Under the New Minute this class of schools will, of course, receive less; but many schools, which are really deserving of support, will receive more; while many others, which, by the present regulations, are altogether outside the pale of Government aid, will be brought within its reach.

Another advantage of the New Minute is, that it puts an end to the delusion of wasting Government aid on Ragged Schools. That a slight sprinkling of good has been effected by *industrial* Ragged Schools, where the children find a home, is probable enough; but that the Ragged School system, as a whole, has been a monstrous sham, has been demonstrated by the recent investigations of the Royal Commissioners.

"I consider it to be clear," says Mr. Cumin, "that the parents whose children attend Ragged Schools belong to precisely the same class of life as those who attend the ordinary schools. In proof of this I subjoin a list of occupations, derived from the school books of two schools—the one a National, the other a Ragged School.

"*Ragged School*.—Labourer, washerwoman, pensioner, tailor, mason, lamplighter, shoemaker, chairmaker, tinman, navvy, brickmaker, fisherman, stoker, stonecutter, chimneysweep, platelayer.

"*National School*.—Cabman, labourer, porter, sailor, shopkeeper, carpenter, policeman, moulder, pensioner, malster, mason, tailor, groom, French-polisher, charwoman, blacksmith, wheelwright, horse-artilleryman . . . In fact, the Ragged School boys and girls are composed of three classes. They are the children of dissipated parents, or of persons receiving out-door relief, or of persons who could afford to pay, and who would pay if there were no Ragged Schools . . . The boy or girl may attend when he pleases, he may be regular or irregular, and may come with filthy hands, undressed hair, and a costume no matter how odoriferous. Education is an excellent thing, if conducted on reasonable-principles; but to suppose that boys or girls are to receive any

real benefit by being taught their alphabet, or to form their letters for a few hours during the week, whilst they pass the larger portion of their time in the streets, or amidst scenes of the greatest profligacy, seems a little extravagant. There may, perhaps, be one or two cases in which, under such unpromising circumstances, a boy or a girl has derived benefit from a Ragged School, though I admit that I have been unable to discover any."—*Popular Education and Ragged Schools*, pp. 48—50.

Such is the conclusion to which Mr. Cumin's patient and searching inquiries led him ; and it is a sound and sensible conclusion, notwithstanding the furious onslaught which it provoked from the most self-deceived professional philanthropist in England. The truth must be told, however, even though it should prove unpalatable to the admirers of Lord Shaftesbury, and to himself the chief of them.

To conclude, then : we have no hesitation in saying, that if we must make our choice between the old Code and the new, we prefer the new. Both of them fall far short of what, as Churchmen, we should desiderate. But to expect from a Government, which legislates for all classes and creeds, a system of education which shall be altogether satisfactory to Churchmen is a Utopian idea. If we are to participate in the Education Grant at all, the contract must be founded on the principle of mutual compromise, and Churchmen must be content to make the best bargain they can. At all events, we do not see why the New Code, after undergoing sundry improvements, should not have a fair trial. We believe it to be an honest attempt to overtake, more than has hitherto been accomplished, the ignorance which pervades the lower strata of our population. No scheme of education, we fear, can ever be expected to be more than very partially successful. It seems to be a necessary consequence of the intellectual activity and material progress and prosperity of a highly civilized state of society, like our own, that it elevates one portion of the community by the depression of another. Manufactures, railways, and mining have, no doubt, brought many advantages in their train ; but they have banished many blessings. Above all, they have well nigh blotted the word *home* from the vocabulary of our labouring population. The lower classes have, for the most part, ceased to have a home. They live a nomadic life, wandering about from place to place without a spot which they can call their own. The little family dwelling, with its old traditions and hallowed associations, is a thing of the past. The labouring man hires his miserable lodgings from week to week, in a house which is not his. He has, or thinks he has, no interest in making his temporary dwelling tidy and comfortable ; he is here to-day, to-morrow gone. The interest between himself and his employer is purely pecuniary, and terminates in the pay office. The kindly feelings of his nature are

dried up within him ; for there is no one to whom he may open his heart to communicate his thoughts, and tell his sorrows. He regards himself as one destined to toil in the sweat of his brow for the benefit of those whose only interest in him appears to him based on the wish to squeeze all they can out of him. The consequence is, that he becomes hardened and selfish. He has not enjoyed the blessings of education himself, and therefore he does not value them. And even if he does send his children to school, his migratory life prevents their deriving much benefit from it. We want an order of religious teachers, who would devote themselves to the education of the poor, with no other aim than the glory of God and the good of souls. Meanwhile, we must make *κατὰ τὸν δεύτερον πλοῦν* our motto, and make the best of Mr. Lowe's Revised Code.

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### INSPIRATION AND INTERPRETATION: BURGON AND WORDSWORTH.

*The Interpretation of the Bible : Five Lectures, delivered in Westminster Abbey.* By CHR. WORDSWORTH, D.D., Canon of Westminster. London: Rivingtons. 1861.

*Inspiration and Interpretation : Seven Sermons preached before the University of Oxford : with preliminary remarks : being an answer to a volume entitled "Essays and Reviews."* By the Rev. JOHN WILLIAM BURGON, M.A., Fellow of Oriel College, and Select Preacher. Oxford and London: J. H. & Jas. Parker. 1861.

THE Church of England is passing through a new phase of her chequered history. Again has the tempter been at work, plying his insidious artifices to seduce her from her allegiance to God: again, through the overruling care of the great Head of the Church, shall his malignant designs be frustrated, and his mischievous devices rebound to the Church's spiritual welfare.

Having discovered that his subtle endeavours to tempt her into abandoning her faith in the two great Sacraments have come to nought, and have only proved the means, under God, of enabling her to attain to a clearer apprehension, and firmer practical grasp of these cardinal mysteries, he has been attempting bolder measures, setting himself to work craftily to undermine her faith in the Creeds, in Holy Scripture itself—nay, in the entire complex of Divine Revelation.

He has been resorting to his old well-tried weapon, first successfully plied by him in Paradise—"Yea, hath God said?"—seeking

to instil the baneful poison of doubt and uncertainty into the minds of thinking Christians. "Yea, *hath* God said?" Hath He really spoken, or not? Is it really *true* that He has made known His will to man, save through man's individual conscience? Are not these which are uncritically assumed to be Divine utterances, not rather the simple utterances of fallible men? Is not that Book, popularly though inaccurately designated as the 'written Word of God,' merely the "written voice of the congregation?" Is not its language, at least through the greater portion of the volume, but the language of frail humanity—of humanity, too, in its early childhood? How then can this—an interesting, doubtless, and valuable, though miscellaneous and unsystematic, compilation of early records—be regarded as any conceivable *authority* to the advanced intellects of the nineteenth century, to those who have arrived at 'mature age,' whose 'eyes are opened,' and who 'by reason of use, have their senses exercised to discern good and evil?' Is not the notion of an 'external revelation' a mere 'fiction,' one of the exploded dreams of an over credulous and unscientific age?

These, and the like, are the views which, popular amongst the "wise and prudent" of Germany, are now pressed upon the acceptance of the clergy and laity of the Church of England; pressed upon them, moreover, not by the Church's "adversaries" or "open enemies," but by "her own familiar friends," by names of note and influence within her borders, by men in every way entitled to a respectful and affectionate hearing.

Thanks be to God! the Church of England has not yet fallen so far from God as to consent to adopt such principles. From one end of her to the other, has the teaching of the miserable book wherein the views above referred to have obtained an embodiment and a wide circulation, been indignantly repudiated. And not only this: but an earnest desire also has been elicited, and called into active practical exercise, throughout her whole communion, to strengthen the bulwarks against which the attack has been directed, and thus render herself, under God, better prepared for similar attempts hereafter. The enemy has once again overreached himself. Even now we see, that through God's loving Providence, this assault on our Faith is beginning to subserve a great purpose, and to contribute towards a fuller restoration of Catholic Truth amongst us.

Among the multitudinous array of books, pamphlets, sermons, &c. called into being by the appearance of the "Essays and Reviews," the two works named at the head of the present paper deserve a passing notice.

Dr. Wordsworth's little volume consists of a short course of sermons on the Interpretation of Holy Scripture: being the sequel to a former course recently delivered on the subject of Inspiration.

The sermons are carefully and earnestly written; and the im-

portant theme of Scripture Interpretation handled in a grave, learned, and reverent, though not perhaps very deep or complete manner.

The first sermon contains a brief but interesting historical survey of the evil results which have ensued in Germany from erroneous principles of interpretation:—the author glancing in order at the most noticeable of that series of mutually-contradictory heresies to which these successive schemes of misinterpretation have given rise; tracing out how “the rigid dogmatism of Lutheranism and Calvinism gave way to the enthusiastic fervour of Pietism;” how “Pietism fell beneath the attacks of Rationalism;” how “Rationalism was driven from the field by Pantheism:”—and “Pantheism,” as he adds, “is only another name for Atheism.” (P. 30.)

The second sermon treats of the qualifications, intellectual, moral, and spiritual, for the interpretation of the Bible. A valuable passage on the same important subject occurs in a later sermon: pp. 94, 5.

The third—“JESUS CHRIST interpreting the Bible in His own Person and by the ministry of His Apostles and Evangelists”—is perhaps the most seasonable and useful of the series for the present time; as indicating in a lucid manner the true answers to the mischievous theories of interpretation suggested by writers of the Rowland Williams and Jowett school.

In the fourth sermon—“the Bible interpreting itself”—are to be found some thoughtful remarks on the probationary character of Scripture. We must find space for a short quotation.

“It is a characteristic of the Divine Mind in Holy Scripture to speak strongly on special points of Christian Doctrine in particular places of Holy Writ, and to leave it to the reader of Scripture to supply the correlative truths from other portions of Holy Writ, which are necessary to *complete* the statement of the doctrine as a *whole*. Sometimes Holy Scripture startles us by seeming paradoxes, and staggers us by hard sayings, and perplexes us by riddles and enigmas. And why does the Divine Author of Scripture deal thus with us? In order to try us. He does it in order to allow us, if we will, to carp and cavil, and to rely on our own reason with overweening pride and presumption, by which we shall be self-condemned; He does it in order to teach us that all parts of Scripture are dependent on one another, like joints in a well-organized body, or like parts of a beautiful building; He does it in order that we may not confine our attention to *any one part* of Scripture to the neglect of others, but may carefully consider the whole; and in order to exercise our patience and diligence in *searching the Scriptures*, and to test and prove us, whether we possess those moral dispositions of meekness, candour, and love of truth, which are requisite for admission into the Kingdom of God.”—Pp. 98, 9.

Many apposite illustrations are added, showing how that to partial views of Scripture well nigh all heresies are attributable. He teaches, moreover, how

"the various portions of Scripture are ever touching one another without any evidence of effort on their part; and thus give strength and support to each other, and present the Holy Scriptures to our view as one harmonious whole."

"These *points of contact*," he adds, "have sometimes been called *undesigned coincidences*. But surely this is hardly a correct description of them. *Nothing* in the Holy Scripture is done *without design*. The Author of them is GOD; and whatever He does, He designs; and whatever He designs, He does . . . . The silent adjustment of one part of Scripture to another is not the less designed, because *we* do not at first *perceive* the *design*: but rather the *non-appearance of design* was itself *designed* by GOD, in order that we might *search* for, and *discover*, the coincidences, and that they might serve for our moral probation, and show what manner of spirit and temper we are of."—P. 112.

The subject of the fifth and last Sermon, which we think hardly equal to its theme, is, "JESUS CHRIST interpreting the Bible, in matters of faith, by the Presence and Power of the HOLY SPIRIT in the Universal Church." On the whole we consider this a very timely and valuable little volume, and one which might be advantageously put into the hands of our educated laity.

Mr. Burgon's book is on a much more extended scale. It is a goodly octavo, handsomely printed, containing from five to six hundred pages. The former half of the volume consists of a Preface and Introduction, devoted to a sharp criticism of the Essays and Reviews; the latter half, of seven Sermons on the subject of the Inspiration and Interpretation of Scripture—together with a short Appendix.

We need hardly say that this volume contains very much admirable matter, that the Author insists ably and earnestly on the supreme authority and Divinity of Holy Writ, that he vindicates its plenary inspiration and orthodox interpretation from the old godless and oft-refuted cavils recently revived against them, that he stoutly defends what is good and true, and that his answers to the Seven Essayists, though occasionally betraying undue haste, and an inadequate apprehension of the arguments which he is undertaking to subvert, as well as an entire want of sympathy with the perplexities with which his adversaries may be really beset, are generally searching and complete.

We much regret, however, that his work is so sadly disfigured by its style; and that the whole volume loses in effect, and in its power of convincing the understanding, or beneficially influencing the heart, by the singular absence of good taste which characterises great portions of it. There is an unpleasant tone of banter and bluster about it; an air of self-consciousness and unseemly self-sufficiency; a manner, at times, condescending and patronizing, at times rude, arrogant, and contemptuous: there are indications, too, even of sentiments of personal rancour and animosity against one



of the Seven Essayists—all which have the effect of marring the usefulness of the book, and weakening the confidence of the reader in a guide who appears wanting in that chastened humility, that sensitive charity, that transparent self-forgetting purity of motive, which befit one whose sacred and self-imposed task should lead him to court with all earnestness the aid and Presence of that Illuminating Spirit “who spake by the Prophets,” and whose very being, and name, and essence is LOVE.

Even in a literary point of view, we consider Mr. Burgon’s style a great mistake. Dispensing with grace, courtesy, dignity, it loses in force and effect.

Who, for instance, can read such a passage as that on pp. ccxiv.—xvi., without feeling that it is overdone, and in the worst possible taste; without finding, too, that the indignation so coarsely invoked against the Professor of Greek, misses its intended object, and really expends itself upon the writer who can manifest such a want of Christian delicacy?

Or take another and briefer specimen in the same style.

“Indeed to follow that most confused of thinkers [Mr. Jowett], and crooked of disputants, through all his perverse pages; to expose his habitual paltry evasive dodging—his shifty equivocations—his misapplications of Scripture—his unworthy insinuations,—his plaintive puerilities of thought and sentiment;—would require a thick volume.”  
—P. ccvi.

Or again :—

“I shall be thought a very profane person, I dare say, by the friends of Mr. Jowett, if I avow that the passage with which he concludes his Essay, instead of sounding in my ears like the plaintive death-song of departing genius, sounds to me like nothing so much as the piteous whine of a school-boy who knows that he *deserves* chastisement, and perceives that he is about to experience his deserts. [We presume at the hands of Mr. Burgon.] Views, except negative ones, Mr. Jowett is altogether guiltless of. Can anybody in his senses suppose that a man ‘has by a Divine help been enabled to plant his foot somewhere beyond the waves of time,’<sup>1</sup> who doubts everything, and *believes nothing*? Can any one of sane mind dream that posterity will come to the rescue of a man who, when he is asked for his story, rejoins, (with a well-known needy mechanic,) that he has ‘none to tell, sir?’ *What* then is posterity to vindicate? *What* has the Regius Professor of Greek written so many weak pages to prove? Just nothing!” &c. &c.  
—Pp. ccx. xi.

Now this kind of writing, of which there is far too much in Mr. Burgon’s pages, is very foolish, very mischievous, and very weak. Moreover, after admonishing his readers as to the effects he *intends* to produce by his book—how that “he cannot for a moment allow

<sup>1</sup> See the close of Mr. Jowett’s Essay.

some of the sophistries" of Mr. Jowett "to *escape without castigation*," (p. clxxxix.) ;—how that, in answering the Essayists, he purposes "*mercilessly to uncover their baseness, and uncompromisingly to denounce it*," (p. xxiv.) ;—how he intends "to *hold them up to ridicule to the very utmost of his power*," to "*make them objects of unqualified reprobation to all*," (p. 249), &c. &c., he should really have had the wisdom to adopt a style of writing more calculated to aid him in effecting these desirable results.

But Mr. Burgon's vehemence occasionally leads him to an entire misrepresentation of his opponent's meaning. Thus—to take a single early instance, from his review of Dr. Williams' Essay. Dr. Williams is referring to Bunsen's "Prophetical disquisitions," and says that "no fair reader will rise from them without feeling that he has been under the guidance of a master's hand."<sup>2</sup> Mr. Burgon hastily assumes that by these "Prophetical disquisitions" of Bunsen, Dr. Williams signifies the Prophetical Scriptures: and, thereupon, thus proceeds to develop the Essayist's meaning:

"The 'Prophetical disquisitions' therefore are subject to error of every description; and possess no higher attributes than belong to any ordinary human work by 'a master's hand.'"—P. xxxviii.

This is very careless work, and singularly unpardonable in one who deals so freely with the character of his opponents.

Nor—(quitting the Preface and Introduction)—can we agree with Mr. Burgon in considering the following, a becoming *sermon* style. The preacher thus represents one of the Essayists accosting the four Blessed Evangelists.

"You are four highly respectable characters, no doubt; and you *mean* well. But it cannot be expected that persons of your condition of life should have described so many intricate transactions so minutely without making blunders. I do not say it unkindly. I often make blunders myself,—I, who have a 'clearness of understanding,' a 'power of discrimination between different kinds of truth' unknown to the Apostolic age!" &c. &c.—P. 60.

Nor again, for a preacher who has the faintest desire to influence his hearers for good, is it wise to scoff and rate at them as though they were infidels. He is encountering, in his fourth sermon, the objection, that it cannot be said, of such a passage, as (e.g.) the "catalogue of the Dukes of Edom," that it is inspired by God. Well, then, he fairly rejoins, if not inspired, let it be ejected from the Volume of Inspiration. But (he argues) the process of excision cannot stop here: by parity of reasoning, it must be extended to more, far more, than half the Bible. After which he continues to address his hearers in the following unpleasant strains:—

"If *your own* handling of Holy Scripture,—*your own* method, by

<sup>1</sup> Essays and Reviews, p. 77.

*yourself* applied—be not a *reductio ad absurdum*, I know of nothing in the world which is. Look only at that handful of mutilated pages in the hands of one who is supposed to be the impersonation of ‘common sense;’ turn the tattered and mangled leaves over and over, which *you* are pleased to call the Volume of Inspiration; and get all the comfort and help out of it you can! But be not surprised to hear that you are exposing yourself to the ridicule of the sane part of mankind,” &c.—P. 99.

And then mark the self-conscious and inflated tone of what follows:—

“Let me now be permitted to lay before you a somewhat different view of the office of Inspiration. Since the illumination of science, falsely so called, and the process of common sense, would seem to have resulted in the extinction of the deposit, I ask your patience while I try to show that common sense, *informed by a somewhat loftier Theological Instinct*, may give such an account of the matter as will enable us to preserve every word of the deposit entire.

“*You call my attention to the catalogue of the Dukes of Edom, and tell me that it required no supernatural aid to enable Moses to write it. How, may I ask, do you ascertain that fact? No specimens of the documentary evidence of the land of Seir in the days of Moses are known now to exist. You therefore know absolutely nothing whatever about the matter of which you speak so confidently.*”—P. 100.

And so on, for pages in the same uncomfortable strain.

Now, we sincerely regret these errors in judgment: for, as we have said, they materially detract from the value and usefulness of a volume of unquestionably sterling merit. Mr. Burgon surely ought to know that young men will not be sneered and bullied into orthodoxy from the pulpit. But throughout the whole of his volume the author manifests, what we can only call, a strange deficiency in *tact*—an absence of any nice perception of what is really becoming, or *effective*, either in writing or speaking. Mr. Burgon’s volume may confirm believers: it will convert no sceptics; it will reclaim no doubters.

Nevertheless, with all its blemishes and foolish waste of power, the work is really a valuable one; and, as an antidote to the pernicious teaching of the Essayists, (to those who can bring themselves to study it) on the whole, most satisfactory and complete.

We must not omit to quote Mr. Burgon’s estimate of the respective merits (or demerits) of the individual Essays—a judgment in which, for the most part, we concur.

“The most foolish composition of the seven is Dr. Temple’s; the most mischievous is Professor Jowett’s; . . . the most unphilosophical Essay, (where *all* are unphilosophical,) is Professor Powell’s; the most insolent, Dr. Williams’; the most immoral, Mr. Wilson’s; the most shallow, Mr. Goodwin’s; the most irrelevant, Mr. Pattison’s.”—P. xxvii.

Great and permanent, however, will have been the benefit arising from this sevenfold league against orthodoxy, if it awaken the minds of Churchmen to a more accurate examination of the several points 'freely handled' by the *septem*; and especially, if it draw them to a more careful consideration of those cardinal questions which form the subject matter of the volumes now under review,—namely, the Inspiration and Interpretation of Holy Scripture.

No subjects can be of more vital interest: for if the systems of interpretation and the theories of Inspiration advanced by men of the Williams and Jowett school be true, then our faith is vain, our hopes visionary; our Christianity vanishes like a dream.

For, as has been again and again shown, and cannot be too seriously urged, there is absolutely *no logical resting place whatever* between such theology and the most avowed and God-defying infidelity.

If the Bible be divested of its paramount claim upon our faith and obedience: if its *θεοπνευστία* be denied—or, which amounts to the same thing, be only nominally and partially admitted, so that it is left to each self-opinionated questioner to determine for himself, or herself, how much is Divine and how much merely human, how much is 'spirit' (according to the cant of the day) and how much bare 'letter,' and, as such, capable of being discarded, how much is *actually* true, and how much only true *ideally*—then is all dark and uncertain before us; our path through this world, our journey to an unknown future, are shrouded in gloom: we are, indeed, as S. Paul says, 'most miserable.'

How far, in the case of the writers above referred to, the traditional faith wherewith they have been early indoctrinated, and the salutary atmosphere of dogmatic truth with which their position in the English Church has caused them to be encircled, may still for a while have kept them sounder at heart than their explicit avowals of misbelief show them to be in theory, we cannot say: we can only hope, with fear.

But if the way of unbelief is a downhill road; if an uncertain faith is too soon a certain scepticism, and an unwillingness to believe, an *inability*<sup>1</sup> to believe; if, moreover, the burning woe denounced against those who offend CHRIST's little ones, begins even in this life to shed its withering blight, in judicial blindness, upon those who recklessly mislead;—then may we indeed tremble for men who, having once "known the way of the LORD," are turning, and seeking to turn others, "from the Holy Commandment delivered unto them;" and in the Name of CHRIST are subverting the doctrine of CHRIST.

It is very sorrowful to watch the gradual declension of sceptical minds from the path of orthodoxy. Who, for instance, that has

<sup>1</sup> "Therefore they *could not* believe, because . . . He hath hardened their heart." S. John xii. 39, 40.

perused the able and (on the whole) unexceptionable and valuable Sermon of Dr. Williams on the Athanasian Creed, in his "Rational Godliness" (Serm. xvii.)<sup>1</sup> can read without a shudder the cold infidel sneer in which that venerable Symbol is now (apparently) referred to, in his recent Essay (p. 87) ?

Compare again—as more closely bearing on our immediate subject—his earlier teaching with his later on the Interpretation of Scripture Prophecy.

In his earlier writings on that interesting theme, he appeared to manifest a sincere desire to explain (though with an undue freedom of speculation) the phenomena of Prophecy—and especially its double sense. In his late productions, especially his last, his sole object appears to be to deny with reckless impiety, the very existence of any Prophetic element—in fact, of any supernatural element—in the Bible.

Thus, in 1850, we find Dr. Williams writing in this guarded and sober strain.

"We do not indeed assert, that the Hebrew Prophets knew precisely what manner of salvation they foretold ;<sup>2</sup> for they often shadow it forth under such temporal deliverances, as to make the literal, or Jewish interpretation of their predictions, not altogether unreasonable . . . Still, amidst this imperfect knowledge, we find them . . . foretelling with the strongest confidence the ultimate triumph of pure Religion, the springing of a Righteous Branch out of the stem of Jesse, and the Reign of a King who should execute Justice and Mercy . . .

"Although some circumstances in the description of God's Firstborn and Elect, by whom this change is to be accomplished, may primarily apply to collective Israel, *many others will admit of no such application. Israel surely was not the Child whom a Virgin was to bear ; Israel did not make his Grave with the wicked, and with the rich in his Death ; Israel scarcely reconciled that strangely blended variety of Suffering and Triumph which was predicted of the Messiah.*"—(Rational Godliness, p. 56.)

In 1855, Dr. Williams appends a note to the passage we have italicized, to the effect that he no longer feels confident of the assertion therein contained : adding "I *now* believe that *all* the prophecies have primarily an application nearly contemporaneous."

Nor can we offer the least possible objection even to this latter statement. We firmly believe, with Dr. Williams, that a nearly

<sup>1</sup> In referring to this most unsettled and unsettling work, our relative commendation must not be understood to extend beyond the portions specially noticed. We recorded our opinion of the book as a whole some years ago ; but little thought then, that the strong convictions we expressed as to its dangerous tendency, and the downward career of its author, would meet with such speedy and melancholy confirmation. Vide *Ecclesiastic*, Vol. XVIII., April, June (pp. 146, 245).

<sup>2</sup> On the subject of the imperfect and indistinct knowledge of the import of their own predictions, on the part of the Prophets themselves, see an interesting note in Dr. Wordsworth's little book, p. 81.

contemporaneous *primary* application is the *rule* in the ancient Prophecies.

And all students of Prophecy would admit the same. Thus Dr. Lee writes :

"In considering the predictions of Scripture . . . we may observe that a certain method has been almost uniformly pursued, which constitutes as it were, the *Law* according to which the different portions of God's Revelation have been communicated :—namely, that each prediction, with scarcely an exception, proceeds from and attaches itself to some definite fact in the historical present. In other words, when the future is to be foreshadowed, certain events of the time, historical or incidental, are selected as occasions on which may be founded the several disclosures of the Divine Will. The Almighty—who can question it?—could in all cases have unveiled His purpose without observing any such method ; but He has not only thought fit to disclose His Will *gradually*, as the Scripture narrative clearly implies ;—He has also, as a general rule, availed Himself, (if we may use the phrase) of certain occasions which were presented, from time to time, and which formed a species of natural channel for the conveyance of His Revelations. . . . By this fact of the connection of single Predictions with the historical present, may be explained, I conceive, that characteristic of Prophecy which consists in its 'double sense ;' according to which the *particular* is brought forward as a pledge of what lies far beyond, without representing the former as the true or highest end."—*Inspiration of Holy Scripture*, pp. 152—7, 2nd Ed.

And in conformity with this, Dr. Williams truly wrote in his earlier work, respecting the double sense of Messianic Prophecy :

"The proper position of the Christian divine is, not that the Jewish interpretation of their own prophecies is untrue, but that it is *inadequate*. *As far as it goes*, it is right ; but if this be *all*, then has their faith failed them. There is only One King of their race, Who is even now ruling over many nations . . . There has been only One Child born of a Virgin, Who has delivered mankind . . . as to be emphatically and properly God with us. There is only One, and He too a Priest, both smitten through the iniquity of the people ; and yet, through whose stripes His very smiters are healed. Nor, once more, is there any other save One, of Whom indeed Israel, as God's First-born, was no mean type ; Who had been taken in some emphatical sense out of His Mother's womb ; Who had also been called out of Egypt ; but Who was reduced in agony, too awful to be traced, to exclaim from the Tree, 'My God, My God, why hast Thou forsaken Me?' "—*Rational Godliness*, Pp. 169—70.

But now Dr. Williams has advanced beyond all this. He now appears to deem the "Jewish interpretation of their own prophecies" not only '*true*,' but '*adequate*.' He now appears to deny any real ulterior reference of the Prophecies to the MESSIAH altogether. True, he writes, there still exists "*one* passage perhaps in Zechariah,

and one in Isaiah *capable of being made* directly Messianic." "But even these cases," he adds, "tend to melt, if they are not already melted, in the crucible of searching inquiry."<sup>1</sup>

This, then, is the result to which Dr. Williams wishes to conduct us all, and to which he has brought himself; to deny the very existence of any prophetic (in the sense of predictive) statement in Holy Scripture. It is 'predication,' not 'prediction.' Prophecy is in fact simply religious history, and its phenomena are dependent (for this appears to be the *rationale* of his theory) upon the fact of the ever-recurrent unity of the Divine dealings with man. God's Providence loves to repeat itself. Hence the events of one period are foreshadows, and as it were 'fore speakers' of the events of other and after periods. The Prophets were religious and thoughtful men, who acutely observing the signs of their own times, and reverently tracing out the order of the Divine Government therein exhibited, accustomed themselves to 'read the ideal in the actual,' or more correctly, to infer the abstract and real from the concrete and phenomenal; and thus learnt certain of the "abiding thoughts of God," and of the fixed principles of His providential administration. These men, like our modern poets or historians, were oftentimes led to record, by the light of the sacred knowledge thus acquired, the facts of their own day—facts which, as outward utterances in the world of sense, of realities deep in the Divine mind, were destined ever and anon, under fresh conditions, to repeat themselves.

When the Providential Cycles came round again, and the same dramas were re-enacted under changed circumstances,—in other words, when the Divine 'thoughts' which had exhibited and embodied themselves in the events of the Prophets' own times had shaped for themselves parallel expressions in the characters and movements of later periods,—these poet-historians who had left in their mystic records mirrors of the future, would naturally come to be regarded as actual *foreseers* of what was to ensue, and as possessors of some peculiar and specific and supernatural faculty denied to the rest of mankind.

Now that this theory has a plausible look, and contains also important elements of Truth, few will deny; its only fault is that when any attempt is made to *apply* it, it shows itself to be absolutely and hopelessly fallacious and insufficient.

So long, however, as it presents itself, claiming to be founded, by an honest process of induction, upon the *facts* of Scripture Prophecy, and to be offered in sincerity as a possible means of accounting for those facts, so long we gladly give it a respectful hearing. But when it reveals itself in its true light, as framed independently and in *defiance* of the notorious facts of the case, and urged with the simple end of supporting the foregone conclu-

<sup>1</sup> Essays and Reviews, pp. 69, 70.

sion that there is no *supernatural* element in the Bible, and as a mere expedient for accounting for the otherwise unaccountable phenomena of Prophecy, by divesting them of their apparently supernatural character, why then we treat it for what it is worth, and deal with it accordingly.

When we are urged to believe that the Prophecies of the ancient Seers had no predictive element about them, and were uttered by the exercise of their natural powers, and that there are only *two* of them at most "*perhaps capable of being made* directly Messianic;" we simply recall the explicit statements of our Blessed LORD and of His holy Apostles on the subject, and the confirmatory verdict of Holy Church testifying 'throughout the world' that it was the 'HOLY GHOST' Who 'spake by the Prophets;' we simply bethink us of the reiterated assurances of Holy Scripture itself,<sup>1</sup> that it was "the Spirit of CHRIST" which testified *in* and *through* the Prophets, (1 S. Pet. i. 11,) that it was "God Who made heaven and earth and all things therein," Who "spake by the mouth of His servant David," (Acts iv. 24, 25,) that "the HOLY GHOST spake beforehand through the mouth of David," (ib. i. 16,) that "God spake of the mighty salvation" to be brought about in the house of David "by the mouth of His holy Prophets since the world began," (S. Luke i. 68, 70,) that "holy men of God spake as they were moved by the HOLY GHOST" (2 S. Pet. i. 21,) that Moses "wrote of CHRIST," (S. John v. 46,) that the distinguishing characteristic of all Prophetic Scripture is to "testify of CHRIST," (S. John v. 39; Rev. xix. 10; S. Luke xxiv. 44,) that "the HOLY GHOST spake through Esaias the Prophet," (Acts xxviii. 25,) that "God by the mouth of all His Prophets foretold the sufferings of CHRIST," (Acts iii. 18;) that so little was the peculiar prophetic impulse under which the ancient Seers spoke, the result of any activity of mere *natural* powers, that the import of their own utterances was often veiled even from themselves, insomuch that they "searched diligently" to penetrate the meaning of that "Word of God" with which they felt themselves charged, (1 S. Pet. i. 11); and that even after the fulfilment of many of their predictions, it still needed that the Divine Logos should "open the understanding" of His people to enable them to discern all that was written "in Moses and the Prophets, and in all the Scriptures concerning *Himself*," (S. Luke xxiv. 25—32, 44—46.) We bethink ourselves, we repeat, of these and a hundred kindred declarations of Holy Writ, and we throw the infidel suggestions to the winds.

The question of the interpretation of Scripture Prophecy in fact, simply resolves itself into this:—To which are we to give credence, the solemn asseverations of our Blessed LORD Himself and His Holy Apostles and Evangelists, or the cold Sadducean specula-

<sup>1</sup> Vid. Burgon, pp. 56, 57.



tions of a few modern doubters of the Williams and the Jowett stamp—men who are little by little parting with those moral and spiritual qualifications through which alone they can by any possibility understand the Sacred Oracles ?

For, most providentially, on this important subject of Sacred Interpretation, the Bible itself is peculiarly explicit and communicative.

Are we assured, for instance, by the writers above-mentioned, that Holy Scripture is “to be interpreted like any other Book ;” that its words have only one meaning, viz., that which first “struck on the ears or flashed before the eyes of those” who originally heard or read them : we can only remember that the Bible declares itself to be essentially unlike any other Book, to admit of modes of interpretation of which no other book is, or can be, susceptible, and to possess a manifoldness and profundity of significance to which no other writing in the world has ever presumed to lay claim.<sup>1</sup>

Are we encouraged to treat Scripture lightly, with a half-contemptuous, half-patronizing indifference ; to regard it not as our “master” but as our “servant ;”<sup>2</sup>—we can only remember the profound and lowly reverence with which God Incarnate, our Creator, Redeemer, and Judge, ever referred to those Sacred Records ; and His solemn assurances, that the “Scripture *cannot* be broken,” that “Scripture *must* be fulfilled,” that “sooner shall Heaven and earth pass than one tittle of the Law fail.” We bethink us that the three first recorded utterances of the MESSIAH, after His official inauguration, are appeals to Holy Scripture—*γέγραπται, γέγραπται, γέγραπται* (S. Matt. iv. 4, 7, 10)—and that this mysterious threefold appeal is made, not before man, but to the Arch-enemy himself : the whole scene proving, that the power and dignity of Scripture are abundantly recognised even by Devils ; Satan himself not presuming to call in question, before his August Opponent, the paramount and conclusive *authority* of the Written Word, but merely seeking to parry off its deadly thrusts by qualifying counter-quotations.

And does not the first official discourse of our LORD evince the same reverential bearing towards the Old Testament Scripture ? what means the emphatic protest, “I am not come to destroy the Law and the Prophets, but to *fulfil* them.” The New Law promulgated on the Mount of Beatitudes is represented throughout, as the development and completion of the Old Law. The Lawgiver is the

<sup>1</sup> See this inquiry, as to the mode in which Scripture itself interprets Scripture, ably conducted by Mr. Burgon, pp. 144—163.

<sup>2</sup> “Even if Holy Scripture were, as is popularly fancied, the foundation, and not, as I believe, the expression and memorial of religious truth in man, it would be absurd to render it honours essentially different from those which it claims for itself, or to make it a master, where it claims only to be a servant.”—Vide “A letter from Dr. Williams to the Editor of the ‘Christian Examiner.’”

same: but the old "Letter" is by Himself unfolded and expanded, to meet the enlarged receptivity of its new subjects. "It was said to them of old time; but I say to you."

And throughout the whole of our LORD's ministerial Life, is the same respectful regard, the same constant and conclusive appeal, to the Sacred Scriptures exhibited. And not only in His life: for even when the dews of Death were beginning to fall on Him, did He not, even then, manifest the same holy jealousy for their honour? Was it not at that awful time that He vouchsafed to unfold the true meaning of the mysterious 22nd Psalm? And when His Sacred "tongue clave to the roof of His mouth," is it not recorded that the racking *thirst* which consumed His parched frame was, in order "that the Scriptures of the Prophets might be fulfilled?"

The melancholy effrontery with which Dr. Williams affects to ignore the Prophetic reference to our LORD in the 53rd chap. of Isaiah, is deserving of earnest reprobation; and affords a fair and sad evidence (if any were wanting) of the spirit in which his "Essay" has been conceived and written.

Did that touching scene in the "way going down from Jerusalem to Gaza," never flash across him, as he penned those miserable lines:—the devout eunuch bending in reverent contemplation over that very chapter? "The place of the Scripture which he read was this: '*He was led as a sheep to the slaughter; and like a lamb dumb before its shearers, so He opened not His mouth.*' . . . And the Eunuch answered Philip and said, I pray thee, of whom speaketh the Prophet this, of himself, or of some other man? Then Philip opened his mouth, and began at the same Scripture, and preached to him *Jesus*."

Did it never pass through his mind—we say not that Apostles and Evangelists only, again and again, apply this Prophecy to their LORD, but—that the Redeemer Himself set His own Divine seal to the truth of their interpretation; pointing to this sacred chapter, as the time of its accomplishment drew on; affirming that its mysterious announcement, "He was numbered with the transgressors," *must needs* be accomplished in Himself (S. Luke xxii. 37);—a statement which S. Mark further explains in these words: "With Him they crucify two thieves: and the Scripture was *fulfilled*, 'He was numbered with the transgressors?'"

Was it, we ask, in careless forgetfulness, or wanton contempt, of these inspired comments on this memorable Prophecy, that Dr. Williams coldly asserts that "if any single person should be selected" as the subject of the Prophecy, Bunsen's arguments "*prove* that Jeremiah should be the one!"<sup>1</sup> In other words, the four Holy Evangelists, S. Philip, S. Paul, S. Peter, the Holy Universal Church, and our Blessed LORD Himself have all miscon-

<sup>1</sup> "Essays and Reviews," p. 73.

ceived and misinterpreted this celebrated prediction, and must meekly submit to be set right by the searching criticism of Chevalier Bunsen and Dr. Rowland Williams !

The fact of Jeremiah, as in some peculiar way the Prophet "acquainted with grief," having realised in his personal experience, many foretastes of the afflictions which were yet to be accomplished in the Divine "Man of Sorrows," is not for a moment questioned. On which of God's faithful servants has not the awful Shadow of the Cross fallen ? But this is no justification of Dr. Williams' heartless attempt. His ill-concealed endeavour is, not to show how Jeremiah was a striking *type* of his Redeemer ; but to *dissociate* the Prophecy from the suffering Son of Man ; to represent *that* as an erroneous and uncritical interpretation which regards *Him* as the great Subject of it—the one *true* fulfilment, of which all others, before or since, were but feeble shadows,—and to apply the inspired predictions to *another*, independently of, and in place of Him.

But the whole animus of this, and all other of Dr. Williams' sceptical suggestions is so obvious, as to render his Essay utterly unworthy the serious thought of any devout Christian.

In drawing, as our space warns us to do, these cursory remarks to a close, we are bound to repeat that on almost all points bearing upon the present controversies respecting the inspiration and interpretation of Holy Scripture, we have found Mr. Burgon's volume very complete and satisfactory. Had his manner been as unexceptionable as his matter,<sup>1</sup> his book, though unsystematic and fragmentary, would on these points have left little to be desired.

In meditating upon the mysteries of the Bible, its apparent simplicity and want of method and design, together with other of the many difficulties which beset it, arising out of the ever varying conditions (the "sundry times and divers manners") of the complex and multiform human medium through which God has been pleased to speak to man ; we should ever remember that the very same *class* of difficulties clustered round the Form of the Divine Redeemer Himself when tabernacling on earth.

As Mr. Burgon truly reminds us, (p. cl.) The Written Word stands out amongst books, as the Incarnate Word stood out amongst men. The one mystery explains the other.

Thus the very moral qualifications which were necessary to prepare men to recognize under the veil of flesh the true Divinity of the One, are still needed to enable them to perceive the Divinity of the other. The mysterious majesty and glory of each are concealed from the "wise and prudent," and revealed to "babes." Intellectual subtlety, critical and scientific sagacity are just as worthless to aid or engender faith in the one as in the other. So

<sup>1</sup> We must remonstrate, however, against a flippant and needlessly objectionable remark of his on the subject of the Apocrypha, p. 76.

little, in fact, are they courted by either, that they are rather defied and set at nought. A lowly, teachable, inquiring, loving, confiding spirit—this is all that is needed; to this the wisdom and knowledge of God will ever unlock their treasures. Mysteries are revealed to the meek, and *only* to the meek. “The hungry are filled with good things, the rich sent empty away.” He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.”

The Written and the Incarnate WORD are alike “despised and rejected of men.” The world is equally offended at God manifesting Himself to man in the lowly Carpenter of Nazareth, and God speaking to man, and teaching him, in the homely, human, historical details of the Bible. But the world shall be constrained to own its folly one day.

“As He whom the Evangelist saw riding in the Heavenly pomp on high, was the same who rode into Jerusalem;—in humiliation here, in glory there—here veiled, there in brightness unveiled;”—so may we “regard that Sacred Volume which the poor cottager knows as the Word of God, as placed under the same dispensation, as veiled here, reserved for *Revelation* hereafter” . . . . “In this world (to conclude with the words of the thoughtful writer<sup>1</sup> already quoted)

“We are using sounds which mean more than we know. In our Churches we are in the highest sense singing the songs of Sion, of the future and Heavenly Sion. If Saints in Heaven shall sing (as we are told they shall) the Song of Moses, then the Song of Moses is already a Song of Heaven: only, *there* we shall know its meaning, or more of it than now we do. And the use which I make of the reflection is, to suggest the frame of mind in which we should approach the consideration of the Sacred Page, such a frame of mind as that no future revelations of the import of that page shall have power to reproach us as having dishonoured it by our interpretations here, and having betrayed an inadequate feeling of what Inspiration was.”

<sup>1</sup> Rev. C. P. Eden, quoted by Mr. Burgon.

## SCOTT'S GLEANINGS FROM WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

*Gleanings from Westminster Abbey.* By GEORGE GILBERT SCOTT, R.A., F.S.A. With Appendices, supplying further particulars, and completing the history of the Abbey Buildings, by W. BURGESS, &c. Oxford and London: J. H. and James Parker. 1861.

IN the old reign of beadledom, when to view a cathedral or collegiate building was an affair of some trouble and involved the outlay of many sixpences, the obliging verger at the gate of Westminster Abbey used to offer for sale to the pilgrims who were induced to make the tour of the edifice a guide book, or historical description of the church and its contents. If in those days there were many eager archæologists, who sought to quench their thirst for information in the above work, they must have been grievously disappointed. A few pages sufficed to acquaint the reader with all that the compiler thought worthy of mention in the history or structure of the Abbey, the rest of the book being occupied with full accounts of the modern monuments which disfigure the area of the church, and which have turned one of the noblest interiors in England into a statuary's showyard. Of a widely different order is the work at the head of this article. Originating at a meeting of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society, held about this time last year in the precincts of the Abbey, when certain papers were read upon the church and the buildings connected therewith, the present book contains not only the lectures then delivered, but likewise some valuable additions from the pens of the Rev. T. W. Weare and others, which, herein collected, form an interesting monograph of the Abbey and its dependencies. The architectural history of the church is contributed by Mr. G. G. Scott, whose name is of itself a guarantee for painstaking research and accurate analysis of details. Mr. Corner and the Revs. T. Hugo, and Mackenzie Walcott, have supplied trustworthy information concerning the adjacent buildings, bringing their history down to modern times; and the fabric roll of 1250, lately discovered in the Public Record Office, together with other building accounts, supplies very curious and useful information touching a variety of points in constructive art, nomenclature, and expenses. The work is enriched with plans and engravings, which add considerably to its value and beauty.

It is not our province to enter deeply into the architectural details of this noble building; but a brief sketch of its history may prove acceptable. The Abbey Church of Westminster dates in one sense from the time of King Offa in the eighth century, as there

is sufficient proof of the existence of such an erection upon Thorney Island at that time. Whether, as has been supposed, this edifice stood upon the ruins of a pagan temple, is a question which admits of no certain solution. Sir Christopher Wren in the examination which he made of the Abbey, found nothing to countenance the above presumption. On the other hand, fragments of Roman tiles discovered in the walls of the Refectory,<sup>1</sup> (avowedly the work of Edward the Confessor,) seem to indicate that such materials had been used in the earlier structure, themselves of course obtained from some building of the Roman era. However this may be, we are on sure ground when we fix the rebuilding of the Church and the refounding of the Abbey in the time of Edward the Confessor. The "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" relates how this monarch came to Westminster at Christmas of the year 1065, and there "on Childermas-day caused to be consecrated the minster which himself had builded to the glory of God, and of S. Peter, and of all God's saints." The good king, however, did not live to worship within the hallowed courts which his piety had raised, as he was taken to his reward on the Twelfth Day Eve next ensuing, and his body was laid to rest in the church on the following evening. The church thus founded seems to have been in its elementary scale almost of the same ample dimensions as the present building. Having lived so long in Normandy, the Confessor was not content with the insignificant dimensions of a Saxon fane. The Norman type, doubtless, appeared to him to be a worthier form of temple, and on this scale he planned his work. We shall look in vain for any portion of this early Norman building in the present nave or choir. Remains do exist, but they are exterior to the church. They "consist of the substructure of the dormitory, forming a long range of building running southward from, and in a line with, the south transept, and pass under the library and the great school room, which now occupy the position of the ancient dormitory."<sup>2</sup> Besides the above remains, other specimens are found in the east cloister, in the chapel of the Pyx now in possession of the Government, and once used as a Record Office, and in the walls of Westminster school. A noble range of buildings must that have been which the Normans reared around the Abbey church, and numerous must have been the confraternity of Benedictine monks which were there assembled to maintain the worship of God, and the cultivation of sound learning. It seems to be a fitting substitution, that, when these brethren passed away, their place should be occupied by a great and wealthy seminary, where the youths of this same England might be trained up intellectually and religiously. The chapel of the Pyx is historically famous for an extensive robbery which took place in the reign of Edward I. That king had laid up here, as a reserve for his Scotch wars, an

<sup>1</sup> Page 71.<sup>2</sup> Page 3.

amount of coin, plate, and jewels equal to £100,000. While he was on his way to the north, in the spring of 1303, the treasury was broken into, and its contents carried off by the Sacrist of Westminster, and the Keeper of the Palace, assisted by others their dependents. A tolerably complete account of this crime is given in an appendix, contributed by Mr. Burt, Assistant Keeper of the Public Records.

The Abbey continued in the state in which it was left by the Confessor till the following century, when it was enlarged by the addition of the Chapel of S. Catherine, which adjoined the infirmary. The Mediæval arrangement which connected these two buildings together is thus mentioned.

"The usual form of infirmary of a monastery was very similar to that of a church, with this simple difference, that the quasi-nave was very long, and was divided at about one-third of its length from the east by a cross wall perforated only by a central doorway; the western portion forming the infirmary proper, the eastern portion being the nave of the chapel, and a chancel extending still to the eastward. This arrangement allowed the sick monks to hear the services as they lay in their beds, while the convalescent could readily transfer themselves to the chapel."—P. 2.

We now arrive at the existing building, of which Mr. Scott says very truthfully, that it does not

"owe its claims upon *our* study to its antiquarian and historical associations, intensely interesting though these must be to every man worthy of the name of an Englishman. It has claims upon us architects, I will not say of a *higher* but of *another* character, on the ground of its intrinsic and superlative merits as a work of art of the highest and noblest order; for though it is by no means pre-eminent in general scale, in height, or in richness of sculpture, there are few churches in this or any other country having the same exquisite charms of proportion and artistic beauty which this church possesses; a beauty which never tires, and which impresses itself afresh upon the eye and the mind however frequently you view it, and however glorious the edifices which, during the intervals, you may have seen; and, I may add, which rides so triumphantly over the dishonour which, under the name, for the most part falsely assumed, of *high art* more modern ages have ruthlessly heaped upon it."—P. 11.

In 1221 Henry III., having demolished a great portion of the existing church, commenced rebuilding it, himself laying the first stone with great pomp. The work thus begun was not completed till 1269, when the choir and apse with its four radiating chapels and lady chapel was finished. Edward I. carried on the building and added the five bays west of the crossing, when for a time the Abbey church remained in its imperfect state. Richard II. however again proceeded with the restoration, and the nave slowly progressed till the dissolution of the monastery, the later work con-

tinuing the design of the earlier portion, and the west window not being erected till Henry VII.'s time. To this last monarch we owe the magnificent lady chapel known by his name, and which is acknowledged to be the richest specimen to be found of the Tudor style, and of that remarkable and very English form of vaulting called "fan tracery vaulting."<sup>1</sup> Since that time until the present moment the building has remained untouched, except that in the commencement of the last century the exterior, being found to be greatly decayed, was re-cased almost throughout with Oxfordshire stone under the superintendence of Sir Christopher Wren and his successors and the two towers added. It may well be imagined that the details then dealt with were not left unaltered. Indeed, so roughly were they handled that in many portions no trace of the original can be discovered.

One of the most interesting apartments connected with the Abbey is the Jerusalem Chamber, now used for the meetings of Convocation, for which however it is ill suited in many respects. It was built by Abbot Litlington, who succeeded Cardinal Langham in his presidency of the Abbey, and by the aid of a large sum of money bequeathed by his predecessor, carried out some most extensive works. The present Deanery forms only a portion of the original Abbot's house, which included also the scholars' hall and kitchen, and the Jerusalem Chamber. This chamber appears to have been either a withdrawing-room to the Abbot's hall, or a room for the reception of the guests who claimed the Superior's hospitality. The peculiar name affixed to it arose probably from the circumstance that the walls were once painted with scenes from the Gospel narrative, with which also the glass in the windows was made to harmonize by being composed of subjects derived from the same source. The room is of moderate dimensions, being only thirty-six feet long and eighteen wide, and is therefore wholly inadequate to the purpose for which it is used. It was in Queen Elizabeth's time that the Jerusalem Chamber was appointed for the meetings of Convocation, though the clergy seem to have been unwilling to confine themselves within such narrow bounds, and often assembled in Henry VII.'s Chapel. It may well be questioned whether the too easy and conversational style of debate which prevails in Convocation may not be attributed in some degree to the absence of magnitude and imposing details in the place of meeting. Accessories have a marked influence even on practised orators, and the House of Commons elicits a different phase of oratory from what would arise even in the most formal meeting in a parlour or withdrawing-room. And these outward matters tell with additional force upon the clerical representatives whose exercise in secular rhetoric has been gained on the platform of a country town or in their own vestries. A more fitting house of

<sup>1</sup> Appendix I.



assembly for the clergy, as one of the three estates of the kingdom, has become an absolute necessity, if Convocation is ever to be any thing else but a talking club, and is to develop itself into a working and moving power.

To carry on the thoughts which a study of these "gleanings" suggest would be a melancholy and, in some respects, an unprofitable reverie. To mourn over barbarized details, debased windows, hacked mouldings, despoiled shrines, defaced monuments, is the task of the antiquarian who loves the past for itself, and has no interest in making the past minister to the advantage of the present day. Were we in such a temper, there is material enough for a long lamentation in the existing condition of S. Peter's, Westminster. But there are sterner duties before us in this nineteenth century. Years of neglect and misrule have to be atoned for; and if, in the work thus set before us, we have to witness many disheartening circumstances, and to endure many disappointments; if our Cathedrals be shorn of many of their beauties, and our services denuded of their solemn, typical ritual; we may well take these things as parts of a righteous retribution, which forces us to look our present condition in the face, and to realise that stern and uncompromising labour must be undergone before the Church in England may again put on her beautiful garments. Something certainly has been effected in the revived use of the naves of our Abbey and Cathedral Churches. It is a gain to see four thousand people collected from all classes of society to worship God beneath the dome of S. Paul's. It is a gain to find the Choral type of service (even in its modern, imperfect form) appreciated. It is a gain to find that we have great preachers still, and that men in this indevout, worldly age, can be stirred in the very depths of their soul by the eloquence of the pulpit. But we want more than this. Special efforts beseech special seasons. Advent and Lent demand all our exertions to awaken sinners to repentance. And worthy of the occasion have been many of the addresses delivered from the pulpits of our great churches. Yet it is to be apprehended that the effect of these services and sermons has been insignificant. They have, as far as is known, caused few conversions, have brought few fresh communicants to the Table of the Lord. They have failed because not followed up. The aroused conscience had nowhere to turn itself for help: it heard, and felt, and was moved. A great sorrow fell upon it, and it would gladly have laid its burden down and found rest; but it could only say, "I had no place to flee unto, and no man cared for my soul." And the man went forth, disquieted but hopeless; and the great world once more wooed him to itself, and his pangs and remorse grew less keen; and in a short time all was forgotten, and he won a false peace in forgetfulness. Surely it would not be impossible to use these occasions to some better purpose. If the preacher could point out to

the sinner the great benefit of Confession and spiritual direction, and persuade him to use these means of grace, real conversions would attest the benefit of "preaching to the million." Those many chapels, which do not suit the unity of our worship, might be made to subserve higher purposes than to record the virtues of those who too often, when living, were aliens from the Church or profane persons. Why should our modern notions revolt from placing in some of these, on the occasions of the great assemblages mentioned above, some discreet and practised Priests, to whom awakened sinners might fly for consolation and advice? Such an attempt, inaugurated in such public and conspicuous buildings as Westminster Abbey or S. Paul's, would soon obtain the favourable consideration of all thinking people, and win acceptance through the length and breadth of the land.

Again, there is another point to which such magnificent Churches as these, with their large musical staff and the clerical body attached to them, might well compel attention. The common notion of divine service that it is especially intended for man's edification is one which Cathedrals are reared to repudiate. *Ad maiorem Dei gloriam* is the primary object of their foundation. The daily offering of prayer and praise is a type of the eternal worship of heaven. In the great centres of religion on earth an example of this worship ought to be set to the rest of the land. The daily singing of matins and evensong is but a poor substitute for the devout design which the pious founders of our Cathedrals framed to themselves, and in its highest form, with all the accessories which modern use admits, can never be a sufficient offering at the hands of a collegiate body. The daily Eucharist is the one thing required. Till this is the normal worship of our Abbeys and Cathedrals, they are false to their foundation, and neglectful of that which is at once their noblest duty and their highest privilege. It is theirs, too, to propose a worthy model of solemn or high celebration, when the Altar shall be properly vested, the tapers lighted, the vessels duly placed; when the celebrant and his assistant priests shall be clad in the garments appointed for the service, and the simple monotone shall give way to the more varied accents of the Church's song, when a reverent crowd of worshippers shall throng the open nave, and the choir be filled with ecclesiastics and lay-clerks, and such as will shall communicate freely, while others remain to adore; this is the example which it behoves Westminster, and such like establishments, to afford; and till they do so, they cannot be performing their purpose, and cannot expect a full blessing upon their labours.

We believe that everything which directs attention to these noble structures is helping to hasten on that end.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

*Sophron and Neologus ; or Common Sense Philosophy.* By the Rev. W. GRESLEY, M.A. London : J. Masters.

THIS unpretending volume will be very useful in supplying hints to thoughtful minds respecting the manner in which they ought to meet the great controversy of the day. Its miscellaneous character allows of a great variety in the manner of handling the subjects. Mr. Gresley's great practical common sense pervades it all. The papers are short, each well directed to its own mark. Sometimes one special error is attacked, sometimes one pervading fault which taints the whole school of modern scepticism. The interchange of pleasantry and solid argument will make the book acceptable to many readers. Philosophical as is the cant of the modern sceptics, these writings cannot be said to have originated or revived any philosophy. They do not therefore merit a really philosophical answer. They need rather to have their assumption of philosophy exposed. This is what Mr. Gresley has done with great tact. We cannot but feel that their power has been greatly exaggerated by the endeavour upon the part of many to meet them as if philosophers. It is painful to think of Oxford and Cambridge becoming schools of sophists. People like to think that those who are high in station must be philosophers : else the times seem to be disgraced. But we must realize the fact that however authenticated by official position, and accumulated learning and shrewdness and amiability, the leaders of the modern scepticism are merely rhetorical sciolists after all. The great element which is wanting in their character is that patient humility which made men who have been before them both philosophers and believers. The want of substantial power in the present attack upon Christianity must lead to its own speedy downfall. Unhappily things most unsubstantial, although perishing themselves, decay into more fetid abominations. It is most probable that when the shallowness of the present sceptical writers is seen through, a more decided love of ungodliness will take possession of men's minds. This makes it important that the Church should expose the shallowness, and not leave it to be found out by disgusted followers when it will be too late for them to think of anything but something worse. We are too apt to be kept back by courtesy and false notions of etiquette from speaking plainly about persons. Dignity often stumbles in attempting to refute a fallacy. Fallacies are generally not in the terms of an argument but in the atmosphere beclouded with insinuations which encompasses the argument. Controversialists often try to dig away the shadows which those fleeting clouds cast upon the ground as if they were substances capable of being removed from the surface.

It is difficult to know what passage to select for quotation from a little volume of such varied materials as this of Mr. Gresley's. We

will take one of the graver passages, "upon the *interpretation* of Scripture."

"Another rule of Mr. Jowett's is a very good one, as far as it goes, i.e., 'to interpret Scripture by itself.' The comparison of Scripture with Scripture must be one of the most efficacious helps in understanding its true meaning. But the value of the rule is somewhat lessened by what follows. 'The meaning of the canon, *Non nisi ex Scripturâ Scripturam potes interpretari*' is only this (he says), that we cannot understand Scripture without being familiar with it. Scripture is a world in itself, from which we must exclude foreign influences. To get inside that world is an effort of thought and imagination, requiring the sense of a poet as well as a critic, demanding much more than learning—a degree of original power and intensity of mind. Here there seems something wrong in Mr. Jowett's argument, because it at once excludes from 'the inside of the world of Holy Scripture' ninety-nine out of every hundred persons, or a great many more; and yet, surely the poorest and most unlettered man may get 'within the world of Scripture' and live within it, and be saved by its truth.

"How is this difficulty to be explained?

"The difficulty is one of Mr. Jowett's own creation, as we shall see by following out his statement. He reverts to the same rule in winding up his argument, but with an important qualification. 'Of what has been said,' he concludes, 'this is the sum—that Scripture, like other books, has one meaning, which is to be gathered from itself, *without reference to the adaptation of Fathers and Divines.*' Now, in these last words is the fallacy. If, by the 'adaptation' of Fathers and Divines, Mr. Jowett means the mystical interpretation or private fancies of any man or set of men, he is right. But if he means, as he certainly does, that the testimony of Fathers and Divines, the concurrent voice of the Church, from the time of the Apostles downwards, is not to be taken into account in our interpretation of Holy Scripture, then he is cutting himself off from the most important means of ascertaining its real meaning.

"He insists that Scripture has one meaning—'the meaning that it had in the mind of the Prophet or Evangelist who first uttered or wrote it to the hearers or readers who first received it.' Yet what greater help could he have to know for certain the meaning of the Evangelist's or Apostle's words, than the testimony of the Fathers and Divines to whom they were spoken? What more important testimony to the teaching of CHRIST than the way in which the Apostles understood His teaching, even apart from their inspiration? What more valuable help to understand the language of the Apostles than the way in which it was understood by those who lived with them or came immediately after them? Nor is it to words only, but to deeds that we may appeal. For instance, what more positive evidence of the mode in which the Apostles constituted the Church than the universal establishment of the three orders of the ministry, which we find in the earliest ages? What more valuable help to understand the Scriptural doctrine of the Sacraments than the ancient Liturgies? Even the testimony of the Divines and Fathers of the Church, as late as the Council of Nicæa, is of the very greatest importance to those who desire to know the real teaching of the Holy Scriptures, in spite of Mr. Jowett's strange assertion that their decision may have been the greatest misfortune which ever happened to the Church; for it is well known that the decision of the Bishops at that Council was made, not simply according to their own private interpretation of Scripture, but in consequence of the testimony which had come down to them from Apostolic times in all parts of Christendom—that our LORD was to be revered as GOD."—Pp. 263—266.

This appeal to the teaching of the Church, a tradition not supplementary to Holy Scripture as if Scripture were imperfect, but embodied in Holy Scripture, and explanatory of Holy Scripture, (for it tells us, 1st, what is Holy Scripture, and 2nd, how Holy Scripture has ministered to the sanctification and edification of past ages,) is most important. The present attack upon dogma is the natural consequence of the separation of Holy Scripture, as the Record of the Faith, from the Church by which it gained vitality as a Divine Instrument, for the Church is the pillar and ground of the Truth, the witness of the Truth, witnessing both what is Scripture and what Scripture means. If we look upon Holy Scripture as a book fallen straight from Heaven into everybody's hands, we reduce it to the level of any other anonymous publication. It may set forth great claims. Those claims must be subjected to the "verifying faculty" of each individual. God gives us His written Word by the intervention of a great living Institution, whose very existence upon the earth, having grown from the slender twelvefold origin by which it issued from the Branch of Nazareth, and the Root of David, is itself to all ages a standing miracle. It is only while we recognize the true position of the Bible that we can acknowledge its true character. Those who first denied the authority of the Church in matters of faith prepared the way for those who deny the authority of the Bible in matters of faith. The Bible is the Book of the Church, and those who try to regard it as the Book of God independently of the Church may be happy in their inconsistency, but will sooner or later find out the unhappiness to which such inconsistency must lead. Though the Church of modern times has not power to add to the Word of God, the Church of ancient times decided what was the Word of God. We can only decide upon the Canonicity of any part of Holy Scripture, by investigating the decision of the great Branches of the Early Church. The same authority which determines the substance, determines also the value, of Holy Scripture. Its inspired character, and the meaning and extent of inspiration we can only know by the decision of the various Branches of the Early Church. If we need in later days more accuracy in some particulars than was needed by the primitive Christians who knew more perfectly all that belonged to the faith with a very much more imperfect knowledge of Holy Scripture, we may gain that by the facilities which we possess, for collecting those testimonies from various parts of which only one was accessible to those Christians. Thus we have the cumulative tradition both as to the substance and the inspiration of Holy Scripture, freed from those local prejudices which blunted and warped the tradition of individual Branches of the Early Church upon each of these points. And so, with reference to the meaning of Holy Scripture, we have the same tradition for our guide. It is a matter of certainty that we cannot reasonably believe in the Inspiration of Holy Scripture unless we do so upon the authority of the Church, looking to the Church also to tell us what is Scripture and what Scripture means. The "verifying faculty" by which our modern controversialists with little show of reverence cast Scripture aside is the same faculty come to years of discretion, which in the more pious moments of its earlier development claimed for itself the right to determine independently of the Church what Scripture ought to mean. Mr. Macnaught's

secession is only the natural sequence to Mr. Baptist Noel's. Both of them are but the natural result of the horror of Church Authority and the love of private judgment which the Evangelical School allowed to be mingled with their firm devotion to many parts of the ancient faith. For a long time no practical consequences followed from the tampering with dissent upon the part of many pious clergymen. But the verifying faculty was gradually growing up. It could not at last but show itself in its true character, *ἔθως τὸ πρόσθε τοκήων*. The harmless and beautiful snake at length declared its origin in full-grown unbelief as the venomous beast of lawlessness, the monster of the latter days. Let those who fain would nurse it a little longer take heed that they perish not by its bite.

The withdrawal from the Ministry by Mr. MACNAUGHT, in whose Church Mr. Wilson preached the Sermons reviewed in our last Number, taken in connection with the reasons assigned for that step in his published *Letter*, is an event not to be passed over without notice. There are two views which we have sought especially to impress on English Churchmen in connection with the new development of infidelity amongst us, which the letter of Mr. Macnaught remarkably confirms. The first is, that the Evangelical Clergy have only themselves to thank for this result. It is they who have taught persons not to believe all that the Church teaches. And secondly, it follows that, if infidelity is to be put down it must be by substituting for it the whole Catholic Faith, as taught by the Church to which they belong. It seems a really small matter that when with them the authors of *Essays and Reviews* have rejected the Athanasian Creed and the Doctrines of Regeneration and Absolution, they should add to their index expurgatorius one other doctrine. There is really no more mentioned in Mr. Macnaught's *Letter*.

*The Stokesley Secret*, by the author of the "Heir of Redelyffe," (London: Mozley,) will charm the young people for whom it is written, and interest readers of riper years in no small degree by the vivid delineation of character. Miss Yonge altogether avoids the common error of representing the stereotyped good and bad children to whom joys and sorrows are measured out in exact proportion to their virtues or vices. The characters are real flesh and blood children, exhibiting the same mixed motives and startling contrasts of good and evil which are apt to be found in their elders, and meeting with the manifold vicissitudes which are common to the lot of mortals. She narrowly escapes however, depicting one faultless character in the young governess, and we question whether the authoress intends the error which prevents this portrait from being too unreal to be actually considered as such. We allude to the governess's suspicions of thefts by a servant openly expressed to another before she had taken any measures to ascertain the truth which ultimately proved her to have been unjust. However, it is a really interesting story, showing more of the author's peculiar talent than many of her larger works have done.

*The Report of the Oxford and Cambridge Mission to Central Africa*, "to the 31st of December, 1860," is rather late in appearing. We gladly, however, chronicle its publication.

*The Two School Friends ; a Tale for Young Servants*, (Mozley,) is an excellent little work, pointing out clearly and forcibly the trials and temptations of a servant's life, with admirable advice on the necessity of good principles, even in trifling matters. We could have wished, however, that more had been said of those needful means of grace which alone can enable either high or low to perform the duties of their state in life.

The title of the Bishop of OXFORD's admirable Sermon, preached at Hurstpierpoint, *Cast in meal ; or the poison rendered harmless* (Masters) shows plainly the view which he takes of that noble institution. We hope the Sermon may be widely circulated.

*Flowers of the Churchyard* (Mozley) professes to be "a Translation," and has all the appearance from its exceeding fancifulness of having been borrowed from the German. The Passion Flower, the Ivy, and the Heath, are supposed to be transplanted into the Church-yard, and then tell the tale of their antecedent history in a manner that partakes not a little of sentimentalism. The tale of the Ivy is the best and contains a really good moral.

*Sermons* by the Rev. C. WELLINGTON FURSE (J. H. Parker), have been composed with great care, and show very considerable literary ability. Doctrinally also they reach a high level. The sixth sermon on "The Presence of CHRIST Incarnate in heaven" touches a neglected doctrine with great skill.

Two excellent Sermons preached by the Bishop of OXFORD and Mr. LIDDON, on the opening of the Chapel of S. Mary's Home, at Wantage, have been published by Mr. Parker. There is also a short Preface on Sisterhoods, by Mr. Butler, which rather seems to us to put the life of a Sister of Charity on too low a footing.

We have before us the first number of a series of *Tracts for the Thoughtful* (Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.) It might not be easy to define exactly what the views of the writer are—but it is an appeal to Christians to give up their divisions, and to unite together—it can only be on the platform of the Church of England ; and it is interesting to know that the series has resulted from, and takes its occasion from, the present disturbance in the theological atmosphere. The introductory number is written with a good deal of common sense and ability, and is calculated to do good amongst that large class of persons who act rather from feeling than from conviction.

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## THE CODEX ALEXANDRINUS.

*Codex Alexandrinus. H KAINH ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. Novum Testamentum Græce ex Antiquissimo Codice Alexandrino a G. C. Woide olim descriptum: ad fidem ipsius Codicis denuo accuratius edidit B. H. COWPER. Londini, venundant Williams et Norgate, et D. Nutt: Edinburgæ, Williams et Norgate. MDCCCLX.*

IN the progress of discovery three epochs seem to be most distinctly marked. We note at the beginning, an empirical simplicity which proceeds from the subject standing alone and unconnected with the collateral branches of knowledge: this forms the first stage. Then afterwards facts are almost indefinitely multiplied, and much extraneous matter is brought to bear upon the subject itself: this complexity and accumulation is a note of the second epoch. Lastly, the primary and secondary facts sink down into a proper order and division; a simple method of arrangement reduces all the knowledge to its relative proportions, and enables all the facts to be brought to bear upon a common point. An examination of three great editions of the New Testament, suggested to us the foregoing remarks, and lend their ample testimony to the truth which they embody. On Jan. 10, A.D. 1514, appeared the sixth volume of Card. Ximenes' Complutensian Polyglot, the first volume in the order of time, and the first text of the Greek Testament which was ever printed. How did the Complutensian editors form their text, and what were the principal manuscripts which they collated? The preface to the volume is merely explanatory of the absence of the accents over the printed Greek characters. The letter of Eusebius Pamphilus follows, with the bare mention of the order of his canons. S. Jerome's prefaces are inserted before the Gospels in the wrong order, through an error of the press. To these succeed two Greek essays: the former upon S. Paul's journeys; the latter, written by Eustathius, treating of the chronology of S. Paul's preaching. S. Jerome's general preface to all S. Paul's Epistles is then added; the special preface written by that Father to the Epistle to the Romans; a notice being prefixed to each Epistle, and the volume concluding with several pieces of poetry in praise of the Polyglot and of Card. Ximenes, and with a short Greek Grammar and Lexicon. There is no account of the ~~text~~ given at all, nor yet of the manuscripts upon which the Editors founded it, and throughout the whole of the New Testament there are only *four* critical remarks, and one or two unimportant exegetical observations. In later times, as the Complutensian MSS. were all burnt (See Ecclesiastic, vol. xxii. p. 310), the use of certain MSS. be-



came a theme for speculation amongst the curious in such matters. The Complutensian Greek Testament represents the *first* epoch of textual criticism. Passing over the five editions of Erasmus, the Paris edition of Colinæus (A.D. 1534), the successive editions of Robert Stephens, which appeared in 1546, 1549, 1551, the Geneva edition of Beza, which was published in 1565, the Elzevir edition of Leyden, that of the London Polyglot (1657), and those of Curcellæus (1658) and of Bishop Fell (1675), we arrive at Dr. Mill's great Oxford edition of 1707, with its 30,000 readings. The elaborate Prolegomena, consisting of one hundred and sixty-eight double-columned closely printed folio pages in Latin, well illustrates the second epoch which we have mentioned. Never were words on a title page more literally fulfilled, for its very perusal indeed would be "by a study and labour" (*studio et labore*), and it seems almost inconceivable how such an enormous mass of matter could be interwoven as we find it was done by Dr. Mill. Nearly fifty years later John James Wetstein published his wonderful edition of the New Testament, and although his Prolegomena is nearly as long as that of Dr. Mill, the materials were fast settling down into shape, and the whole admits of an easy reference under well defined divisions. Professor Tischendorf, in his last and seventh edition of his Greek Testament has so digested his immense mass of collations, and worked them up with such masterly scholarship into his text, that it can be fairly said to all but represent the third and last epoch in this department of knowledge. Not quite so, for another advance will be made, and is already in progress,—such an advance as will render the careful student independent of any one man's constructed text of the New Testament.

The reprint of the *Codex Alexandrinus*, which stands at the head of this notice, is a kind of first-fruits of such a progress. We can confidently look forward to the time, when at a small cost the student will be able to possess well authenticated reprints of all the more important codices of the New Testament, as well as literal and trustworthy translations of all the more important oriental and other versions; so that the evidence for or against any particular reading can be procured at first hand, instead of having to trust as now, to the labours of so many scholars. On this point we may be allowed to speak from experience, and we state without any fear of contradiction, that nothing so much tends to impress the text of the New Testament upon the memory as working out independently for oneself the authorities which support a particular reading. At the best there is something unsatisfactory in reading from a text upon which our own judgment has not been exercised at all; in the pinning of our faith upon Tischendorf, Alford, Lachmann, Wordsworth, or Scrivener. The reprint of the New Testament portion of the *Codex Vaticanus*, when tested by the readings

which are given in Muralt, despite all its numerous short-comings, gives us a better notion of this Codex than we ever had before : while, for reasons to be stated presently, *we believe that the reprint of the Alexandrine and older Codex is entitled to our thorough confidence.* Mr. Scrivener (*Ecclesiastic*, vol. xxi. p. 295) has placed the Codex Augiensis of S. Paul's Epistles within our reach, and we believe that the same pains-taking scholar is about to collate the Codex Bezae. Now by referring to these books, we note, not barely the reading, but the context in which the reading stands, and after a few such trials it is wonderful how soon the force and value of a reading becomes appreciated ; and how a manifestly corrupt reading is rejected almost at first sight. We set then, a very high value indeed upon this reprint of the Codex Alexandrinus, and we say that this one volume will do more to establish a sound and *general* attention to the text of the New Testament than many a good text itself would do, ready fashioned to hand by modern critics. Next year we trust that a companion volume will be added to the series, the reprint of a Codex perhaps the oldest of all, the new treasure acquired by Professor Tischendorf from Mount Sinai.

The Alexandrine Codex, which is known amongst scholars as Codex A, is supposed to be the oldest MS. of the Sacred Canon which is at present extant, unless indeed the Sinaitic Codex shall be able to bear away the palm for a higher antiquity. It contains the Old as well as the New Testament, and *certain other ecclesiastical writings*, of which mention will be made presently. It is an Uncial manuscript, of which G. C. Woide gave to the world a reprint of the New Testament portion in 1786 ; while in 1819 Mr. Baber edited in folio a most magnificent facsimile of the Old Testament portion. Mr. Cowper has done much more than merely prepared a reprint of Woide's collation in a convenient form, he has carefully collated his text with the MS. itself, and so corrected many erroneous readings which were founded upon the mistakes in Woide's transcription. The present is a companion volume to Card. Mai's "*Codex Vaticanus*," which was reprinted by the same publishers last year. Now as this reprint of the Vatican Codex is of comparatively little value for critical purposes, it is a matter of small regret that its omissions were supplied from other sources, so as to complete the text of the New Testament. The case is otherwise with the Codex A. We have every reason to believe that Mr. Cowper's book will become a standard book for critical purposes : we are therefore very sorry indeed that any more of the New Testament text was printed than is contained in Codex A. The book ought to have been a literal reprint of this Codex *alone*, no additions to it having been allowed. It is true that brackets and other distinctive marks separate the actual contents of the Codex from those portions which have been supplied from Kuster's edition of Mill's text ; nevertheless it does seem to us a very great

pity, that the MS. should not have been printed as it is, seeing a common text of the New Testament can always be purchased at very small price, and the persons who would purchase this volume are just those persons who would be sure to possess several other editions of the complete text of the New Testament. We have to thank Mr. Cowper for the most interesting Preface which he has affixed to his volume, and from which we shall for the most part draw our account of the Alexandrine Codex, because he has told us just what we wanted to be told about this manuscript, and left us to consult the pages of Woide himself and those of Wetstein for an elaborate analysis of its internal contents.

In the year 1638, Cyril Lucar, who was at that time Patriarch of Constantinople (having been translated from Alexandria) through Thomas Roe, the English Ambassador, presented this most valuable MS. to King Charles I. In the Royal Library it was numbered as 111 b, but it is now in the possession of the British Museum. Since it has been in England it has been subjected to repeated collations: it is sufficient for us to name amongst those who have made use of its readings such scholars as Patrick Junius, Grotius, Hammond, Walton, Fell, Mill, Grabe, Wetstein, Griesbach, Woide, Scholz, Tischendorf, and Cowper the present editor. Hence all its most important readings have long since become common property, so that Mr. Cowper's collation can be very well verified by a comparison of these known readings with the text which he has given to us. We will now cite a short description of the part of the Codex with which we are more immediately concerned.

"The portion containing the New Testament is a volume measuring somewhat more than ten inches wide and fourteen inches high. The material is thin, fine, and very beautiful vellum; often discoloured at the edges, which have been injured by time, but more by the ignorance or carelessness of the modern binder, who has not always spared the text, especially at the upper inner margin. The manuscript is written in a light and elegant hand in uncial letters. These letters at the end of a line are often very small, and much of the writing is very pale and faint. Each page contains two columns of the text. In the margins to the left hand the Eusebian canons are noted throughout the four Gospels, as well as the larger sections into which these books were anciently divided. Some of the numeral letters and the commencements of the separate books throughout, have been written in red ink, as also are some of the ornamental portions which are due to the fancy of the scribe. These latter are sometimes diversified with other colours. At the commencement of the books no regular rule is followed. . . . At the lower corners of the leaves are the remains of an Arabic numeration; but it is of course far more modern than the text, and is chiefly important, as a proof that the volume has passed through Oriental hands. The text of the manuscript has been repeatedly retouched in ancient and modern times, and probably oftener than we have been able to determine. These corrections are partly by the original scribe, frequently

by apparently two ancient correctors, and in some instances by at least two modern ones. We suspect that a very few alterations have been made since the manuscript came into Europe. . . . Corrections, properly so called, are frequent, and it is not always possible to decide whether they are by the first, second, or third hand. They consist of erasures, alterations, and additions. . . . Since its arrival in this country, the volume has been re-bound, the leaves have been numbered, and the modern chapters have been indicated; these figures are all the work of Patrick Junius. The nature of the work, and the great age of the manuscript, have in many places caused the partial and almost total disappearance of the characters, and they cannot be read without the aid of a lens, and in a strong light. Moreover, the ferruginous matter contained in the ink has produced an infinite number of minute holes in the parchment, giving it the appearance of lace-work, and which occasionally, but not so often as could be expected, adds seriously to the difficulty of the reading. These holes are not in all the leaves, but only in a portion of them, and the vellum is frequently more legible on the one side than on the other. The inscriptions and subscriptions to the respective books, as far as they remain are all ancient, but must be referred to the second hand."—Pref. pp. iii—vi.

Such is Mr. Cowper's account of the general appearance which is presented by the Alexandrine Codex. In another part of his introduction, he tells us that the Old Testament has been much less worn than the New; that many collators have not handled the Codex as tenderly as they ought to have done; that time is gradually acting upon it, rendering now illegible what Woide saw clearly; that minute particles of ink have flown off in an impalpable and imperceptible powder; and lastly, that the value of collations must increase as years flow on, and the original is only to be read with great difficulty and danger.

Still taking Mr. Cowper as our guide, we will note some of the peculiarities of the Codex in detail. First, as to the *Lacuna*. The Codex begins at S. Matt. xxv. 6, with the word ἐξέρχεται, some sixteen or seventeen of the earlier folios being absent. In S. John is missing from chap. vi. to chap. viii. 52. Mr. Cowper having calculated very ingeniously the contents of a page, arrives at the conclusion that the story of the woman taken in adultery was not contained in the lost leaves, "there being just that amount of over-matter." Wetstein, so long ago as 1751, had arrived at the same conclusion, as he says "ut ex numero στίχων qui continebantur in duobus foliis deperditis, instituta cum cæteris foliis aperte colligitur." (vol. i. p. 890.) The verses are wanting in the Vatican and Sinaitic Codex, as also in the Codex Ephræmi. Lachmann boldly omits them from his text. The ancient testimony, both of Scholia and Fathers, is all in favour of this paragraph being an interpolation.

The only other important lacuna is in 2 Cor. iv. 13 to xii. 6, which comprises three leaves of the manuscript. The last leaf of

the New Testament is numbered 158, and the last of the volume 169. The text of the New Testament occupies 132 leaves. Taking every drawback into consideration, we must be struck with the extreme perfection of this Codex, as contrasted with those of a much more late date which have come down to our times.

We now pass on to consider the *character of the writing* of the MS., which consists of uncial or capital letters of a very early date. With the exception of eight letters in the margin, and of a horizontal line over the Θ; in 1 Tim. iii. 16, and of the words ἐν' αὐτῶ in Rev. xxii. 18, and of "twelve Apostles of the LAMB," Rev. xxi. 18, there is no cursive writing in the Codex. The text has but an arbitrary punctuation, and lacks both accents and aspirates. The division into paragraphs is noted by a larger initial letter at the beginning of the line of the fresh paragraph, and by the presence of such a letter at the beginning of the following line, when the section ends in the middle of the preceding line. This is common to many Codices. Mr. Cowper has remarked upon a late MS., in which the transcriber has employed these initial letters, in utter ignorance as to their real use. The Greek semicolon is the point most often used. The horizontal line, which is used to indicate contractions, often occurs without any meaning. Griesbach thought that several different MSS. are represented by this Codex; while Woide had remarked the difference of penmanship; yet Mr. Cowper thinks that it all belongs to the same age, except the Apocalypse, which may be a little later. The *orthography* of the Alexandrine Codex is very peculiar; and we are happy to state that this marked distinction has been preserved by Mr. Cowper in his text, as well as by a very copious selection of these orthographical anomalies appearing in his preface. They belong for the most part to what is termed the Alexandrian dialect, and are found in such old MSS. as the Codices Vaticanæ, Ephræmi, Claromontani, and others. Mr. Cowper points out Egypt as the probable birthplace of the Codex. These orthographical anomalies are arranged under four classes: as dialectic or provincial forms; as archaic forms, of which some may have an etymological basis; confusion of similar sounds; lastly, mistakes of the eye. From his familiarity with the Codex, Mr. Cowper's judgment upon this question is of great weight. He writes:

"Our own opinion is that they are neither Latinisms, nor barbarisms, nor solecisms, but for the most part provincial and archaic forms, especially the former. If asked to what province we would refer them, we should at once name Egypt. Such forms as ἐπερίθοσαν, εἶδαν, ἐξέλαιτο, λήμψεται, are admitted to be characteristic of what is called the Alexandrian Greek. And Coptic students are aware that many Greek words, on being transferred to that language, undergo precisely the alterations here met with."—Pref. p. xii.

The *contents* of the Codex are: the four Gospels, the Acts of the

Apostles, six Catholic Epistles, *fourteen* Epistles of S. Paul, the Revelation of S. John, the first and second Epistles of S. Clement, and eighteen Psalms of Solomon.

The place and writer of the Alexandrian MS. is the next point which demands our notice. Mr. Cowper has discussed this point in detail because the settlement of this question determines in no small degree the absolute value of the Codex; and he gives us Cyril's own note, written by himself, on a sheet of paper in the first volume. Its intrinsic interest renders it worthy of being quoted in full:—

“Liber iste Scripturæ Sacræ Novi et Veteris Testamenti prout ex traditione habemus est scriptus manu Theclæ nobilis fœminæ Ægyptiæ, ante mille et trecentos annos circiter paulo post Concilium Nicænum. Nomen Theclæ in fine libri erat exaratum, sed extincto Christianismo in Ægypto a Mahometanis: et libri una Christianorum in similem sunt redacti conditionem. Extinctum igitur et Theclæ nomen, et laceratum, sed memoria et traditio recens observat. Cyrillus Patriarch. Constanti.”—Pref. p. xx.

All the three statements which are included in the Patriarch's note have been contested. Wetstein fails to recognise any *other* Thecla than the companion of S. Paul. An Arabic note upon the Codex says that it was written by the pen of Thecla the martyr: “Quod est absurdum,” answers the great critic, (vol. i. p. 9); and quoting Cyril's words which we have given he adds, “at hoc non erat Traditiones retinere, sed novas et veteribus contrarias fingere.” He continues the argument that Thecla the proto-martyr was born at Iconium, and so could not be a noble Egyptian woman at all, that when Dr. Grabe quotes S. Gregory Nazianzen writing to the Seleucian virgins in the monastery of S. Thecla, he only hurts his cause, for when S. Gregory writes to a Thecla, he calls her κόρη, when according to Dr. Grabe's calculations she must be well nigh one hundred years old. He then dwells upon the scribe having altered the Codex for the sake of greater clearness and to bring it into conformity with the Old Italic, so that it must have been written by a man, and thus concludes: “I agree therefore with the opinion of Casimir Oudin, who discovered in this Codex, in the Psalms, the marks of the canonical divisions into days and hours, and therefore concluded that it was in use in a monastery of the Acœmitæ and was written by an Acœmitic monk.” On turning to Dr. Grabe's Prolegomena, (which is contained in his very beautifully printed folio edition of the Alexandrian LXX., which was published at Oxford in 1707,) the case assumes quite another aspect. He gives some extracts from S. Gregory Nazianzen's three Epistles to Thecla in which the Saint makes mention of her as “ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ δούλη καὶ ἀπαρχὴ τῶν καλῶν;” and praises her honourable solitude, “καὶ τὸν φιλόσοφον ἰδιασμόν:” because

separated from all the pleasures of the world, with God alone, and with the holy martyrs amongst whom she dwells, she has given up herself to God, and offered her beloved children to God as a "θεσίαν ζῶσαν εὐάγεστον," (Ed. Morell. 1680, vol. i. p. 897, c.) The ἀγαπητὰ τέκνα refer to her spiritual children, of whom he makes other mention in these three letters. Anyone who wishes to make himself master of Grabe's arguments ought to read these three letters which S. Gregory writes to Thecla; they are very short, occupying only three columns in Morell's edition, which is printed in Weidmann's large flowing Greek types. From these letters and the passage in which Thecla is mentioned in S. Gregory's poem of his own life, there seems to be every reason to believe that she might have written this Codex. "Huic igitur," says Grabe, "*Theclæ ejusque in vita monastica sociis vel sociabus Codicem nostrum attribueret, nihil vetat: imo non solum hoc suadet quod haud alterius cujuspiam Theclæ concilio Nicæno recentioris, ulla in Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ, ac priscorum Patrum monumentis mentio occurrat, sed et ratio temporis id omnino persuadere videtur,*" (Proleg. cap. i.) We must notice one argument brought forward by Wetstein, who objects to Thecla being addressed as a κόρη by S. Gregory when she was very advanced in years; which appellation, says the great critic, belongs to a girl of tender age. True, yet we have some recollection of Apollo speaking of the Furies, certainly not very young women as κατὰπτυστοι κόραι, (Æsch. Eum. 68;) while Sophocles makes one of his choruses apply the same name to the Sphinx, (Ed. Tyr. 309,) who certainly was not signalised by extreme adolescence. Plato, too, in the last book of the Republic has styled the Fates αἱ κόραι. Wetstein's objection on this point seems therefore to be as false as it is impotent. Whether then on this ground or upon the denial that there was any other Thecla than S. Paul's companion who could have written the Codex, the objections of Wetstein and others are as Mr. Cowper says, "unworthy of such critics."

There is little doubt that the *Seleucian* origin of the Codex, which Hody and Wetstein as well as Grabe suggested, rests upon a very slender authority. Mr. Cowper quite supports the opinion of Dr. Tregelles as to its Egyptian origin. Scholz says, "that it was written at Alexandria, the form of the letters, the condition of the orthography, a certain ancient tradition preserved in an inscription upon the first leaf, and the general nature of the text, seem to prove," (Proleg. ad N. T. § 39). There are other general arguments which could be added to these—the fact of Alexandria being in the fourth and fifth centuries, the great emporium of books and knowledge; that there women as well as men, played the part of scribes; another inscription which implies that in A.D. 1038, it was given to the library of the Patriarchate of Alexandria, where it remained until Cyril removed it to Constantinople.

One other reason has to be given in support of its Egyptian origin, a reason founded upon a careful inspection of the MS. itself, and as it has never been mentioned before, we gladly allow Mr. Cowper to tell us his own story in his own words :

"The manuscript has been ornamented, more especially at the close of each book, by some one, in all probability, by the original scribe. The ornaments are some of them very peculiar, and the question naturally occurs, whether they furnish any clue to the country of the Codex. Many of them bear a striking resemblance to similar ornaments in some of the very ancient Syriac manuscripts, which are now in our National Museum : all of which have been brought from Egypt, and many of them are known to have been written there. There is, however, one of special interest, and this in an unexpected manner, confirms the opinion that Codex A was written in Egypt. At the end of the Catholic Epistles *two baskets of fruit* are depicted in coloured inks. These baskets are of a peculiar form and texture, being narrower at the bottom than at the top, and apparently of fancy wicker work. Each of them is filled with fruit, and this fruit is piled up in a pyramidal form above the basket, in regularly descending tiers or courses. Happening to visit the Egyptian gallery of the British Museum, we observed upon one of the walls, fragments of an Egyptian painting representing among other things baskets of fruit. The resemblance of these to those in Codex A is so striking that we mentally uttered a *εὐρηκα* as we looked at them. We have repeated our comparison of the different representations, and we are compelled to regard them as characteristic. Anyone who will take the trouble to pass from one to the other will see the remarkable similarity. . . . Gentlemen of eminence in the department of Egyptian antiquities have pronounced in favour of the extreme probability, that the illustrations alluded to in the manuscript are Egyptian. The minor differences to be observed between the different sketches do not in the least affect the general result. Ancient representations of baskets containing bread and fruit are not uncommon, but we know of none except those from Egypt which can be identified with the figures in the Alexandrian Codex."—Intro. p. xxiii.

It appears to us that the whole value of this ornamentation as a test of birth-place hangs upon the fact of whether or not such illustrations proceeded from the pen of the original writer of the manuscript.

From the place of its production we are led to notice its probable age. Patrick Junius maintained that it was written very soon after the Council of Nice. Dr. Grabe writes in his *Prolegomena* above referred to, "*Quippe claruit illa uti modo vidimus haud diu post Concilium Nicænum primum, ad finem scilicet vergente Seculo post Christum natum quarto.*" Archbishop Ussher dated it from a few years before the death of S. Basil the Great, which occurred in A.D. 378; Morin inclined to a century later; Walton assigned to it the palm for age over the Vatican Codex; Bernard Montfaucon placed it as a product of the fifth or sixth century; Semler, the



great destroyer of ecclesiastical antiquity, refers it to the seventh century; Michaelis quietly dates it as low as the eighth century; Tischendorf says that it seems to have been written after the middle of the fifth century; Casimir Oudin gives the *tenth* century for its production, but in this uncritical supposition he has had no followers of any note. Dr. Tregelles takes an enlarged view of the evidence which is required to be brought to bear upon this question; he notes the Ammonian Sections and the Eusebian Canons and their earlier date than the Eustathian and other divisions which are found in the Epistles; and he assigns it, combining paleographical reasons as well, to the middle of the fifth century. We can hardly now subscribe Mill's opinion that the Codex dates "ab ipsis fere Canonis incunabulis," or that the "textus Alexandrinus mirifice accuratus videtur et ad ipsam Apostolorum (ut ita dicam) amussim compositus," (Proleg. p. cxlii.); nor can we allow at this period that Bishop Walton's statement holds good that this manuscript "et codicis Vaticani seculum æquare saltem, si non superare," (Proleg. ix. § 24, p. 65). Mr. Cowper does not make any difficulty about the stichometrical arrangement of the poetical books which occurs in this Codex. Dr. Grabe was one of the earliest of the critics, who demolished the arguments for its late production which had been rashly founded upon this circumstance. The sixteen columns in which Suicer gives under the title of "Στίχος," (c. 1022, 1037,) examples of such an arrangement from very early times entirely settle the question. "It is very possible," says Mr. Cowper, "that since the Psalms at least were sung in public worship, their distribution into verses took place at a very early period, or that the plan of writing them in this form is more ancient than that which afterwards prevailed, when human compositions began to multiply;" "There can be no doubt, that we ought to prefer, as more natural and accurate, this mode of exhibiting the poetical books of Scripture," (p. xxiv.) We have mentioned before that the Psalms are also divided into nocturnal and matutinal portions, being separated into two portions *κανόνες ἡμερινοὶ ψαλμῶν* and into *κανόνες νυκτερινοὶ τῶν ψαλμῶν*. Woide would not allow that these canons were a proof that the Codex was for the Acæmotic monks, which would certainly fix its age as not being earlier than the fifth century. Again, Eusebius's "Arguments of the Psalms" are found in the Codex, as is also the *Epistle to Marcellinus* which forms an Introduction to the Psalms, which proceeded from the pen of S. Athanasius the Great, both these circumstances have been cavilled at. The *Eusebian canons* are found appended to the New Testament portion of the manuscript; and what can be a more natural supposition, that as Eusebius was commanded by the Emperor Constantine that he "should order fifty copies of the Holy Scriptures to be written on well prepared parchment by professed transcribers of books, most

skilful in the art of accurate and fair writing, which must be very legible and easily portable in order to their being used," (Vit. Const. lib. iv. c. xxxvi.), so this very Codex is one of those actual fifty which passed under his own superintendence—nor is the objection which is made against the Introduction of S. Athanasius of any more weight, seeing his popularity, and especially his connection with the place where this Codex was written, or even as to his being named as Archbishop: this is of no moment, S. Gregory Nazianzen so called him.

Mr. Cowper next demolishes the objection that has been raised to the title of *Θεοτόκος* as applied to the Blessed Virgin, in the copy of the Magnificat which is appended to the Psalms. He states, on the authority of Grabe, that it was in use anterior to the Nestorian controversy; and that if S. Cyril was in note at the time, "it will be easy to believe that the orthodox would almost regard it as a point of honour to use the word *Θεοτόκος* as a token of their adherence to Catholic doctrines." (P. xxvii.) We say that all the great Fathers, since the time that S. Ignatius uttered his celebrated saying, *Ὁ γὰρ Θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκνοθερήθη ὑπὸ Μαρίας*, including even Tertullian, have ever expressed this doctrine, that Mary was truly *Mother of God*; that Origen taught, on this point at least, what both the Cyrils, S. Hippolytus, S. Alexander, S. Theophilus, S. Basil the Great, S. Hilary, S. Ambrose, and the Gregories had taught too. Any one reading Socrates' account of Anastasius the Presbyter (Hist. lib. vii. c. 82), will see how, from the beginning, the doctrine of the *Θεοτόκος* had been holden by the Church. And with regard to the Codex, we observe, that if the use of the word in it does not derogate from its antiquity, nevertheless the Codex itself is a cogent witness for the antiquity of this dogmatic and orthodox word.

Another very valuable clue to the date of the Codex is found in the "Gloria in Excelsis" which it contains, under the title of *Ῥυμνος ἐκθινός*. It was doubtless written a very long time before even the advocates for its greatest antiquity would be willing to admit that the Codex was in existence, and yet its citation here would prove that even when the manuscript was written it was not in common use; so that the Codex is of a very early date. Putting all the evidence together, Mr. Cowper does not think, however, that it was written before the Council of Ephesus, in A.D. 431—most probably about the middle of the fifth century. It came from a place where the atmospheric influence is of far less action than it is here; and Mr. Cowper notes the penmanship, the state of the text, the number and order of the books, "and other circumstances, which all savour of a very early origin. On palæographic grounds alone we should be led to this conclusion; but, in addition to these, we have the advantage of many characteristic and peculiar features of the text and its accompaniments, all of which

point to about the middle of the fifth century." (P. 30.) We must not omit to mention that the two Epistles of S. Clement of Rome, as well as eighteen psalms of Solomon, formed part of the Codex; the psalms being now lost.

In conclusion, we would point out a few of the more remarkable readings of this Codex, and give a slight comparison of this text with that of the Codex Vaticanus. Mr. Cowper only notices one reading, the celebrated 1 S. Tim. iii. 16, which has been read as  $\delta$  or  $\delta\varsigma$ , and lastly,  $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$   $\epsilon\phi\alpha\nu\epsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\theta\eta$ . We must use Mr. Cowper's own account of this celebrated passage: " $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$ , or as it is written,  $\Theta\varsigma$ , may thus be described. The superior line is modern, but it is impossible to say whether it over-lies a more ancient one, because of its extent, and because it is visible on the other side of the vellum, which is here extremely thin. The  $\Theta$  consists of a circle tolerably well defined, and by the original scribe; but the transverse line is only what may be called a mere shadow, as if a pen almost dry had touched it, and that recently. So thin is the vellum, that the shadow, as we have called it, may really not be a portion of the letter; and probably no human eye will ever be able to determine whether the transverse line was originally there: that is, whether the scribe wrote omicron or theta. Woide quotes authorities for the existence of the line, but it is possible that they saw no more than we see, *a mere shadow across the letter, nearly at its centre*, rather above than beneath it: this has been ascribed to the letter  $\epsilon$ , which falls underneath it on the other side of the leaf." It is then illustrated in detail how, of the  $\kappa\alpha\tau' \epsilon\upsilon\sigma\acute{\iota}\phi\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu$  of 1 Tim. vi. 8, "the  $\epsilon$  falling under what we read as  $\Theta$ , although not absolutely coincident with it, increases the difficulty of deciding." In very many cases the transverse line has dropped out of a theta, where no question can be raised that it once existed: this is too important a fact not to be carefully borne in mind. Mr. Cowper concludes: "We hope no one will think it possible, either with or without a lens, to ascertain the truth of the matter by any inspection of the Codex. We have many times examined it, in order to be able to speak with confidence; and we do not believe that, whatever may be fancied, any trace of the two disputed lines will ever be recovered." (P. 10.) Mr. Cowper's conclusion is this: " $\delta\varsigma$   $\epsilon\phi\alpha\nu\epsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\theta\eta$  may have been the reading of the manuscript; but if so, the evidence for it has been effectually destroyed, and we must admit that NOW AT LEAST  $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$  MUST BE READ." (P. 17.) Dean Ellicott, in his commentary on this passage (p. 49), admits  $\delta\varsigma$  into his text; and after supporting this reading, says: "(1)  $\delta\varsigma$  is read with A, [indisputably, after minute personal inspection, see note, p. 100.] C, F 9, &c. . . . (2)  $\delta$  with Vulg. It., &c. (3)  $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$  with D\*\*\* J, K, nearly all MSS. On reviewing this evidence, as not only the most important Uncial MSS., but *all* the versions older than the seventh century are distinctly in favour of a *relative*—as  $\delta$  seems only a

Latinising variation of  $\delta\varsigma$ —and lastly, as  $\delta\varsigma$  is the more difficult, though really the more intelligible reading, and on every reason more likely to have been changed into  $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$  than *vice versâ*, we unhesitatingly decide with Tisch. in favour of  $\delta\varsigma$ ." We turn to the Dean's note at the end of the Epistle, and we read as follows: "The results of my examination of the Cod. Alex. may be thus briefly stated. On inspecting the disputed word, there appeared (a) a coarse line over, and a rude dot within the O, in *black ink*; (b) a faint line across O, in ink of the *same colour* as the adjacent letters. It was clear that (a) had no claim on attention, except as being possibly a rude retouching of (b): the latter demanded careful examination. After inspection with a strong lens, it seemed more than probable that Wetstein's opinion (Prolegom. vol. i. p. 22) was correct." An account follows of the Dean's experiments with Mr. Hamilton, to prove that the sagitta of the  $\epsilon$  of chap. vi. 3 made the shade upon the other side of the leaf. "While one of us held up the page to the light, and viewed the O through the lens, the other brought the point of an instrument (without, of course, touching the MS.) so near to the extremity of the sagitta of the  $\epsilon$ , as to make a point of shade visible to the observer on the other side. When the point of the instrument was drawn over the sagitta of the  $\epsilon$ , the point of shade was seen to *exactly trace out* the suspected diameter of the O. It would thus seem certain that (b) is no part of O, and that the reading of it is certainly  $\delta\varsigma$ ." (Comm. p. 100.) Mr. Cowper, who has worked upon the MS. for a very long time, arrives at an exactly opposite conclusion; and from the way in which the Dean of Exeter mentions Dr. Peile and Canon Harold Browne in connection with this matter, we incline to the opinion that he is a little too hasty in asserting conclusions, about the proof of which there is still grave doubt, though the Codex Sinaiticus does support the reading  $\delta\varsigma$ . We learn from this that the cursory inspection of a Codex is, in some cases, only likely to mislead, and so far to invalidate its true readings.

The celebrated clause of 1 S. John v. 7, 8, "in heaven, the FATHER, the WORD, and the HOLY GHOST, and these three are one. And there are three that bear witness on earth," gave rise to a perfect treatise from the pen of Mill (Test. 739—749), who tried to establish its validity; and to a very long disquisition from Wetstein (Test. vol. ii. pp. 721—727), who wisely abandoned it, on account of the overwhelming authority against it. It would be needless to mention now the codices in which it is absent: suffice it to say, that both the Alexandrian and the Vatican read  $\delta\tau\iota\ \tau\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\iota\sigma\iota\nu\ \omicron\iota\ \mu\alpha\rho\tau\upsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma,\ \tau\omicron\ \pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha,\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\ \upsilon\delta\omega\rho,\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\ \alpha\lambda\mu\alpha,\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \omicron\iota\ \tau\rho\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \epsilon\iota\sigma\iota\nu.$  And Tischendorf's new Codex Sinaiticus gives this reading likewise. In the sixth verse of this chapter the Codex Alex. gives this curious reading, "This is He that came by water and blood,  $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma.$ " And in the next clause, where most of the MSS. read with our

Textus Receptus, "by water and blood," Codex A. gives *ἐν τῷ ὕδατι καὶ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι*. There is great beauty in this substitution of the HOLY SPIRIT for blood; for our Blessed LORD came to fulfil His Divine mission consecrated and set apart as Son of Man by that Baptism which He gave of water and of the HOLY GHOST. Wetstein well quotes a scholion from two cursive Parisian MSS.: "Intelligit vocem Dei Patris in baptismo Christi auditam." (Test. vol. ii. p. 721.)

Ephesians i. 1 furnishes us with a much-disputed reading—the *ἐν Ἐφίῳ*, so important as determining to whom the Epistle was written. Dean Ellicott has observed upon this place: "Tischendorf has inclosed these words in brackets, scarcely with sufficient reason." The learned dean notes that all the MSS. and versions support these words, except the Vatican Codex, where they are added on the margin by a *second* hand. He admits that most probably Tertullian did not read them, and S. Basil of Cappadocia most certainly not; and further, he allows that the absence of all internal greetings would seem to support their omission; and he is willing, and rightly so, to cling to the "unanimous tradition of the early Church, that this Epistle was addressed to the Ephesians." What say the three great Uncials upon this point? Codex A. contains the words; Codex B. does not: they are added in the margin. In the Codex Sinaiticus, the words are wanting. They have been placed in the margin of the MS., in writing, as Tischendorf thinks, of the sixth or seventh century. The Vatican and the Sinaitic MSS. have given us the true reading of the passage. The readings of this new Codex are derived from Tischendorf's last work, "Notitia Editionis Codicis Bibliorum Sinaitici auspiciis Imperatoris Alexandri II. susceptæ," in which a conspectus is given of many of the more important of the readings of this new manuscript.

It will be interesting to compare a few readings of these uncial manuscripts; the Alexandrian, the Vatican, and the Sinaitic Codices. S. Matt. xxvii. 47, Cod. A. *ἐστῶτων*. Cod. B. *ἐστηκότων*. Cod. Sin. *ἐστηκότων*. In the forty-ninth verse of this same chapter, Cod. A. reads after *Ἥλιος σώσων αὐτόν*—*ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς*. It omits entirely the following clause, which is found in *both* the remaining manuscripts *ἄλλος δὲ λαβὼν λόγχην ἔνυξεν* κ.τ.λ. A sad loss would these words have been to us, so beautifully symbolical as they are of the Sacraments of the Church flowing from the wounded side of her adorable Head. S. Matt. xxviii. 19, Cod. A. *βαπτίζοντες*. Cod. B. *βαπτίσαντες*. Cod. Sin. *βαπτίζοντες*. In S. Mark vii. 25, in treating of the Syrophenician woman's daughter, the Vatican and Sinaitic MSS. both support the same reading in opposition to the Alexandrian MS. Cod. A. *ἀκούσασα γὰρ γυνὴ περὶ αὐτοῦ*. Cod. B. and Sin. *ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἀκούσασα*, κ.τ.λ. S. Mark xiii. 14, Cod. A. *τὸ ρηθὲν ὑπὸ Δανιὴλ τοῦ προφήτου*. Both Cod. B. and Sin. omit these words, with most of the best manuscripts. S.

Luke iv. 5, Cod. A. ἀναγαγὼν αὐτὸν ὁ διάβολος. Cod. B. and Sin. leave out the ὁ διάβολος. S. Luke iv. 44, Cod. A. ἐν ταῖς συναγωγαῖς. Cod. B. and Sin. εἰς τὰς συναγωγὰς. S. Luke xi. 53, Cod. A. Λέγοντος δὲ αὐτοῦ πρὸς αὐτούς. Cod. B. and Sin. read together, Κάκειθεν ἐξελθόντος αὐτοῦ, a different reading altogether. In the following verse of the same chapter both B. and Sin. omit the Alexandrian reading ἵνα κατηγορήσωσιν αὐτοῦ. S. John xiii. 19, Cod. A. ἵνα ὅταν γένηται, πιστεύσητε ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι. In the other two Codices ἵνα πιστεύσητε ὅταν γένηται, ὅτι ἐγὼ εἰμι. S. John xiii. 26, Cod. A. καὶ ἐμβάψας τὸ ψαμίον. Cod. B. and Sin. βάψας οὖν ψαμίον. All these readings from the Gospels of the Vatican and Sinaitic Codices are supported by other manuscripts of high authority, as well as by a vast preponderance of the versions. In these cases the Alexandrian Codex stands alone. The great value of Tischendorf's new MS. consists not only in its adding another means for the further correction of the text of the New Testament, but in the confirmation which it affords of the readings of the Vatican text—it does not create new difficulties, but simplifies in a remarkable manner our difficulty of balancing one authority against another. How far Tischendorf has packed the readings with which he has favoured us in the *Notitia*, cannot be determined until next year, when a completed transcription of the Codex will be in our hands.

We will now note a few of the readings of the Epistles. Cod. A. and Sin., Gal. i. 15, εὐδόκησεν ὁ Θεός. Cod. B. omits ὁ Θεός. Gal. i. 17, Cod. A. and Sin. οὐδὲ ἀνῆλθον. Cod. B. ἀπῆλθον. Gal. v. 1, Cod. A. and Sin. Τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ ἣ ἡμᾶς Χριστὸς ἡλευθέρωσεν. Cod. B. omits these words altogether. Dean Ellicott says on this text, "The difficulty of deciding on the true reading of this passage, owing to the great variation of MSS., is excessive. Nearly every editor has his own hypothesis of what the original reading really was." (p. 80.) The new Codex confirming as it does these words, tends to remove this difficulty in no small degree. Philipp. ii. 1, Cod. A. and Sin. εἴ τις σπλάγχνα. Cod. B. εἴ τινα σπλ. Philipp. ii. 30, Cod. A. and Sin. διὰ τὸ ἔργον Κυρίου. Cod. B. διὰ τὸ ἔργον Χριστοῦ. S. James i. 18, Cod. A. ἐαυτοῦ. Cod. B. αὐτοῦ. S. James ii. 19, Cod. A. and Sin. ὅτι εἰς ἐστιν ὁ Θεός. Cod. B. ὅτι εἰς Θεός ἐστιν. 1 S. Tim. v. 16, Cod. A. and Sin. εἴ τις πιστή. Cod. B. εἴ τις πιστός. 1 S. Tim. v. 21, Cod. A. and Sin. καὶ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ. Cod. B. καὶ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. 1 S. Peter i. 24, Cod. A. and Sin. σὰρξ χόρτος. Cod. B. σὰρξ ὡς χόρτος. From these readings it will be seen that in the Gospels, Codex B. is supported by the Sinaitic manuscript; whilst in the Epistles, the Alexandrian and Sinaitic Codices contain readings which are not to be found in the Vatican text. A large number of the readings of the new Codex which Tischendorf gives are *common* to both the Codices A. and B., and these we have for obvious reasons passed over. In nearly every case Prof. Tischendorf has mentioned the more im-

portant Codices which contain his several readings; and in every single case have we found that the readings which he has assigned to the Alexandrian manuscript, are faithfully represented in Mr. Cowper's transcription. Thus an additional proof is gained of the accuracy of his labours.

As the readings of the Alexandrian manuscript agree with those of the Sinaitic Codex throughout the Epistles, while the Vatican and Sinaitic readings harmonise in the Gospels, the new Codex not representing Codex A. at all; so in the Acts a corresponding link in the readings occurs. Out of the twenty-six readings from the Acts, which Tischendorf has given us in the Notitia, in twelve all the three Codices agree: e.g. Acts i. 8, μου; i. 10, ἐσθήσεις, ii. 7, λέγοντες, without adding πρὸς ἀλλήλους; ii. 37, τὴν καρδίαν; ii. 47, καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό Πέτρος δέ; iv. 20, εἶδαμεν; iv. 25, ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν, διὰ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου στόματος Δαβὶδ παιδὸς σου εἰπών; iv. 32, ἦν καρδία; iv. 35, διεδίδετο, which is evidently written for διεδίδετο; v. 2, συνευθύης; iii. 21, τῶν ἀγίων ἀπ' αἰῶνος. The last reading which is common, Acts xx. 29, ἐγὼ οἶδα, is by the first hand in the Sinaitic Codex.

Our paper must close now; could it be otherwise it would be interesting to compare those places in the Epistles in which the readings of the three Codices agree; and also to note, in a given chapter, the variations which occur between the Vatican and Alexandrian texts. We may be called upon to notice these things more in detail, when in the next year we shall have Tischendorf's new Codex before us most carefully printed. We cannot say farewell to this most ancient manuscript of the New Testament which we possess, a present too from a Martyred Confessor to a Martyred King, without drawing a moral from our perusal of it, a word fraught with eternal consequence, and one in times like these we all cannot too much lay to heart. There are *different readings* in the manuscripts containing that Revelation of God to man, around which our faith here and our salvation hereafter hang. The Alexandrian differs from the Vatican, and the Vatican from the Sinaitic; in some cases they agree, in others they differ from one another. These differences are oftentimes real and vital, affecting one or other Persons of the Ever-Blessed TRINITY; giving senses contradictory the one to the other. Behind these three noted uncial manuscripts, are a series of *cursive* manuscripts of every shade and grade of authenticity. The future may be pregnant with another Tischendorf, who in a century to come may give to the world a Codex older than any now discovered, with a plentiful harvest of fresh interpretations of sacred scenes and holy words. Is our faith then to depend upon manuscripts? Has it so depended upon them in times gone by? What has kept the Catholic Church for these eighteen hundred years to be steadfast, holding only "one LORD, one Faith, one Baptism?" The answer is ready, Her own

body of *primitive tradition*—that tradition which enabled her in solemn conclave to *fix the very canon* of Holy Scripture—that tradition flowing from a font as inspired and Divine as the Holy Writ itself—that tradition which is ever the same, immutable, eternal. This is, indeed, a mighty trust which God has of His mercy given to the Mystical Body of His dear SON—a ground of her strength, as well as of her mediatorial office; she is both the witness to as well as the keeper of Holy Writ. We rejoice to see manuscripts collated and collected, new treasures brought to light, and the text of the New Testament reaching onwards to perfection. We enter into and sympathise with these studies; and our very notice of Mr. Cowper's book will prove this; and yet we ever bear in mind that our *faith* does not rest upon manuscripts however old or pure, but upon those doctrines which have been declared necessary to salvation, and which have been stamped with the universality, consent, and antiquity of CHRIST'S Holy Catholic Church.

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### THE REIGN OF QUEEN MARY.

*History of England from the fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth.* By J. A. FROUDE, M.A., late Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford. Volume VI. London. J. W. Parker and Co.

It is said that contemporary historians are unable to be impartial judges of the personages who have crossed their path. No one can deny this truth, for none could enter into the events of his time with sufficient heart and feeling to qualify him to be an historian without pleading guilty to a party bias. But we must extend this truth a little further, for we see that there are men who have stood prominently forward on the historic stage, from whose memories it has taken centuries to remove the prejudice, which every surrounding association connected with their names. Hence arises the difficulty of forming a right estimate of some of the most eminent names which occur in the page of history.

Perhaps the manner in which history has been written lately has rather increased the difficulty whilst it has shown us that men must still be partizans as long as the same subjects of dispute are continually recurring under altered circumstances. William III. came forth from the hands of Lord Macaulay a greater hero than those who most revered his memory had ever pictured him before; but Mr. Froude would not submit to be outdone by one who may be said to be his master, and therefore drew the portrait of Henry VIII. in the character of a Christian gentleman. There were in-



deed some awkward facts to be explained away, but these he found as easy as Henry did the decapitation of his wives. The public were startled to be told that the great Harry was a kind and indulgent husband, but many amongst them were found to hail with delight the welcome news, since it confirmed their preconceived idea that it was pre-eminently a work of God to abridge the Papal power. Doubts were certainly expressed respecting the fidelity of the portrait, and to dispel these Mr. Froude has lately availed himself of the services of a certain Mr. William Thomas, as a witness, who had the misfortune of being hanged at Tyburn.

When he came to the history of Edward VI., Mr. Froude's ingenuity had in no degree abated. The Lord Protector Somerset was his principal hero, and the most mean and selfish man, who lived in an age when all men sought their own, was almost exalted to the position of a Saint and Martyr. The last volume which Mr. Froude has given to the public, travels over that space of time which might be expected to be of greatest interest to English Churchmen. The reign of Queen Mary saw the tragedy played out, the men who had taken part in the struggles of the Reformation disappear from the scene with a halo of glory resting on their heads, and the cause for which they strove rose from their ashes never more to be cast down. That cause was the Reformation of the English Church which the absolute authority of Henry VIII. and the intrigues of Edward's counsellors had failed to impress upon the sympathies of the people.

It must be interesting to observe how this ascendancy was gained, since the means by which it was effected were those by which it was designed to be crushed. Even if the chief actors in the Reformation behaved discreditably, our interest in their work need not on that account be abated, since it shows more plainly than anything else could have done that God's hand was in it, for it was brought about not by its promoters but by those who sought its destruction. If we view the Reformation as a whole, we cannot but see cause for thankfulness that, in spite of all the unworthy instruments employed, the hand of God brought it about in such a manner that the ancient faith was not destroyed, nor Apostolic customs rooted out, as had been the case in Germany and elsewhere. But our thankfulness for the Reformation need not interfere with a fair judgment on its successive stages and the actors who played the most conspicuous part in them. It is with these feelings that we offer a few remarks on the character of Mary and the chief personages who made the greatest figure in her brief but most eventful reign.

In estimating the character of Mary, it is necessary to take into account the early influences which bore on the formation of her disposition. A life of adversity may have a sweetening, or it may have a very different effect on the temper; and some there are who

can bear adversity bravely and patiently whose equanimity would be entirely upset by the sunshine of prosperity. Mary had had much to bear throughout her life, and the dignity and patience with which she endured repeated insults cannot be gainsaid by her greatest enemies; but the possession of power to her, who had known nothing but oppression before, was a dangerous weapon placed in the hands of one who was little skilled in its use. She was a woman too, and as women are wont to be guided rather by the impulse of feeling than by the calm deliberation of judgment, we may make some allowance for the rancour which she displayed towards her enemies, and the unwise zeal with which she sought the extension of her religious principles. It must be remembered also that the sufferings of her mother were all through her life ever present to her mind; and she naturally regarded Cranmer as the cause of the misfortunes which befell Queen Katherine. She could not forget that Cranmer's elevation had been due to her mother's fall, and in an affectionate daughter, who had been the witness of her mother's illfortune, we should have almost deemed it a want of feminine feeling if she had altogether forgotten it. If "revenge is sweet—especially to women," the opportunity of avenging her mother was a sore temptation to one who, when she became a Queen, did not cease to be a woman. She had not the example of any regnant Queen of England as a warning or a lesson, for she was the first who, in her own right, had sat upon the throne. Even Elizabeth carried with her there the weakness of a woman's vanity, although in her it was allied to a masculine mind and will, and she had the benefit of all the warnings which the previous reign had furnished. In the gentler and more feminine character of Mary we need not therefore be surprised that the impulses of her nature should have led her into error. Her sympathy with her mother was accompanied by a filial reverence for her father, and therefore the responsibility of the actions which she blamed in him she would naturally lay upon the shoulders of his advisers. Cranmer had counselled her mother's divorce; with his own mouth he had pronounced the sentence; and he had been close to the throne through the days of Mary's oppression.

Certainly, during Henry's reign, the conduct of Mary was unimpeachable, and although her residence at Court must have been most trying, her reverence for her father and affection for Queen Jane and her brother Edward, proved her to possess a generous and prudent heart. Yet all the while she was faithful to the instructions of her mother. The Pope had exerted his influence in her mother's cause, and as political considerations would not occur to a mind so inexperienced as hers, she naturally looked to the Papal chair as the defence of truth and justice. The wisdom of her conduct obtained the restoration of her royal rank: but that restoration proved in the succeeding reign the cause of unnumbered trou-

bles. It was then seen that one who supported the unreformed religion stood too near the throne, when in the principles which she professed she had the sympathy of the people. The Reformation was at that time unpopular. The minds of Englishmen are slow to be weaned from established usages, and slow to comprehend the advantages of innovation. The pilgrimage of grace in the reign of Henry VIII. and the rising in Devon and Cornwall in that of Edward were only the expression of the same feeling which manifested itself in the surplice riots at Exeter only a few years since, and in the general disinclination of the people to accept that higher tone which the Church party of the present day have attempted to introduce after an age of ignorance and torpor.

In Henry's reign the sufferings of Mary had arisen from political causes only. Her sole crime had been that she was the daughter of Katherine of Arragon. Henry was never a Protestant at heart. He was a Reformer, because the Reformation party was subservient to his will, and acknowledged the supremacy which he arrogated to himself, but his faith, if it did not cling to the old traditions, never took root in the new, and therefore he did not care that his daughter looked on Protestantism with abhorrence. But in Edward's reign her persecution assumed a new phase, and she suffered not because she was the daughter of Katharine, but because she was a Papist. Every means were tried to change her faith, but she was steadfast, still without acrimony or bitterness. She was willing to be a martyr, but yet she refused to be a rebel. She was loyal to the King through this troublous time, although her conscience refused his dictation in those things in which she deemed herself bound to obey God rather than man. Bishop Ridley was courteously received when he went to reason with her, although she refused to believe that "God's truth could be different now to what it was in her father's time." The manner of Ridley's departure was not calculated to impress the Princess with any exalted idea of Reformation principles. After receiving the stirrup cup, which it was the custom to present to departing guests, and not before, be it noted, the Bishop declared that "he had done amiss in drinking under a roof where God's Word was rejected, for he ought to have shaken the dust off his feet for a testimony against the house, and departed instantly." So vehement were his denunciations that Heylin affirms that the hair of those who heard them stood on end with terror. Mary's chaplains were imprisoned, and her servants ordered to control her actions, which, faithful to their mistress, they refused to do. She was not permitted to leave her residence, and the indignities which she suffered would have been greater still, if it had not been for the interference of the Emperor. But a fresh chapter in Mary's history was about to open, for the King expired at Greenwich, July 5, 1553; the anniversary of the day on which Sir Thomas More had laid his head upon the block.

Of the young monarch whose career was so early closed, we do not intend to speak. He was pious and amiable, and under the tuition of better advisers might have proved a good king, but no one could regret that a reign so disastrous was at an end, and that the cabals of his ministers had ceased to disturb the public peace. But the death-bed scene of Edward was not that peaceful close of life which a Christian's last hours should be. Treason and treachery intruded themselves into his chamber, and the dying king was used as an instrument in the hands of those who should have known better. By authority of an Act of Parliament Henry VIII. had made a will by which Mary and Elizabeth were included in the succession in case of Edward's death without issue. This was a special privilege granted to him on a special occasion, but it was never intended to be a precedent for the disposal of the crown in future ages. If it had been, what would have been the use of a will which might be set aside by the natural heir? but this is what Northumberland designed to do for the aggrandisement of his own family. The Lady Jane Grey, who was married to his own son, Lord Guilford Dudley, was fixed on as the king's successor, ostensibly because she was a protestant, but really because she was the Protector's daughter-in-law. The council was summoned, and with them the law officers of the crown, together with Sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the Common Pleas, and two judges, Sir John Baker and Sir Thomas Brownley. They were required to draw up letters patent by which the succession might be conveyed to Lady Jane Grey. They naturally shrank from the responsibility, since an Act of Parliament had declared it treason for any of the peers, their aiders or abettors to change the order of the succession. The letters patent would be illegal, and therefore invalid, and what was more, would subject all the abettors to the punishment of treason. Montague knew this, and only succumbed to the violence of the Protector's language. The Bishop of Ely required that the judges should first sign the patent, but of the rest Cranmer alone hesitated. He must have known it to be a treasonable act, and he was too far-sighted not to fear for its consequence. Was it weakness which caused him to yield to the king's entreaties? Weakness in one in his position was a crime, and his previous hesitation only proved that when he yielded he did so in opposition to the dictates of his conscience.

The story of Lady Jane Grey's short display of royalty is too well known to need enlargement. Amidst an ominous silence she was proclaimed, for the intrigues of Northumberland were seen through by the people. Mary escaped from her prison, for her allegiance to royal authority was over, and advancing towards London was joined by the populace wherever she came. The cause of Jane melted away before Mary, and her reign had passed away as a dream when, amidst the acclamation of the people and

the pealing of bells, the daughter of Henry VIII. was proclaimed by Pembroke in London on the 19th of July.

The instruments of the pretended alteration of the succession were now acknowledged traitors, and however much posterity may sympathize with that unhappy victim who without her own knowledge was thus raised to the throne in order to supplant the rightful heir, our sympathy with her or with the other actors in the tragedy should not be allowed to blind our reason to the real nature of the offence which they had committed. View it as we may, it was no less a crime than treason, and if it was treason, the safety of the state required that it should not be overlooked. Mary, however, when established on the throne was in no haste to take vengeance on her enemies. The delay was probably owing to her determination to spare, if she possibly could, the unfortunate Lady Jane. Renard, whose counsels were usually moderate, remonstrated with her against what he deemed an act of ill-placed mercy. In the month of August seven of the principal conspirators were condemned, although of these three only, Northumberland, Gates, and Palmer were appointed to die.

Northumberland's last days were as discreditable to his cause as they could possibly have been. That he was a hypocrite none can doubt, although there may be a question whether he was a hypocrite in his life or in his death. Perhaps he hoped something from the steady determination which he saw in Mary to undo the work of the Reformation, and therefore thought that by his recantation he might obtain a pardon. However this might be, before he departed from the council he entreated that a confessor might be allowed him, and Gardiner was appointed, who had just been released from his imprisonment. To Gardiner he volunteered the confession that he "had always been a Catholic," and that he never believed in the doctrines for which he had been so zealous under Edward. The Queen's heart was touched, and she would have spared the wretched man, if the entreaties of Renard in his own name and that of the Emperor had not prevailed. Dr. Watson, whom Cranmer had once set in the stocks at Canterbury was appointed confessor to Gates and Palmer, and all three were reconciled to the Church before their execution. The last words of Northumberland were a protest against the doctrines he had upheld, but the axe fell and no respite had arrived. Thus died the three first martyrs for the Reformation, and whilst it is hard to say whether we must attribute hypocrisy to them in their lives or in their deaths, we cannot doubt the justice of the sentence which consigned them to the scaffold, and we believe that mercy would have been misplaced if they had been allowed to live.

An example now being made, mercy was extended to the rest of the conspirators. The judges and noblemen were tried and released from prison; Lady Jane and her husband were spared,

although it was needful to detain them still in the Tower. Ridley had preached a sermon at S. Paul's Cross after the proclamation of Queen Jane, which could not be construed into language which was otherwise than treasonable, but Mary did not press the matter against him. Had she done so, and had Cranmer and Ridley shared the fate of Northumberland, history would never have laid the charge of cruelty at the door of Queen Mary. They were reserved, to further better, as she thought, the cause which she had more dearly at heart, than her own temporal interests. Reprisals for the persecutions, which the unreformed had endured before, were already probably in the mind of Mary, although as yet probably she had no idea of the length to which she would be carried. As the new Bishops had accepted their office, "*quamdiu bene gesserint*," there was not much difficulty in making way by their removal for the restoration of the Bishops who had been ejected and imprisoned in the previous reign. Tunstal, Bonner, and Gardiner, were therefore restored; but the Bishops who had rendered themselves amenable to the charge of treason were reserved to be tried for heresy. Lady Jane and Lord Guilford Dudley would still have been spared, if it had not been for the Wyatt conspiracy, and then Mary only consented to their execution when she was assured that as long as Jane lived Philip of Spain would never trust himself in England. She was longing for the completion of the Spanish marriage, and her woman's instincts were so strongly roused in her desire for the arrival of her affianced husband, that they overmastered the intention of mercy which she had conceived towards her unfortunate rival. We can scarcely call her sanction of the execution cruel, when she had stood out so long against the advice of all her councillors, and yielded only at last to a pressure which few women would have had strength to withstand.

In the commencement of her reign Mary had declared that she had no desire to coerce the conscience of her subjects. The kindness and gentleness of her character displayed in her conduct to those who were implicated in Northumberland's conspiracy forbids the supposition of cruelty. Pole was naturally averse to persecution. Philip disclaimed all part in the persecution, if the words of Alphonsus his confessor may be received in evidence; for in a sermon publicly preached he did not hesitate to express disapproval of the persecution and to speak in satirical terms of the cruelty of the Bishops. This may have been a popular measure to allay the general dislike of Philip, but yet we may believe it genuine, since it fell in with the counsels of moderation continually repeated by Renard and Pole. Whence then did the persecution proceed? If Mary was by nature amiable and pitiful her strong religious sense was yet more predominant in her character. Designing men worked upon this feeling and found it easy to persuade her that all the troubles which befell her were proofs of God's anger, which

could only be averted by the destruction of His enemies. Her chief advisers in this respect were Gardiner and Bonner; with the doctrine of persecution they were already familiar, but they had learnt it from the Reformers themselves. Both had suffered persecution in the last reign, and now that the weights were changed in the balance, they prepared an awful retribution for their foes. Their dispositions may have been soured by their former sufferings, or it may have been with them as with the lion who once has tasted blood, and the thirst for vengeance once indulged grew at length to an uncontrollable extent. With Mary too her repugnance to bloodshed diminished as the fires in Smithfield increased, until she regarded with complacency what she once would have abhorred. Deluded into the belief that she was doing God service by severity, her conscience no longer reproved her actions, but yet she was not happy, although perhaps she knew not the reason why. She was a devoted wife, and the mean selfishness of Philip, coupled with her own ill health, may have seemed a sufficient reason for her misery; but since in her early years she had learnt to bear adversity bravely and with patience, her domestic trials and bodily pains are scarcely sufficient to account for the change, whilst pity for those whom she believed herself obliged to persecute to death may be a more probable reason for her unhappiness. To the Reformers themselves no small portion of the blame must attach since they began the persecution which in time recoiled upon themselves. They had taught the lesson to Bonner and Gardiner, although they little knew the use to which their instructions would be turned.

Cranmer's conduct will ever remain an enigma which the ingenuity of future ages will in vain be taxed to unravel. Northumberland, and those who had suffered with him had recanted, although their recantation had failed to gain them pardon, but their crime was not heresy, but treason. Cranmer was arraigned for heresy, and his heresy might naturally be supposed to be purged by a recantation. In an evil hour for his credit he recanted; he vacillated, but again drew up a second and a third recantation. A month passed away, which afforded him ample time for reflection, and again he made another recantation more humiliating than before. The cup of his degradation was drained to the very dregs in vain, for the Queen, however much she might forgive trespasses against herself, could not forget that Cranmer had been the instrument of her mother's disgrace. The resolution which she had formed for his destruction was not shaken, and all was prepared for the Archbishop's execution; and it was only now, when all hope had perished, that, without any previous intimation of what he was about to do, he recalled his recantation at the stake, and died such a death as not only saved his credit, but has caused him to be popularly regarded as the chief apostle and martyr of the Protestant Faith. We would not rob him of his hard-earned

laurels. Peace to his memory, for with all his faults he was doubtless an instrument in God's hand to work His will; but we cannot help observing that the facts require more explanation than has even been attempted to convince us of the purity of his purpose. A time-server all his life, he was perhaps faithful in his death, and as a reward for his better deeds the crown of martyrdom may have been granted. This may have been a baptism of fire by which, in the eyes of posterity at least, the sins of his primacy were purged, but yet in an earthly point of view it was a singular retribution for the same punishment which he had himself inflicted on Ann Askew and Joan of Kent. In the latter case it needed all the Archbishop's most urgent intreaties to prevail on Edward to sign her death warrant; and when he did so, he told Cranmer that he should charge him with answering to Almighty God for what was done. "They that take the sword shall perish by the sword," and perhaps in the day of his death, Cranmer remembered the words of the late King, when the faggots were kindled, not as then around an unfortunate girl, but around the person of the primate of England himself.

The sword of persecution now unsheathed wrought its fury in the land. Latimer, Ridley, and Hooper, had preceded Cranmer in their death, but now that the Queen was firmly persuaded that the Reformation must be rooted out by fire and faggot, a regular crusade was carried throughout England. Alas for human purposes, and thanks to the Great Disposer of all events, persecution not only failed of its object, but created such sympathy with the sufferers, that when the reign of Mary ceased, England had unconsciously accepted the Reformation, and Elizabeth's ascent to the throne was hailed with joy, not so much because she was a daughter of the royal house as because she was a Protestant.

We have spoken perhaps hardly of Cranmer, because we believe that the prejudice of succeeding ages has glossed over his errors. We desire to "nothing extenuate, nor ought set down in malice." In malice we could not have spoken, for our inclination would have led us to sympathise with the Archbishop if we could, but from his condemnation we would exclude the other bishops, clergy, and laity, many of whom suffered bravely, and without wavering, confessing in their death the faith in which they had lived.

A few words may be added respecting the other actors in the scene. For the misfortunes of Lady Jane Grey, we may feel great commiseration, yet we cannot but see that she has scarcely been justly estimated by posterity. She was hardly the simple and guileless girl she has been painted. A naturally strong mind had been rendered yet more masculine by the education she had received from Roger Ascham. Although taken by surprise at finding herself a queen, she was perfectly well able to judge the quality of her action in accepting the crown. She who refused to



allow her husband to participate in her honours, could not be ignorant of her responsibility in assuming them herself. The very trait which proved her a queen in disposition, derogated something from her qualities as a woman. Weak and vain as Lord Guilford Dudley was, he was still her husband, and she seems to have shown him little love or respect. Sincerely religious she doubtless was, but yet there must have been a coarseness of feeling in her mind, or else she would not have acted as she did when she visited Mary at Newhall. Observing Lady Wharton in the chapel, bowing towards the altar, she inquired if Lady Mary was present. On being answered in the negative, she asked, "Why do you curtsy then?" "I curtsy," said Lady Wharton, "to Him that made me." "Nay," was Lady Jane's reply, "but did not the baker make Him?" This at best was a coarse and vulgar joke, but it was enough to show, that if Lady Jane had been Queen of England, she would have been as little tolerant of those who differed from her in religious opinion as Queen Mary who, if she was rigorous, was never scornful.

Pole's history is so interwoven with that of Mary, that it must not be passed over altogether in silence. Through life he had been Mary's constant friend, and at one time destined to be her husband. His fidelity to the fortunes of Katherine had been the one shadow which overclouded his life. Born of royal descent, he was destined by Henry for the highest ecclesiastical rank, but early in his career his choice had to be made between his conscience and his interest. Whilst as yet Dean of Exeter, he lost the King's favour by his refusal to subscribe the opinion on the Divorce, which was given by the University of Paris where he was then studying. Henry relented, and many times afterwards invited him to return to England. Pole continued to decline without assigning the cause, until at length when pressed, he told the King that he neither approved the Divorce from Queen Katherine nor the breach with the see of Rome. Henry ever after cherished bitter hatred against Pole, and his interest procured him banishment from France, and also from the Low Countries. He returned to Rome and devoted himself to learning and business, and so great a reputation did he acquire, that at the death of Paul III. he was elected Pope by a large majority of Cardinals, but he was not ambitious, as he proved by himself opposing an obstacle to the confirmation of his election. He exhorted the Cardinals to consider well what they were doing, and to regard the honour of God rather than private friendship in their choice. This gave time for calumny, and Cardinal Caraffa, who desired the papacy for himself, brought against him a charge which proved his moderation. The accusation was, that he kept too close a correspondence with the Lutherans, and that one Flaminius, who lay under the imputation of heresy, was entertained in his house. He had been sent to

Viterbo to inquire into accusations of heresy, but had discharged most of the criminals. In spite of these charges, for those of immorality with which they were coupled were easily refuted, a majority declared a second time in his favour, and his election was again announced. Again he demurred, and the result was that Cardinal de Monté, who assumed the name of Julius III., was appointed in his stead. These proceedings prove him to have been an amiable and unambitious man, who sought not his own but the things of God.

On the accession of Mary she naturally desired the assistance of her old friend in her endeavour to re-establish the relations of England with the Papacy. He wrote to encourage her in her scheme, but he counselled moderation in dealing with the reformed party. It appeared to Gardiner that his counsels were premature and that she must be cautious in the execution of the scheme. It was natural that Pole should regard the ecclesiastical rather than the political phase of the crisis, and from long absence from England he could scarcely be acquainted with the popular mind. The lay-impropriations were a difficulty in the way of reconciliation with Rome, but when parliament learnt that these would be respected, the Act of Attainder which stood against Pole was repealed, and all difficulties in the way of his return removed. At length, as Papal Legate, he made a triumphant entry into London, welcomed by the applause of the people. He made a speech to the Parliament in which he declared that "his commission was not of prejudice to any person;" "he was come not to destroy but to build, not to condemn but to reconcile." At St. Paul's on the following day the nation was solemnly absolved from the interdict under which it had lain, and the Cardinal took up his residence at Lambeth, in anticipation of his appointment to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, to which he succeeded on Cranmer's execution. The question now occurs whether he was true to the professions of moderation which he had made. Certainly if he was cruel it was now that he began to learn to take pleasure in persecution. Mr. Froude lays on him the blame of all that ensued, but Bishop Burnett who is not likely to be prejudiced in his favour, acquits him of the accusation, and the evidence which Mr. Froude brings is scarcely sufficient we think to maintain his charge. It is certain that when twenty-three men and women were brought from Colchester to London for execution, Pole interfered in their behalf and checked the intemperance of Bonner's zeal. Bonner's determination was perhaps the stronger of the two, and the moderate counsels of Reginald Pole gave way to the fiercer enthusiasm of the Bishop of London, and he therefore allowed himself to be implicated in actions to which his temper was naturally averse. We are glad to see that at a recent meeting of the Oxford Architectural and Historical Society Mr. Goldwin Smith read a lecture "On dif-

ferent views of the character of Cardinal Pole," and although we had not the privilege of listening to it, we glean from the notice in the *Ecclesiologist* that Mr. Froude's view of the conduct of Pole was, as we have no doubt, ably refuted, and that the lecturer succeeded in proving that although the Cardinal Archbishop was in his official capacity partly responsible for the persecutions, he had personally taken the side of humanity. After reading Mr. Froude's history we agree with Mr. Goldwin Smith in his opinion that this period is one of which an impartial history remains still to be written.

Within sixteen hours of Mary's decease, the Archbishop also expired, as if, says Burnett, one star had governed both their nivities. Even Burnett could not refuse a panegyric to his memory.

"The Cardinal," he says, "was not a man made to raise a fortune, being by the greatness of his birth, and his excellent virtues, carried far above such mean designs. He was a learned, modest, humble, and good-natured man, and had indeed such qualities and such a temper, that if he could have brought the other Bishops to follow his measures, and the Pope and Queen to approve of them, he might probably have done much to reduce this nation to Popery again. But God designed better things for it; so He gave up the Queen to the bloody counsels of Gardiner and the rest of the Clergy. It was the only thing in which she was not led by the Cardinal. But she imputed his opinion in that particular rather to the sweetness of his temper than to his wisdom and experience. And he, seeing he could do nothing of what he had projected in England, fell into a languishing, first of his mind, that brought after it a decay of his health, of which he died. I have dwelt the more copiously on his character, being willing to deny to none of whom I write the praises that are due to them. And he being the only man of that whole party of whom I found any reason to say much good, I was the more willing to enlarge about him, to let the world see how little I am biassed in the account I give by interest or opinion."

We have touched a painful subject, one more fit for humiliation than for pride; but the lesson which we learn is one that increases our faith in God's superintending Providence Who can carry His Church through times as troublous as those, should they ever again occur. The failure of persecution, too, as a means of spreading principles, whether they be true or false, is a warning for all times; and we cannot conclude this paper with words of greater wisdom than those addressed by S. Gregory the Great to the Bishops of Arles and Marseilles: "It is by gentleness, by benevolence and exhortations that we must lead the unbelievers back to unity lest we alienate by terrors and menaces those whom charitable preaching and the fear of the last Judgment shall not have established in the faith. We must use such moderation with them that they will not resist us; but we must never constrain them against their will, since it is written, 'Offer yourselves a willing sacrifice.'" (Ep. i. 35.)

## PERRY'S HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

*The History of the Church of England. From the Death of Elizabeth to the Present Time.* By the Rev. GEO. G. PERRY, M.A., Rector of Waddington, late Fellow and Tutor of Lincoln College, Oxford. In three volumes. Vol. I. London: Saunders, Otley, and Co.

THIS is the first volume of three in which Mr. Perry proposes to review the history of the Church of England from the death of Queen Elizabeth to the present time. He brings down the history in the volume before us to the convocation of 1640, and the next will open with the meeting of the too celebrated Long Parliament. We are thus put in possession of a very readable addition to our Church literature, and in many respects creditable to the author, although as we proceed, we shall be obliged in many important particulars to differ from him. To have made his work complete, we cannot help thinking he should have included the reign of Elizabeth, instead of starting from her decease. Most of the questions which stirred men's minds under James, and divided the nation under Charles, cannot be understood without a knowledge of the events of the reign of the Virgin Queen. In that reign were sown the seeds of those disputes between Churchmen and Puritans which produced such a deadly harvest, and that reign too heard the first reassertion of principles which were destined to shake all England to its centre, and after having been for a time trampled under foot of men, to spring back again to life, and finally to be enshrined in the authorized formularies of the Church.

We do not care to disguise our conviction that had the reign of Edward VI. been prolonged, the consequence would have been most disastrous to our Church, and among the many signs of God's fatherly protection which we can discern in her later history, we have always ranked the early removal of this monarch. The reign of Mary too, cleared away the leaders who were not strong enough to rule the spirit they had invoked, and under whom the Church had taken frightful steps downward, and had seemed bent upon obliterating every sign of catholicity she had retained. We are utterly at a loss to conceive what Mr. Perry can mean by talking of the "exceeding greatness of the blessing which the reign of Edward VI. was to the Church."<sup>1</sup> One thing indeed that reign did—it gave us that noble production, the first Prayer Book, in which were embodied the deliberate convictions of the English Reformers; but no sooner had they thus put on record their desire to retain communion with the ancient Catholic Church,

<sup>1</sup> Page 14.

than as if frightened by the very excellence of their work, they set determinedly to undo it. If it be a blessing to the Church to be plundered and robbed at every turn, to have an ignorant and degraded priesthood,—to see altars torn down with every conceivable mark of ignominy,—the material fabrics stripped of their lead, their bells, their gold and silver vessels,—Divine Service performed in Genevan gowns,—swarms of foreign heretics settled in the country, and taken by the hand as brethren by those in high places,—if it be a blessing above all to have mutilated the traditional devotion with which from the earliest times Christians had surrounded the Blessed Eucharist, to have had instead of altars tables on which men flung their caps, and from which dogs stole the sacramental bread,—to have an Eucharistic service without oblation, or commemoration of the faithful departed, and the remembrance of CHRIST'S Death the leading idea of the so called Liturgy,—to have the time-honoured words of distribution erased from the Service Book,—if it be a blessing to have pulpits resounding with Calvinistic theology,—Bishops professing no higher mission than that which the State conferred,—men called to the ministry by foreign consistories regarded as lawfully ordained,—if in a word for a Church to be given over to anarchy, be a blessing, then indeed Edward's reign was rich in blessing. But Mr. Perry's ideas of blessing must be very different from those of most churchmen, if he can predicate that epithet of a period so humiliating, so disgraceful, so alien to true catholic feeling, as the years during which the precocious Puritan boy-king reigned over England.

Had it not pleased God's providence early to remove him, it must have fared badly with us. But before the harvest could be fully reaped, he was gathered to his fathers, while the real outward fabric of the Church was yet safe. "The foundations had not been cast down," the Creeds had not been tampered with, the succession had been preserved intact. There was a standing point from which in God's good time the existing system might be brought into a better condition, and more conformable to Catholic usage, and when the red hand of Mary had removed the chief authors and abettors of the late confusion, it was reserved for the prescient eye of the great Queen to keep her gaze steadily upon that standing point, and render possible the recovery of the English Church from Calvinism and Puritanism. That her rule was arbitrary, her measures violent, the strict boundaries of law not always observed, we do not deny. But Churches like States which have been given over, or rather given themselves over as a prey to the violence of a wild democracy, must pay the penalty,—and that penalty is subjugation for a time to despotism. The plunder of the Church revenues by the Queen is only in accordance with the same law, and finds an exact parallel in the heavy imposts and grinding taxation, to which nations are subjected, when the strong hand which has

won the mastery is dragging them out of the depths, and is training them for better things. Grave, therefore, though the faults may be of Elizabeth's administration, and greedy as she showed herself after the Church lands, we cannot but be thankful, that in addition to her stripping the Church of her outward wealth, she did not also deprive it of the few rags of inward truth and grace which the policy of Edward had bequeathed to the Reformed Church of England, but was rather seized with a desire, from whatever motive, to array it again in the beauty of holiness.

Nothing would have been easier for her than to have combined in her own person the rapacity and Calvinism of her brother's administration. The mass of the people rightly disgusted with the wicked cruelties of the preceding reign were just in that mood, that whatever was farthest removed from Romanism would have been most gratifying to them. They were in no humour to weigh arguments from antiquity, or to understand the distinctions between Anglican and Roman Liturgies, set forms of prayer, ritual, observance of times and seasons, and the like. They would have rejoiced had the Queen made a clean sweep of all, and established the order of things of which the Marian exiles had become enamoured in foreign parts. Such a course, we say, was easy to Elizabeth. The temptation to it must have presented itself with force to her statesman-like mind, and we must give her the credit she deserves for having resisted it, and resolutely bent her energies to moulding into something like Catholic usage the chaotic mass of principles and practices she found ready to her hand.

The means she took seem to us strange, and in some respects unwarranted. But they were recognized maxims of Government in the sixteenth century, though unknown to us of the nineteenth. Having made up her mind that she would not concede, she had no other course than the one she adopted of enforcing with a strong hand conformity and obedience. She saw that the question at issue with the Puritans was not a question of surplice, cap, the use of the ring or even the sign of the Cross—it was Church or no Church—Bishop or no Bishop—Liturgy or no Liturgy; and having made up her mind to have a Church and Bishops and Liturgy, she was forced to throw around them the protection of her prerogative. We doubt very much whether in the times in which she lived, she could have adopted any other line of conduct towards such troublesome conceited men as Sampson, Humphrey, and others, than the one she did.

In any real history of the Church of England therefore, the reign of Elizabeth is by no means to be ignored. By it future advances were rendered possible. If unable to do all she wished, she did what she could. Her own chapel, at least, witnessed a comely ritual, and an elaborate service, and in after times could be appealed to as furnishing precedents for further advances. The

chief cathedrals set forth the praises of the Lord with something more than decency. She successfully resisted the attempts of her bishops to fix a Calvinistic sense upon the Articles. Travers in vain pleaded a common protestantism, and the validity of foreign protestant ordination, while the first faint whisper of the necessity of the Episcopal Order to a Church, destined hereafter to swell into bold utterances, was heard at St. Paul's Cross from the lips of Bancroft.

That sermon we, in fact, look upon as the turning-point in the history of our Church. Till Churchmen saw their way to take up this bolder line, they were arguing with Puritans at an immense disadvantage. "The school of Whitgift and Hooker" contended for a mere shadow, in contending that Episcopacy was a permissible form of Church government. If it were one form, and Presbyterianism another form, there seems no reason why Episcopal churches should not recognize Presbyterian so-called ordinations. It was the refusal to do this, and at the same time the regarding episcopacy as only one of many lawful forms of government, and not as essentially necessary, which irritated the Puritans, and urged them on to its destruction. Episcopacy, which not even its defenders considered essential, stood in the way of the union of the Reformed, and the Protestant cause was weakened by the isolated adherence of England to the "ancient regime." If the assertion of a bolder doctrine has had no tendency to diminish the fury of the opponents of Episcopacy, it has at least aroused the zeal of friends in its behalf. We have something worth fighting for: episcopacy, as defended by the early reformed apologists, was scarcely worth a struggle.

And here we must again note a point of disagreement from our author. He sees the difference between the "schools of Whitgift and Hooker," and that of "Bilson, Hall, and Laud." But he scarcely appreciates the difference, and we are not sure that he does not think the former the more legitimate exponent of Church of England doctrine. And as with the Episcopate, so, with the altar and its mysteries. A way was opened by Elizabeth for the future defence of the former on sound and Catholic principles; a stop was put to a recurrence of the Edwardian desecration, and the ground cleared for the future restoration of the altar to its right place in every church in England. With this in due course came the assertion of higher doctrine, the Real Presence was taught; the sacrificial aspect of the Blessed Sacrament was set forth. It was hopeless to attempt to teach sound eucharistic doctrine while the altar was represented by a plain joiner's table, standing in the middle of the church, sat on, or lounged against,—a receptacle of hats and coats. Queen Elizabeth broke, or tried to break this up, and if the doctors of the day "utter an uncertain sound" as to the nature of the Lord's Presence, let us bear in mind that whatever doctors

might teach, the restoration of the old words of distribution were a great help to a devout mind, and showed an advance beyond the authorized teaching of King Edward's time, when the service reached no higher than a mere Zwinglian remembrance of CHRIST's death. The way was being paved for better things; but candour compels us to admit there is a great deal of truth in Mr. Perry's account of the prevalent view of the Eucharist held in the sixteenth century, though we deny that the subjective presence is "the glory of the Church of England theology," or that the Catechism or even the Articles, when taken in conjunction with the Catechism and Liturgy are in any wise inconsistent with the highest doctrine of a true objective presence independent of the faith of the recipient. The following extract will throw some light upon Mr. Perry's way of handling deep questions, on which we shall have hereafter to remark.

"This naturally brings us to the fourth doctrine on the subject, the doctrine of the *real spiritual presence*, the presence in the faithful receiver, not in the elements—the distinctive teaching of the Church of England and the glory of her theology. As this doctrine is clearly set forth both in the Articles made under Elizabeth, and the Catechism under James, as it is defended by Hooker in his great work, we may assume it to have been the generally accepted view of the Eucharist in England at the beginning of the seventeenth century. It seems to have been more with respect to some special points connected with the administration of the holy rite, the kneeling posture, the use of private communions, &c., that the Puritans differed from the Church than as to the doctrine of the Sacrament itself."—P. 24.

The Church was thus, "thanks to the great Queen," enabled to make further advances in King James's reign, and the reaction from the Reformation excesses of doctrine and discipline, which had set in under Elizabeth, received a fuller development under that king. James, with his many faults, was by far too learned a man not to know that Puritanism could find no warrant in the past history of the Church, and far too shrewd not to see through the hollowness of its pretensions. He was well aware that it cloaked principles at variance with monarchical institutions, under its hatred of the Episcopate. His way of looking at Church matters is well put by Mr. Perry.

"King James looked at Church matters from a different point of view. He was a theologian by taste and study. He hated Puritans as much as his predecessor, but, apart from his personal dislike to them, his antipathy was more that of a polemical divine than a ruler. Writing on the subject of the conference, he complains not of their insubordination as Elizabeth would have done, but of their bad arguments. 'They fled me from argument to argument without ever answering me directly (*ut est eorum moris*), that I was forced to tell them that if any of them when boys had disputed thus in the college, the moderator would have



fetched them up, and applied the rod to their buttocks.' The Puritans indeed were not likely to be more mildly treated under James than under Elizabeth, only they were now persecuted on theological grounds, as heretics, rather than traitors. And this marks the difference of the periods. King James did not regard the Church simply as an engine of the State, but suffered it to range itself side by side with the throne, joined in a community of interest, upon the principle of 'No bishop, no king.' The Church of the Reformation under Elizabeth, looked to the foreign divines as champions and authorities; the Church of the Anglo-Catholic period, under James, looked to fathers and schoolmen. It was no longer attempted to establish the note of *succession*, by jumping from Vigilantius to the Albigeois, and through Waldo to Jerome of Prague; but a more Catholic view prevailed. The answer now given to the taunt, 'Where was your Church before Luther's time?' was that it was in the Latin Church, which was now accounted a true Church, though defiled with superstition. A succession of doctrine from the great early fathers, never wholly obscured in the worst times of Popish ignorance; a succession of outward order by an unbroken line of Bishops, are now held to prove the Catholicity of the Anglican Church. Soon Calvin's last stronghold of influence, in the doctrines of predestination and election, is weakened and overthrown. The Church of England asserts and argues out a theology of her own. And as if to prove that our Church history is now entering a new epoch, coincidently with the conference at Hampton Court, two of the great champions of the old struggles of the Reformation-period now quit the scene. A fortnight before the conference, died Thomas Cartwright, the most learned and most temperate of the Puritan disputants against the ceremonies, and six weeks after it was closed, died Archbishop Whitgift, 'one of the worthiest men,' says Fuller, 'that ever the English hierarchy did enjoy.'—Pp. 109—111.

Accordingly, he very soon showed that any expectation of relief which the malcontents had founded upon his Scotch birth and education were not to be depended on. He was scarcely seated on the throne before the "Millenary petition" was presented, which comprises all the stock grievances of Puritanism from that time to this, and in which, as Mr. Perry notes, the Puritans showed themselves utterly ignorant of toleration, and while claiming liberty for themselves in ritual matters, wished to bind the whole Church to their doctrinal views. The Hampton Court Conference served the double purpose of showing off the learning of the pedant king, and of at once quenching any hope of a nearer approach to Genevan ways and doctrines. One of the few concessions made to the Puritans resulted in the addition of the sacramental portion of the Catechism which has ever served as an impregnable stronghold of Catholic truth. The Canons of 1604, in their care for external reverence and decorum, their regulations about fonts, and altars, and vestments, and festivals, the enforcing of catechizing, the recognition of confession, all evidenced the dawn of a better and more Catholic era.

Still with all, there was much to do. The king now not averse

to reconciliation with Rome, now joining in the persecution of Arminius, now discouraging Calvinistic studies, and checking Calvinistic preaching, could not be expected (to say nothing of his grave moral defects of character) to have much weight with the nation. The temporal power wielded by the Church was not always wisely and judiciously exercised. Bancroft's able primacy was succeeded by Abbot's encouragement of Calvinism. The Bishops appointed according to the influence uppermost with James, were not always of one mind. The clergy, as a body, were miserably poor, and occupying no position in the land, were plundered and brow-beaten by the gentry. The democratic opinions already at work among the laity, restrained by no affection for the person of the monarch, or admiration for the vigour of his government, formed a natural alliance with Puritanism. Ground was indeed gained in this reign. A new school of theologians was forming, and their views put forth with ability and boldness attracted the attention of Parliament, a sure proof they were not without influence. But in the whole King James's was an unsatisfactory reign; and his death left things in an unsatisfactory state. The ground was clearing for the great struggle of the next reign; the Bishops had been drawn nearer to the throne, and democracy and Calvinism had shaken hands, and were scowling savagely at both.

In the Church history of the next reign, the interest centres round one man, to whom the English Church owes her existence as a Church at this day, and to whom all English Churchmen owe a debt of gratitude for having saved us from the fate of Geneva,—Archbishop Laud. We must protest most strongly against Mr. Perry's view of this great man. Laud seems an object of special aversion to him. He rarely mentions him without some disparaging remark, and would lead us to suppose that he ruined instead of saving the Church. Thus at his first notice of him<sup>1</sup> he endorses Abbott's calumny respecting his reporting the faults of his cotemporaries at Oxford to higher quarters. "Miserably deficient in common sense and policy"<sup>2</sup>—"no man can read his diary without being struck with the remarkable absence of common sense which it displays"<sup>3</sup>—"his usual impolicy and want of judgment"<sup>4</sup>—"his reckless impolicy"<sup>5</sup>—"one of the many proofs of that intellectual imbecility," &c. "their," i.e. Laud and Montague's "incompetent hands,"<sup>6</sup> sacrificing the Church for a "phantom of conformity"—"the man most likely to ruin the Church in the affections of the nation;"<sup>7</sup>—these are specimens of his manner of speaking of that remarkable man who, though he lost his life at the hands of his enemies, has yet left his mark most plainly imprinted on the Church. It is a great mistake to suppose that Laud's work was buried with him, and that because he bowed beneath the headsman's axe, therefore he "wrought no

<sup>1</sup> P. 193.

<sup>2</sup> P. 462.

<sup>3</sup> P. 354.

<sup>4</sup> P. 641.

<sup>5</sup> P. 445.

<sup>6</sup> P. 324.

<sup>7</sup> P. 453.

deliverance in Israel." On the contrary; the principles for which he died were vigorously asserted in the succeeding reign, and what is more enshrined in formularies; and practices for which he was persecuted to death are now among those generally adopted by the whole English Church. We cannot think Mr. Perry alive to the importance of the Laudian Reformation and the continuance of its effects up to the present day; were he so, he would scarcely deny Laud that merit which even the *Saturday Review* attributes not to grant him. Look in the first place to the change he brought in our theology, how he imparted definiteness to it, and fostered a race of divines whose names will live in our national literature, e.g. Bramhall, J. Taylor, Mede, Sanderson,—who were brought into notice by him. He found Oxford a bear garden; he left her a well-ordered University; and arrayed on the Church's side the learning of the day. And since his time the high character of our theology has been kept up. He changed the current of it, or rather, let it flow in a broader stream. The school which, if he did not actually found, he let have fair play and encouraged by his patronage, has ever since found a home in the English Church. The Calvinistic spell in which she had been so long enthralled was broken by him, and the Church of England rendered habitable for others besides the followers of Calvin. Whether this be a sign of "intellectual imbecility" we leave the reader to judge.

We must again join issue with Mr. Perry in what he says<sup>1</sup> as to "the exaggerated importance," as he terms it, of the disputes respecting the position of the altar. On the contrary; we affirm that its importance cannot be exaggerated: that the question was an all-important one, and that Laud was right in deeming it important and in insisting upon it. It is easy<sup>2</sup> to sneer at "Bishops doting about rails and tables;" but we are tempted to doubt whether Mr. Perry at all appreciates or understands the points at issue. We are sure he is thankful that in his own church the holy table is placed altarwise, and railed from intrusion. He must be aware how much more decently and reverently he is thus enabled to celebrate the Blessed Sacrament. He would be very sorry to see the Puritan system prevailing. But this comeliness and decency which now (even in the absence of ritual) perforce gather round the celebration of the mysteries from the very position of the altar; are due to Laud and Laud's vigorous administration. There surely was no tyranny in enforcing so very simple a change—in insisting upon parish churches following the pattern of cathedrals: and the student of history who has heard so much of Laud's innovations in ritual is astonished to discover how simple they really were—when instead of orders enforcing chasubles, candlesticks, and crosses, he finds it seriously and furiously alleged against him at his trial as evidence of his papistry and hindrance of "Gospel liberty," that he

<sup>1</sup> P. 494.<sup>2</sup> P. 632, *commentary*.

deprived Puritans of the privilege of making the holy table a lounging place, or serving the purpose of a hat rail, and insisted that instead of sitting as at a common meal, when they received the Sacrament of CHRIST'S Body and Blood they should humbly kneel upon their knees. We frankly admit Laud used his powers unsparingly to bring about this result. We are glad he did; we thank him for it. Place the altar where Puritans placed it: let it be used as they used it; and no high sacramental views can possibly prevail. Place the altar where Laud replaced it, it is at once the most prominent object in the church. It seems natural to clothe it with rich hangings, and to deck it with ornament. Ritual is rendered possible, the Blessed Sacrament is more easily regarded as a sacrifice, and with a sacrificed priesthood becomes intelligible and a necessity. And therefore the position of the altar, instead of being of no moment, is of very vital importance to the wellbeing of a Church, and we cannot but be thankful both that Laud's keen eye discerned the blot in the Church over which he ruled, and that his powerful hand applied at all risks and hazards the only effectual and proper remedy. Whether this be a mark of "intellectual imbecility" we leave the reader to judge.

Now are we disposed to lay very much stress upon Laud's unpopularity with the laity as evidence of his impolicy and recklessness. His manner and bearing towards the laity were doubtless often rude, violent, and overbearing. But we question whether much meeker men than Laud would not have been provoked by such laity as he had to do with. There were two reasons why Laud should have been unpopular with the laity, the nobles and gentry especially, with whom he was brought into contact at court. The first was that he was a "novus homo," a man of mean birth, a clothier's son. No doubt "the dwellers in the old halls and manor-houses of England hated the rough, uncourteous, passionate little man;" and chiefly because he was not one of themselves, and they could not brook that his parvenu hand should call them to account. The jealousy and hatred evinced by the landed interest against any successful aspirant to political power not sprung from their own class, is as old as Cæsar's times, and has continued unabated to the present day. Laud too made them feel that ecclesiastical discipline was a reality, and had no idea that gentle blood should transgress God's laws with impunity, so long as he had power to call its owners to account. But it was not likely, that those in whose veins gentle blood ran, would take the same view. And another reason why "the dwellers in the old halls and manor-houses of England, hated the rough, uncourteous, passionate little man," was that he would not allow them to plunder the Church, and compelled them in many cases to disgorge their spoils. Many a nobleman, many a squire were fattening on glebe and tithe, while

the priest was starving. And nobles and squires though they were, Laud determined that when it was possible they should refund. The following extract will quite explain the hatred entertained by the laity against Laud :—

“The laymen, following, perhaps, the unfortunate example of some of the high-placed ecclesiastics, were by no means more scrupulous. Bent upon turning their estates from arable into pasture, they depopulated the villages to save themselves from the troublesome neighbourhood of the poor and suffering ; they refused to present incumbents to their livings, seized upon the tithes and turned the churches into barns. Sometimes the duty of repairing the fabric of the church was neglected until it had fallen into ruin ; instead of rebuilding, the owners of the land thrust the ‘inhabitants upon neighbouring parishes, where they fill the church, and pay few or no dues.’ Meantime, the squire helped himself to the lead off the roof, sold the bells, and perhaps built a new wing to his manor-house with the well-worked and substantial masonry. We suspect that much of the lay distaste to disciplinarian Bishops was due to an unwillingness to have these matters inquired into. ‘Roxborough,’ says Sanderson, ‘opposed the Bishops, not in duty to religion, but in fear to lose his lordship’s rich abbey of Kelsoe, with the demesnes, and seven-and-thirty parish churches impropriate—a small Bishop himself.’—Pp. 564, 565.

Nor are we disposed to blame Laud very much for another fault often imputed to him, viz., his exaltation of the prerogative. It was a weapon which stood him in good stead in freeing the Church from the interference of parliament. Politically, too, he had been brought up in high notions of monarchy, and to try him by constitutional notions of the present day is absurd. In his day there was no constitution : the king was everything, and we question whether any of Charles’s acts were beyond the power supposed for ages to be resident in the monarch. One thing is certain, that so far from “a long series of petty tyrannies and galling misgovernment having embittered and exasperated the nation,” Mr. Charles’s administration of affairs previously to the assembling of the first parliament of 1640, had been peculiarly successful. Mr. Perry’s reading generally does not seem very extensive ; but he need not have gone beyond Clarendon for evidence of a state of things very different to what he has described. When Hume, Guizot, D’Israeli, and the Whig Hallam swell the list of witnesses, we think we have disposed of the “galling misgovernment.” One point, too, is to be borne in mind, that to satisfy the demands of the Long Parliament was incompatible with the retention of anything like monarchy. Many real grievances the king had redressed, to have yielded what they wanted would have reduced him to the merest phantom. There was nothing left but to fight for it. The Genevan doctrine had spread through England, and with it as a matter of course dis-

loyalty, sedition, and republicanism. Charles knew this, he felt instinctively it was a struggle for his crown, and for the principle of monarchy. It is absurd to regard the Parliamentary champions as the asserters of the constitutional maxims under which we live. On the contrary, as the *Quarterly Review* lately pointed out, the answers of Charles to the remonstrances addressed to him by these firebrands, contain in their main features the constitution of the present day, in which their monstrous demands find no counterpart. The event proved what the faction meant both as regards Church and State. They hated the Church cordially, and enamoured of Calvinism, longed for its destruction. Laud knew this, and the knowledge of it was the secret of his determined opposition, and his fixed determination not to yield one jot. And thanks to him, the Church, though crushed for a time, sprang back into new life, and the Convocation of 1662 sanctioned, we trust for ever, the main and essential features of the work which in his own hands had seemed to fail.

We now take leave of Mr. Perry, hoping that in his future volumes he will not allow himself to so easily endorse the prejudices and party-feelings of a past generation, but try to look upon Church matters as they really are. As it is, his book is very little in advance of those which have preceded it, and shows but very faint signs of improvement. It is easily written, pleasant to read, and exceedingly well printed. But it fails, as we have tried to show, in the crucial period of Church of England History. It does not appreciate, and therefore has little sympathy with the struggle, which one man waged against a nation, in behalf of principles and practices which were essential to our continuance as a branch of the Church Catholic, and which had he not waged and won, the Church of England by this time would have been altarless, creedless, and without a priesthood; a mere state establishment, with lay elders for her rulers, and Calvin for her Apostle.

## DR. BESSER'S CHRIST THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD.

*Christ the Light of the World: Biblical Studies on the First Ten Chapters of S. John's Gospel.* By RUDOLPH BESSER, D.D.  
Translated from the German by M. G. HUXTABLE. Edinburgh:  
T. and T. Clark.

As this is the best printed of all Messrs. Clark's series, so does it possess a higher tone than any of its companion volumes. We doubt, however, if these characteristics combined would have induced us to notice it, seeing that after all for doctrinal purposes it is not to be trusted, had it not been that its publication may really be regarded as no ordinary phenomenon in the history of German Theology.

There is no lack of diversity of Creeds or views to be found among German writers. They range from the lowest depths of Pantheism to mysticism on the one hand, and Evangelicalism on the other. The one only Creed that had not been reproduced of late in the land of Luther was simple Lutheranism. It is the purpose of Dr. Besser apparently to endeavour to revive that now extinct form of belief; and it must be admitted that in the "Studies" before us he has accomplished the task successfully. Here is Lutheranism resuscitated with all the affinities to Catholic Truth which it originally possessed, and also with all those inconsistencies which caused it to die out as a thing devoid altogether of that homogeneousness which can alone secure the continuance of life to the species, whether in the natural, the moral, or the theological world.

The alliance of the Lutheran doctrine of Justification with a belief in the grace of the Sacraments can only be a repetition of what Horace describes,—

"Humano capiti cervicem pictor equinam  
Jungere si velit,"

and cannot produce any result more satisfactory.

Here we have Lutheranism excellently described in its best and most Catholic aspect:—

"Our LORD does not speak of *two* baptisms, but of *one*; not of *two* second births, but of *one*; not of one second birth of water without the Spirit, and of another of the Spirit without water, but of the single one, of *water* AND the *Spirit*. What therefore, GOD has joined together, let not man put asunder. The holy apostles have not put it asunder. 'According to His mercy He saved us,' says S. Paul, 'by the bath of Regeneration and renewing of the *Holy Ghost*' (Tit. iii. 5). 'CHRIST loved the Church and gave Himself for it, that He might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing [the bath] of water by the word'—which 'word' has just the effect of giving the presence of the

Spirit (Eph. v. 25, 26). And in the great typical baptism of the children of Israel the Spirit and water are found together: 'They were all baptized unto Moses in the cloud (the sign of the presence of Divine Grace) and in the sea' (1 Cor. x. 2: comp. with 1 S. Pet. iii. 20, 21).

"According to Scripture, then, we maintain that 'both of them remain together, and that one is born again of water, through the HOLY SPIRIT, or by the Spirit, present at and with the water; that at this birth, the Spirit is as the Man, the water as the Woman and Mother.' (Luther). . . .

"And this saving act the LORD our God performs, not as enthusiasts will have it, down out of Heaven in a purely inward manner, in the way of thought only, but through the outward office of the Word and the Sacraments, in which the HOLY SPIRIT mightily works (2 Cor. iii. 8). The blessings of Grace belonging to God's kingdom are attainable, not unapproachable.

"For He does not speak of a Spirit which is hidden and cannot be perceived, as He is personally in His Divine Essence, nakedly and without means, in and by Himself, but One which reveals Himself in the outward office where He is heard and seen, viz., in the preaching office of the Gospel and of the Sacraments. For GOD will not, even with the Spirit, deal and act hiddenly and secretly, or do with each individual soul a thing peculiar to that soul alone; for who else could learn, or be sure, where or how he might seek or find the HOLY GHOST? but GOD has so ordered it, that the HOLY SPIRIT shall be in conjunction with the Word and Sacrament, manifest before the ears and eyes of men, and shall work through such outward office, that we may know that what takes place *then*, has taken place really through the HOLY GHOST.' (Luther).

"The birth to life in the kingdom of GOD, as well as the nourishment of this new life, are each of them a sacramental mystery; the former takes place in the sacrament of holy baptism, the latter in the sacrament of the altar; 'except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of GOD:' and 'except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man and drink His blood, ye have no life in you;' 'he that eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood, dwelleth in Me and I in him' (chap. vi. 53—56). By baptism, we enter into the kingdom of GOD, and by the LORD's Supper, those who have entered, remain in the fellowship of the kingdom."—Pp. 124—126.

A little further we have reproduced the old Lutheran theory of Consubstantiation:—"The same flesh and the same blood of which the LORD here (i.e. in the 6th chapter of S. John) speaks as being the meat and drink of life, do we surely eat and drink *with and under* the bread and wine of the LORD's Supper." (P. 298.) The translator and editor, who is a Zwinglian, thinks it necessary indeed to apologize in a note for the excess of the Author's faith in this particular; but lo! on the very same page, Dr. Besser himself overthrows the whole force of his own statement, by telling us that the words of our LORD, "in their primary and closest signification,"



refer "to that participation which takes place by coming to Him *without* visible signs and conveyances."

We will give one other extract, showing the hopeless maze of Lutheranism. It is on the doctrine of faith :—

"Both these statements are equally true : baptism *imparts* faith, and baptism profits him only who believes. But *faith* has here a twofold meaning. In the case of those who desire believingly to receive baptism, the Word has imparted a receptivity of salvation and a longing for salvation, so that they now yield themselves to the Divine power working in that new birth which they meet with in baptism, and comply with its operation upon them. This state of mind in which Ananias found Saul, and Peter Cornelius, Scripture already calls *faith* ; it is the 'rudimental faith,' that faith which so often comes before us in S. John's Gospel. But the faith which is imparted *through* baptism, and which acts in the reception of the preached Word, is the certainty of that second birth which has been experienced, wherein the old life is mortified through CHRIST's death, and the foundation laid of a new life by virtue of CHRIST's life."—Pp. 128, 129.

We certainly never expected to see a revival of Lutheranism attempted in the Germany of the nineteenth century.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

*Restoration ; or the Completion of the Reformation.* By the Rev. ARCHER GURNEY. London : J. T. Hayes.

MR. GURNEY is one of the Free Lances of the English Church : in one sentence he throws all opprobrium on the Pope and advocates Prayer for the Dead. Were we to judge his Pamphlet by the ordinary rules of prudence we should say that he had not chosen a title calculated to conciliate confidence. Agreeing with Mr. Gurney in the main proposition that English Churchmen should not rest contented with present attainments, we should consider it wiser to urge the raising the actual Church to the level of her standards, rather than the "restoring" of anything that is really lost. Mr. Gurney, however, shall speak for himself.

"The half statements of popular Anglicanism have reaped a plentiful harvest of doubt and discontent in her children's breasts. Religious mystery and reverence have come to be identified with confusion of thought and self-contradiction. At last, almost all positive hold on objective truth is endangered. Theories have been propounded in various quarters of late years tending to suggest a notion that the Faith is what we think it to be, and has no tangible existence of its own. The very love of fairness and dread of extremes of the English mind encourage universal haziness. We are so liberal to other men's convictions that we end by having none ourselves. At last we have witnessed the logical working out of these principles of doubt and uncertainty. The indefiniteness of Anglican theology has reached its climax in

the notorious 'Essays and Reviews,' and in the open propounding therein of what is called Ideology, and might be more fitly denominated the science of religious fiction, from which we learn that doctrinal statements may be at once true and false; true to us, false to others, with no substantial existence of their own, or according to the received formulary, false or immaterial in fact, true and essential in idea. This latest development of heresy was indeed condemned at a very early period by one whose authority would seem to be considered out of date, and who ventured to declare that that was the true 'spirit of Antichrist which denieth that JESUS CHRIST is come in the flesh.' But our ideologists reply to this, as to all similar sayings in Holy Scripture, that words are words,—Incarnation and Atonement being only theological terms, and in fine that truth has no definite recognizable existence. Such is the consistent, the all-pervading teaching of the notorious 'Essays and Reviews,' the legitimate offspring, I am sorry to have to repeat, of the indefiniteness of popular Anglicanism. Fortunate it is, perhaps, that men of learning, of note, and not devoid of some measure of intellectual power, should have thus worked out their principles of doubt and negation, for this assault on the Faith is probably intended, under God, to subserve a great purpose, that of the restoration of full and definite Catholic truth among our Church's children."—Pp. 7, 8.

Along with this view of the Church's actual shortcomings Mr. Gurney retains the strongest faith in her future destiny. The doom of the Roman Communion he considers inevitable, and then he foretells

"Out of this ruin the Catholic Church shall yet arise in all her pristine beauty. The fall of the Papacy will be the signal for reunion among the Bishops of the Catholic world. When the enemy shall come in like a flood, the Spirit of the LORD shall lift up a banner against him. And in this work of regeneration the Anglican Church is called on to take a prominent part; but for this she must first regenerate herself. The Daily Sacrifice must be restored, the Communion of Saints must be realised lawfully and not unlawfully, by asking God for the prayers of the blessed Saints departed, *but never by invoking them*, the Faith must be proclaimed in its integrity, and all mere Protestant unrealities and bare external ordinances must be swept away from us and for ever."—P. 32.

In addition to its efficacy for the faithful departed, Mr. Gurney seems to imagine that it will avail for the heathen. We know not whence he derived this notion.

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We rejoice to find that a new edition of the little volume of *Private Prayer*, edited by Mr. CARTER, (Masters) has been called for. It is the best in existence, simply because it contains just the cream of the older Catholic manuals, without their later additions.

The attempt of Convocation to alter the Twenty-ninth Canon has appeared to us from the first to have originated in a desire to be *doing* something; and in this respect it had its exact parallel in the unfortunate dogma of the Immaculate Conception, which seems to have been conceded to certain ardent spirits in the Roman Communion. In our own case the hindrances seem to have proved too strong, and it would appear as though the objection made by the Convocation of York, and by the

Irish Bishops, has prevented the consummation of the little bit of ecclesiastical legislation which was desired. An additional demurrer has since been put in by the Bishop of CORK, in the able *Charge* which he has published, (J. W. Parker,) which not only shows the difficulty of partial legislation, but also vindicates the importance of the Canon as it now stands. A Colonial Bishop (J. H. Parker) has done the same for our Daughter Churches.

We very strongly recommend the pamphlet of the Rev. T. RAMSBOTHAM, on *Tithes and Offerings*. (Rivingtons.) It is a mine of authorities on a subject which the Clergy are imperatively bound to press upon their people. Upon this same subject we recommend a good Sermon by Dr. IRONS, *He gave Tithes of all*. (Rivingtons.)

Anything which tends to make our people better acquainted with their Prayer Book, may be expected to do some good service. We cannot, however, withhold the expression of our disappointment at Mr. DAMPIER'S Remarks on *The Occasional Services* (we dislike the term) *of the Church*. (Bell and Daldy.) They are generally common-place, and on some points, the doctrine of Absolution especially, they fall decidedly short of the Church's teaching.

Mr. LOWDER'S *Five Years at S. George's Mission*, (Palmer,) is a thoroughly interesting narrative; and if the difficulties with which it has had to contend have been very great, it has called forth an amount of aid and sympathy beyond what could have been at all anticipated. The one only charge to which the conductors of the mission have rendered themselves liable is a somewhat lavish expenditure of money; but the finance department seems now to be placed on a satisfactory footing, and we trust that the result of this little publication will be to pay off the debt, and to allow a really great work to go on unhampered, and profiting by experience.

*Canticles for the Christian Seasons*, compiled by the Rev. J. W. RUMSEY, (J. H. Parker,) is a good idea, well carried out.

*A Letter*, by Dr. MOBERLY, to Sir W. Heathcote, on the *Studies and Discipline of Public Schools*, (Rivingtons,) is sure to receive, as it well deserves, attentive consideration.

We recommend *S. Andrew's Day; or, the Brother's Influence*, (Masters,) as a useful Tract.

We have only just received Mr. SKINNER'S *Four Sermons on the Revelation of the Anti-Christ*. (Masters.) They are written with all the Author's usual earnestness, and will form suitable reading for Advent. They were preached last year at S. Matthias, Stoke Newington.

The Bishop of OXFORD'S noble Sermon, preached at the opening of Lichfield Cathedral, (*Gatherings for Religious Worship a means of promoting Unity and Quickening*: Lomax,) has also just reached us.













